Martial, Book IV

A COMMENTARY

BY

ROSARIO MORENO SOLDEVILA

BRILL MNEMOSYNE · SUPPLEMENTA

MARTIAL, BOOK IV

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ROSARIO MORENO SOLDEVILA

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I, fuge; sed poteras tutior esse domi
(Martial 1.3.12)

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The last three decades bear witness to significant progress in Martial research: almost all of his books of epigrams have been commented on: book I (Citroni, 1975; Howell, 1980); book II (Williams, 2004), book V (Howell, 1985; and, partially, Canobbio, 2002); book VI (Grewing, 1997); book VII (Galán Vioque, 2002); book VIII (Schöffel, 2003); book IX (Henriksén, 1998–1999); book XI (Kay, 1985); and the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta* (Leary, 2001; 1996). On the remaining books there are a number of unpublished dissertations. To this must be added the recent commentary by L. and P. Watson on select epigrams (2003). Furthermore, a great many recent studies have cast new light on diverse aspects of his work and personality, in the form of articles, monographic studies or compendia, such as Grewing's (1998) or the latest collection published by the Government of Aragón in commemoration of the 19th centenary of Martial's death (2004).

However, a commentary on Martial's book IV was called for. This book first took form as a Ph.D. thesis submitted at the Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Sevilla) in November, 2003. I am obliged to the members of the examination board, my greatest debt being to my mentors, Francisco Socas Gavilán and Juan Fernández Valverde. I was able to bring this project to completion thanks to a research scholarship from the Spanish Ministry of Education. This also allowed me to spend some months at Harvard University, where I was warmly received by the Department of the Classics, especially by Kathleen Coleman, and at the University of London, where I enjoyed the atmosphere and took advantage of the resources of the Institute of Classical Studies. My thanks are also due to Peter Howell, who kindly read the Spanish manuscript and made invaluable suggestions and remarks; to my friends and colleagues Ana Pérez Vega and Juan Martos, from the Universidad de Sevilla, for all their assistance and encouragement, as well as Guillermo Galán, from the Universidad de Huelva, and Ana Prados, librarian of the Departamento de Filología griega y latina of the Universidad de Sevilla; and especially to Daniel Nisa and Jan Zoltowski for having painstakingly corrected the English version. In the later stages of the work the anonymous referee made numerous helpful remarks and corrections, for which

I am extremely grateful. Needless to say, the responsibility for any mistakes is my own.

This project has also benefited from the financial assistance of the Spanish government (project BFF-2002–00687) and the Junta de Andalucía (research group Hum-680).

I dedicate this book to my family and to Daniel for their infinite patience.

Rosario Moreno Soldevila

Sevilla
December 2005

INTRODUCTION[1]

1. *The dating of Book IV*[2]

Martial published many of his books during the Saturnalia.[3] In fact, some epigrams in this collection deal with this festival (4.14, 4.46, 4.88), which may prove that book IV was published in December, AD 88, as Friedländer suggested.[4] The book begins with a poem commemorating the Emperor's birthday (24th October),[5] followed by two epigrams featuring a snowfall. At the beginning, the book is offered as a Saturnalian gift (4.14), with a suggestion that it should be read during the holidays, while the Saturnalia are stated to have come to an end in the second-last epigram (4.88). This does not necessarily mean that the book was intended to be published after the Saturnalia, but, rather, as Citroni aptly suggests, that 'il libro, destinato ad essere letto come intrattenimento giocoso nel corso dei Saturnali, dura quanto la festa stessa' (1989: 220). Epigram 4.11, however, has caused this dating to be questioned: it deals with Antonius Saturninus' revolt, which took place sometime between the autumn of 88 and the spring of 89.[6] A more precise date can be inferred from the *Acta fratrum Arvalium* (CIL VI 2066), a prayer for Domitian's victory and safe return, dated 12th January, 89, probably when Domitian set out for Germania to repress the rebellion. Murison (1985: 49) suggests that the news arrived in Rome around the 8th.

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[1] This introductory chapter focuses exclusively on book IV. For the current state of research on Martial, I refer the reader to Grewing, 1997: 11–16; and 1998: 7–13. An updated and more general account of the author and his work can be read in Watson-Watson, 2003: 1–36; my introduction to Moreno Soldevila-Fernández Valverde-Montero Cartelle, 2004, and, especially, Lorenz, 2003. For further bibliographical references the reader is referred to the notes on specific epigrams.

[2] For the dating of Martial's epigrams, see Friedländer, 1862; 1865; SG IV 104–107; Stobbe, 1867; Mommsen, 1869: 120–126; Dau, 1887; Gilbert, 1888; Pitcher, 1985; Citroni, 1988; 1989; Sullivan, 1991: 6–55; Canobbio, 1994. For book IV, see Friedländer, 1886: 55–56; Citroni, 1989: 217–220.

[3] Citroni, 1989.

[4] Friedländer, 1886: 55–56.

[5] Epigram 4.1 must be dated to AD 88, especially because the *Ludi Saeculares* (4.1.7) were held this year.

[6] Murison, 1985: 37.

But when exactly did the revolt happen? Ritterling (1893: 203) proposed the first of January,[7] the twentieth anniversary of Vitellius' being hailed as emperor in Upper Germany (Tac. *Hist.* 1.55). This hypothesis has been almost unanimously accepted,[8] although some critics maintain that the riot happened earlier, in December.[9] Inasmuch as epigram 4.11 does not celebrate Domitian's victory, but rather foreshadows it, it must have been composed between the arrival in Rome of news of the revolt and its repression. In the *AFA* of 25th January there is a sacrifice OB LAETITIAM PVBLICAM, interpreted as an allusion to Saturninus' defeat. The entry for 29th January reads: AD VOTA SOLVENDA ET NVNCVPANDA PRO SALVTE ET RED(ITV) IMP. Domitian heard about the outcome when he was on his way. Murison ventures that he knew about it around 23rd January, so that the revolt must have been put down around the 15th or 16th. Although Ritterling (1893: 226 n. 51) also adduces that not every book was necessarily published during the Saturnalia and that, as a matter of fact, Martial says that they are over in the second-last epigram (4.88),[10] the inscription of the *AFA* does not necessarily preclude an earlier date, so that Nauta (2002: 111) may be right in his conclusion that this epigram 'will be the last-minute addition to a book intended to be published at the Saturnalia'.[11]

2. *Themes and topics*

It is an unquestionable fact that each book of the epigrams has its own personality, mainly due to its predominant subject-matter. Book IV differs from the preceding collection in the increase in the number of Imperial poems[12] and the lesser number of erotic epigrams (cf.

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[7] See especially pages 218–230.

[8] Walser, 1968: 501; Bergk, 1976: 138–9; Syme, 1978: 20–21; Jones, 1979: 31; Murison, 1985; Strobel, 1986: 204; Jones, 1992: 147.

[9] Assa, 1962: 36.

[10] As Citroni points out (1989: 219), this should not be taken literally.

[11] Further objections to this dating (December 88/January 89) are put forward by Dau (1887), who proposed AD 94 as the date of composition of epigram 4.40. Lehmann (1931: 31) also concluded that 4.45 was composed after AD 88, and that it was added later in a second edition of books I–VII.

[12] See the comparative data in Henriksén, 1998: 22.

3.68–3.99). Apart from Domitian and the everpresent question of patronage,[13] this book explores two main themes: death and literature.

2.1. *Domitian*

The Emperor[14] plays a leading role in this book, which opens with a poem on his birthday (**4.1**). This is part of a larger cycle in which Domitian presides over popular spectacles (**4.1–3**). Epigrams **4.2** and **4.3** deal with a snowfall in the midst of them. In each of these three epigrams Domitian is overtly or indirectly compared to Jupiter,[15] as he will be in **4.8**, a timid offering of the book of epigrams.[16] Epigram **4.27** is a bolder counterpart: Domitian is presented as a regular reader of Martial's poetry, and the poet does not hesitate to ask him for support. In 4.3 Domitian was praised as a general; epigram **4.11** anticipates his victory over the rebel Antonius Saturninus. Three epigrams in this collection link Domitian with the animal world: **4.30**, on his sacred fish, again focuses on his divinity; epigrams **4.35** and **4.74** deal with a gruesome *venatio*, presided over by him, and have also been interpreted symbolically.

The Emperor is also present in subtler ways: his court is alluded to in **4.5** and **4.78**, where two of the imperial freedmen are mentioned. Furthermore, epigram **4.45** is another birthday poem, this time in honour of Parthenius' son.[17] Parthenius was an influential figure in Domitian's court. Epigram **4.53** is a satirical attack against a Cynic philosopher: this not only harmonises with Domitian's aversion to this school, but also alludes indirectly to his building policy (lines 1–2). The following epigram, **4.54**, on the *carpe diem* motif, is addressed to Collinus, a winner in the Agon Capitolinus, a contest promoted by Domitian (**4.1.6**).

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[13] For literary patronage in Rome, see Saller, 1982; 1989; White, 1978; especially in Martial's time, Saller, 1983; Sullivan, 1991: 116–130; Nauta, 2002.

[14] On the Emperor Domitian, consult Gsell, 1894; Waters, 1964; Jones, 1992; Southern, 1997.

[15] For the ruler cult in relation to him, see Sauter, 1934 and Scott, 1936, as well as Sullivan (1991: 137–145) for the occurrence of this motif in the epigrams.

[16] On Domitian and literature, see Coleman, 1986. For his role as patron of Martial, see Nauta, 2002.

[17] Note that Parthenius is mentioned in 4.78.8.

2.2. *Complimentary epigrams and patronage*

Epigrams **4.13** and **4.75** deal with conjugal love: the former is a wedding song, the latter a poem in praise of Nigrina, for sharing her patrimony with her husband. Pudens and Antistius Rusticus are eulogised through their respectives wives. Both epigrams are subtly interconnected by means of mythological allusions.[18] Myth is also prevalent in the *genethliakon* for Parthenius' son, Burrus (**4.45**), as well as in **4.54** and **4.73**, both presenting a scene of the Parcae spinning. Other complimentary epigrams deal with poetry: this is the case of **4.14**, dedicated to the epic poet Silius Italicus, and **4.23**, to the epigrammatist Bruttianus. Some epigrams are indirectly laudatory: **4.42**, on Flaccus' *puer delicatus*, and **4.64**, on Julius Martialis' villa. These are two of Martial's closest friends. Flaccus is also the addressee of **4.49**, a literary epigram. Patronage and literature go hand in hand in the Flavian period: **4.8**, **4.10**, and **4.14** are dedicatory epigrams seeking support, as are **4.82** and **4.86**, at the end of the book. Another patron of Martial, Stella, is subtly praised in a satirical epigram (**4.6**).[19]

Contrasting this idealised artistic concept of patronage, Martial also focuses on imbalanced social relations; humiliated clients complain about their mean patrons (**4.67**) and the poet often adopts the persona of a deluded 'friend' (**4.26**; **4.40**).[20] The addressees of these few poems are fictional. Avarice (**4.66**; **4.68**; **4.85**) is often combined with boastfulness (**4.37**; **4.61**). Roman society is seen as a corrupt, parasitical system (**4.5**), which leads to the most paradoxical stances being adopted (**4.51**; **4.83**).

2.3. *Satirical epigrams*

Martial frequently deals with the same satiric motif in different—often contrasting—epigrams.[21] The following topics can be found in this book:

[18] On Martial's use of myth, see Corsaro, 1973; Szelest, 1974a; Sergi, 1989.

[19] A survey of Martial friends and patrons is to be found in White, 1972; 1975; Nauta, 2002. For Martial's concept of friendship, see Kleijwegt, 1998.

[20] See Mohler, 1931; Colton, 1976; Garrido-Hory, 1985.

[21] On Martial and the satiric epigram, see Mendell, 1922; Szelest, 1963a; 1963b; 1996; Sullivan, 1987b.

– body odour: **4.4**; **4.87**
– boastfulness: **4.37**; **4.39**; **4.46**; **4.61**
– concealment of age or physical blemishes: **4.20**; **4.36**; **4.62**
– envy: **4.27**; **4.70**
– female squanderers: **4.9**; **4.28**
– legacies, legacy-hunting: **4.56**; **4.70**
– loans: **4.15**; **4.76**
– philosophers: **4.21**; **4.53**
– poisoners: **4.69**
– physical blemishes: **4.62**; **4.65**
– sex:
  – *cinaedi*: **4.48**; **4.52**
  – feigned chastity: **4.38**; **4.71**; **4.81**; cf. **4.22**
  – incest: **4.16**; **4.70**
  – oral sex: fellatio (**4.12**; **4.17**; **4.50**; **4.84**); cunnilingus (**4.43**; cf. **4.39**; and possibly **4.36**)
– shameless talkativeness: **4.6**; **4.41**; **4.80**

2.4. *Death*

Death[22] pervades this book of epigrams: as early as epigram **4.3** Martial focuses on the *mors inmatura* of Domitian's son, who plays in heaven with snow. Cold causes the death of another child, killed by a falling icicle (**4.18**); likewise, death and water merge in **4.63**.[23] The same can be said of **4.60**, also dealing with an unexpected demise. This forms a striking pair with the preceding epigram (**4.59**), on an animal trapped in an amber drop, which is linked with **4.32**: death endows a fossilised bee with eternal beauty. In both of these poems allusion is made to the Fall of Phaethon, an emblem of early death. Epigrams **4.35** and **4.74**, on the fight of two antelopes during a *venatio*, link death and courage. Epigrams **4.54** and **4.73**, with remarkable echoes between them, deal with the *carpe diem* motif and with *mors inmatura* respectively: life is short, death unpredictable.

Death is not only the theme of serious reflection, but also appears in satirical epigrams: **4.56** (on legacy-hunting) and **4.70** (on a

[22] For Martial's epigrams on life and death, see Heilmann, 1998. Although death is a leitmotif in this book, it is to be noticed that there are no epitaphs as such.

[23] Both epigrams (4.18 and 4.63) share an unusual apostrophe to waters: Greenwood, 1998.

disinherited son); **4.58** on a suspect widow. Wife-killing is the subject of **4.69** and, jokingly, of **4.24**.

2.5. *Literature. The arrangement of literary epigrams*

One of the most deeply explored themes in this book is the book itself, both as a physical and artistic entity.[24] Many epigrams overtly reflect on the nature of the genre, but literary concerns and metaliterary allusions pervade the whole book. Martial reflects on the power of language and literature and on their social impact. Epigram is set against other genres (**4.49**) and sides with minor poetry: satire, comedy, lyric, elegy. This association is made overtly (**4.14**; **4.29**) and by means of subtler literary allusion (**4.13**; **4.45**; **4.49**; **4.86**), both seriously and through parody (e.g. 4.38). The book comes alive at the very beginning: it is observed through the eyes of its creator, but also those of readers, critics, librarians and patrons, the Emperor included.

The book opens, in fact, with a solemn obsequious overture on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday. Complying with the requirements of the *genethliakon*, the birthday song, the poet wishes Domitian a long life in a circumlocutory manner: he expresses his wish that the Emperor may celebrate the Alban Games, the Agon Capitolinus and the Secular Games on many occasions. What is most interesting for our purpose is the idea of the perpetuation of the *certamina* either introduced or promoted by the Emperor: apart from linking him with his most venerated deities, Minerva and Jupiter, and presenting him as a new Augustus, they highlight his portrayal as promoter of the arts. The poem must have been a very pleasing compliment to the Emperor, but it sounds somewhat insincere. In fact, these *Agones* meant nothing to Martial's career or to many other well-known poets, with the exception indeed of Statius. Martial addresses one poem in this collection to an otherwise unknown winner of the Capitoline contest, Collinus (4.54). Whether he is a poet or not is debatable and inconsequential, for the addressee becomes a mere excuse to develop the *carpe diem* motif. All in all, this side of

[24] Much attention has been paid to this aspect of Martial's epigrams: see e.g. Bauwin, 1943; Citroni, 1968; Dams, 1970; Adams, 1975; Muth, 1976; 1979; Garson, 1979; Saller, 1983; Sullivan, 1987c; 1991: 56–77; Medina Rincón, 1994; Fowler, 1995; Roman, 2001. For specific bibliography, see the commentary.

the literary world may have been of great significance for imperial propaganda, but of no consequence at all to Martial and his interests.[25] Epigram **4.6** recreates a private recitation with a twofold intention: it is a satirical epigram against a poetaster but it also puts Martial's production into a specific literary and social context, under the protection of an influential patron, Stella. The private *recitationes* his patron holds are mirrored in **4.8**, a peculiar *recitatio* at Domitian's palace. Thalia, the personification of the book, approaches the Emperor when he is relaxing after dinner: she is viewed as a lewd dancer, since the Protean epigram dresses as the occasion requires (contrast e.g. 4.1). The first series was necessary to define and praise the Emperor as a godlike figure, but now the book, not only personified but also deified as Thalia, is uninhibited enough to show its true nature. 4.8, a poem seeking imperial patronage, is followed by two dedicatory epigrams, addressed to private patrons: **4.10**, in which the poet apparently sends the fresh new book to Faustinus, so that he can correct it, and **4.14**, in which Martial addresses Silius Italicus, sends him a sample of his work as a Saturnalian gift, and asks him to read it during the corresponding winter vacation. These two poems have often been focused on as paradigms of Martial's attitude towards his writings and of his playing with the generic requirements of epigram. In them Martial combines these self-deprecatory topics with a strong self-assertive sense of pride, which towards the end of the book will become bolder and even challenging. The book is proud of being what it is—light-hearted, uninhibited poetry—and as such it is presented to Silius Italicus (**4.14**), an epic writer. Yet his serious occupation is not incompatible with the reading of epigrams, especially at the Saturnalia.

The allusion to Catullus[26] at the end of the epigram subtly relates to the preceding composition, an epithalamion on the occasion of the wedding of Pudens and Claudia Peregrina. The echoes of Catullus' poems 61 and 62 pervade the whole epigram. Pudens will be presented as an enthusiast of Martial's poetry in epigram 4.29. In his wedding-song, along with the Catullan echoes, there is an allusion

[25] Since performing in public was incompatible with high status, in these contests 'only persons from the margin of society could compete'. In fact, the poets who took part in these games 'were either very young or of low status, or both' (Nauta, 2002: 334), and this was not Martial's case. See also White, 1998.

[26] For the influence of Catullus on Martial, see Paukstadt, 1876; Ferguson, 1963; Offermann, 1980; Swann, 1994; 1998.

to Ovid's *Heroides* I. Pudens must have been very well-versed in poetry and have enjoyed this evocation. Likewise, the key to **4.29** is not the direct statement that books of epigrams should not be published too often, but the sequence of similes taken from other minor genres and Martial's siding with Persius. Martial's self-confidence was also wittily expressed in **4.23**.

There follows a group of epigrams which could be given a metaliterary interpretation by virtue of their arrangement: between **4.27**, which explores in a more facetious way Domitian's personal patronage, and **4.29**, there is an apparently satirical epigram against Chloe (**4.28**). This is a literary game: the name, Chloe, is taken from Horace, and the final line has Virgilian echoes, but, more significantly, the poem revolves around the play with the motif of amatory gifts and presents, typical of comedy and elegy, to ridicule an inversion of traditional roles. The echoes of love elegy anticipate a couplet in the following epigram (4.29.5–6). Poem **4.31** deals with another aspect of literary composition, as will be seen. Epigram **4.33** is an attack on a prolific writer, although a metapoetic reading is possible in the light of the preceding poem (**4.32**).[27]

As regards the relationship of epigram with major genres, the mild and ingratiating manner of epigram **4.14** contrasts with the aggressive tone of **4.49**, against mythological epic and tragedy. It is a polished manifesto full of literary allusions, mainly to Persius, mentioned in poem 4.29, and Horace. It resembles 4.29 in that it explains and defends an aspect of epigram as a genre, in that it is addressed to a friend to whom an erotic poem in this collection is also dedicated (in this case 4.42, on a *puer delicatus*), and, most significantly, in that the end of the final pentameter reinforces his alliance with the reading public (*ista legunt*).

Allusion to classical poets, especially from the Augustan Age,[28] plays an essential role in a genre characterised by brevity: epigram tries to say as much as possible in the fewest possible words. To put

[27] The implied theme of this epigram is the immortalisation of the artist. For a fuller exploration see the commentary proper and, especially, Moreno Soldevila, 2004c.

[28] See Wagner, 1880; on Virgil and Martial, see Citroni, 1987a; Fortuny Previ, 1984; Muñoz Jiménez, 1994; on Horace and Martial, see e.g. Szelest, 1963a; Donini, 1964; Duret, 1977; on Ovid and Martial, see Zingerle, 1877; Siedschlag, 1972; Pitcher, 1998; and also Maselli, 1994 and Ruiz Sánchez, 1998.

it briefly, intertextuality multiplies the possibilities of interpretation.[29] Besides, it legitimates the poet's artistry, by inserting epigram into a prestigious tradition. The cultivated reader will recognise the allusions and enjoy an apparently trivial book even more. The case of 4.13 has been mentioned above. Likewise, the recreation of Tibullus 2.4, dedicated to Messalla, in Martial's **4.45** is aimed to equate Parthenius with Augustan patrons. Augustan poetry is also alluded to in satirical epigrams, as is the case of **4.56** and **4.66**, which echo Virgil's *Aeneid* and Horace's *Epode* 2, as well as **4.38**, a parody of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*.

Martial also reflects on the social impact of literature in several satirical epigrams: in **4.17** and **4.81** he imagines the reader's reactions to his work; **4.31** deals with the fame he bestows. 4.17 and 4.31 subtly explore the limits of literary patronage. The former turns into a declaration of free will and independence: it is the poet who chooses the topics of his work, and the targets of his invective; the latter deals ironically with the impossibility of incorporating the addressee's name into his epigrams. If the protagonist of this composition wants to appear in Martial's poetry, the only way it can happen is by being mocked and teased. As happened in poem 4.17, the implication is that nobody—only select patrons and friends—is allowed to propose to the poet a theme for an epigram: if he praised everyone, the value of his tribute would diminish, and with it the chance of financial reward. Bearing this in mind, it is possible to reinterpret poem 4.29, especially the second couplet, in a slightly different way: *gratia* can be a quality of epigram, but also, like *pretium*, refers to a reward. Poem **4.72** deals with the forms of distribution of poetry, but more specifically with the meanness and lack of interest in poetry of its protagonist. Finally, and linked with 4.6, there are two satirical epigrams against two unskilled and inveterate talkers: a *recitator* (**4.41**) and a *declamator* (**4.80**).

Towards the end of the book there are two dedicatory poems (**4.82** and **4.86**), which somehow mirror epigrams 4.10 and 4.14,[30] inasmuch as they contain an offering of the poetic work, with additional demands for support, appraisal or correction. Epigrams 4.10 and 4.86 are addressed to qualified critics, whose verdict will be

[29] Conte-Barchiesi, 1989. For intertextuality in Martial, see Holzberg, 2002: 97–109.

[30] Both pairs are four epigrams apart.

decisive for the success (not for the publication) of the book; in both of them the poet predicts a terrible fate for the book, if it does not please the recipient. Epigrams 4.14 and 4.82 are presentations of the poetic work (more than one book or booklet if we are to take the poet's words literally) to busy, industrious men, who are asked to read them in their free time, and deal with the appropriate circumstances in which the book can best be appreciated. The position of these four poems in the book can be said to be chiastic. Besides, 4.10 is related to 4.82 inasmuch as they both deal with the offering of the literary work through an intermediary (*puer, Rufe*), and also due to the fact that they have a metrical link: both of them consist of four elegiac distichs. Epigrams 4.14 and 4.86, addressed to Silius Italicus and Domitius Apollinaris respectively, are metrically related as well. Furthermore, the increasing erotic component present in epigram 4.14, in overt contrast with the solemn epic echoes of its first six lines, is also present, although in a mitigated way, in 4.86, with an extremely subtle hint in the word *placere* in line 3. Epigrams 4.10 and 4.14 differ radically in tone from 4.82 and 4.86, which add further nuances and are somewhat challenging.[31]

4.10	Offering of the book to Faustinus for correction. The book deserves to be deleted	4 elegiac couplets
4.14	Offering of some books to Silius Italicus (Saturnalian gift) Appropriate time for reading suggested	14 hendecasyllables
4.82	Offering of some books to Venuleius Appropriate time for reading suggested	4 elegiac couplets
4.86	Offering of the book to Apollinaris for appraisal. Without his approval, the book deserves to be recycled	11 hendecasyllables

Furthermore, **4.82** (the eighth from last) echoes **4.8**, for they both suggest that the reading should best be accompanied by moderate drinking (4.8.9–10; 4.82.5–6). As Lorenz points out (2004: 273), sym-

[31] See further Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 171–172.

metry is noticeable,[32] both here and in the last poem (**4.89**), in which the first page is explicitly mentioned (4.89.6).[33] Epigram 4.89 is addressed to the personified *libellus*: the poet, like a father or tutor, advises his offspring about what is best for him.[34] At the beginning, in epigram 4.10, the book, almost newly born, was entrusted to Faustinus. The book itself plays the main role in this collection: its development can be followed as we read the epigrams, so that when we come to the end, we can almost hear its own, independent voice.

3. *The arrangement of the epigrams in book IV*

Epigrams can be interpreted in isolation, but acquire different layers of meaning when they are read within a sequence. In general, there are two main organising principles in the arrangement of epigrams: variation and cohesion.[35] On the one hand, contrast of metre and length, tone and subject-matter between contiguous epigrams amuses the reader. On the other, continuity, exploration of the same themes from different viewpoints, and repetition of names contribute to the reader's awareness that this is an organic, unitary, and distinct work of art. Scholars have paid much attention to the arrangement of the epigrams within particular books. Berends (1932) laid the ground for analysis and offered an impressionistic survey, although the result was not entirely satisfactory.[36] There have been an increasing number of studies on the subject, based on the concept of cycles, as proposed by Barwick (1958),[37] and of sequential reading.[38] The

[32] This must be added to the symmetrical position of epigrams 4.1 and 4.45, as stated above.

[33] Lorenz, 2004: 274.

[34] On the father-son relationship between author and book, see Ruiz, 1980: 162–163.

[35] Or 'variety' and 'unity', in the words of Kondoyanni (1997: 80; 86).

[36] As Citroni remarks (1975: xxviii n. 6), 'il Berends si sente impegnato a individuare corrispondenze e simmetrie, ma non sembra interessato quasi per nulla al significato artistico dei procedimenti che esamina'.

[37] See Barwick, 1958, Merli, 1998, Scherf, 1998; 2001. Scholars have paid attention to particular cycles in this book: Barwick, 1958: 289 (4.1; 4.3; 4.27); Bonvicini, 1986 (4.32; 4.59); Merli, 1993: 241–245 (4.1–8); Greenwood, 1998 (4.18; 4.22; 4.63).

[38] Merli, 1993; 1998; Garthwaithe, 1998a. On book composition see also Erb (1981), on book I, and Kondoyanni (1997), on book IX; Sullivan, 1991: 217–221; Scherf, 1998; 2001. Recent commentaries also devote some introductory pages to this issue: Citroni, 1975: xxvi–xxxviii; Kay, 1985: 5–6; Grewing, 1997: 29–51;

study of cycles helps to understand some of the mechanisms of the arrangement of the book, but may also have a drawback: it detaches the epigram from its immediate context and from other poems which are connected by means other than thematic links.[39] The poems interrelate in many different and subtle ways: each of them could be said to form part of an intricate aesthetic and semiotic system.[40]

I acknowledge that there is a high degree of subjectivity involved in the analysis of the arrangement of epigrams, but it is worth taking the risk. Lorenz's (2004) study of 'epigrams, cycles, and webs' in book IV, to which I will frequently refer in the commentary, is full of insight and challenging views. By focusing on the water motifs and the black and white contrasts pervading the book, he offers new interpretations for some of the epigrams in the collection. In the following pages I will offer a few clues to the understanding of the book's arrangement, although more suggestions will be found in the introduction to particular epigrams and a more detailed study can be read in Moreno Soldevila, 2004b. A key to many of the interrelations between the epigrams is given by Martial himself:

> Tu quoque de nostris releges quemcumque libellis,
> esse puta solum: sic tibi pluris erit (4.29.9–10).

With each new reading, subtleties and links become apparent to the reader and the book of epigrams grows all the more enjoyable and meaningful.[41]

a. *A closely interwoven opening sequence*

The careful arrangement of the opening and closing sequences is more apparent than the ordering of the rest of the book. Introductory epigrams are usually programmatic, whereas the final ones tend to have a recapitulatory function.[42] The opening sequence in book IV is dedicated to the Emperor, as has been stated above. Between epigrams 4.1 and 4.3, in elegiac couplets, there is the hendecasyllabic 4.2, the comic tone of which contrasts with the solemnity of the eulogising epigrams. Yet epigram 4.2 is closely related to them: it

Henriksén, 1998: 15–20; Leary, 2001: 10–12; Galán Vioque, 2002: 9–11; Schöffel, 2003: 21–29; Williams, 2004: 10–11.

[39] As is the case of the epigrams studied by Moreno Soldevila, 2004c.

[40] Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 161.

[41] See also Lorenz, 2004: 258.

[42] Citroni, 1975: xxvi.

describes the same event as the following epigram, a snowfall during a spectacle, probably one of those forming part of the celebrations mentioned in 4.1. Domitian is the presiding figure in the three of them and is portrayed with god-like stature.[43]

Epigrams **4.8** and **4.11** also focus on Domitian, both as a patron of the arts and as a warrior; epigrams 4.8, **4.10**, 4.11 and **4.14** are dedicatory, and therefore very suitable for an opening, but are there any links with the intervening epigrams? The answer is yes: there is, in fact, an extended opening sequence. Merli (1993) clarifies the function of epigram 4.4: after a dedicatory beginning, this satiric epigram soon reminds its readers that they will amuse themselves.[44] Apparently unrelated to them in subject-matter and tone, it begins with water images, which were central to the previous epigrams.[45] The following poems (4.5, 4.6, 4.9) are satirical sketches of Roman social life, whereas 4.7 rebukes a *puer delicatus*. Epigram 4.8, on Domitian's patronage, began with a description of the stresses of daily life in Rome, which echoes **4.5**, on the impossibility of leading an honest life in the Urbs. The second part of **4.8** portrays a convivial environment apt for reciting poems, which links it with **4.6**.[46] Epigrams **4.7**[47] and **4.9**, on sexual matters, are only apparently unrelated to 4.8, except that Thalia, the personified epigram, is said to walk with a wanton stride (**4.8.11** *gressu . . . licenti*):[48] Martial subtly and jocularly reflects on the nature of his poetry, which requires an appropriate frame of mind. The opening section is therefore of a multi-layered programmatic nature.[49]

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[43] The opening sequence of book IV has been studied by Lorenz, 2002: 120–125; 135–136; 2004: 260–263; Merli, 1993: 242–243; Scherf, 1998: 126–127; Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 162–163.

[44] She compares this exordium to that of book V, and links 4.1–8 with 5.1–7, differentiating between poems dedicated to Domitian (4.1–3; 5.1–3), varied epigrams (4.4–7; 5.4), and the offering of the work through an intermediary (4.8; 5.5–6). According to her, epigram 4.4, on the foul-smelling Bassa, is equivalent to 5.4, on the fetid Myrtale: both are programmatic epigrams pointing to the entertaining function of the book.

[45] Lorenz, 2004: 260–262.

[46] Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 163–164.

[47] Lorenz (2004: 262) also links 4.6 and 4.7.

[48] For the combination of the erotic and the panegyrical, see Lorenz, 2002. The alternation between imperial and satirical epigrams in an opening sequence is also noted by Kondoyanni (1997: 80).

[49] Lorenz (2004: 263): 'They function as a sort of prologue, introducing the central themes of the book'.

It is noteworthy that **4.10** and **4.11** begin with the same word (*dum*)[50] and that in both water has a menacing intent (for the book and for Antonius Saturninus).[51] Epigram **4.11** is a serious counterpart of **4.2**, which wittily dealt with opposition to the regime. The following epigram (4.12), on a *fellatrix*, apparently breaks the series, despite the 'verbal continuity':[52] 4.11.2 *pudet*; 4.12.1 *pudet*, 4.12.2 *pudeat*. The contrasts with the following epithalamium (4.13) are remarkable.[53]

b. *Echoing pairs*

Verbal echoes between dissonant contiguous epigrams link pairs such as **4.18** and **4.19**, both set in winter, or **4.32** and **4.33**.[54] **4.20** and **4.21** are thematically unrelated, but deal with language itself: each protagonist of the former says (*dicit*) that she is the opposite of what she is, whereas the protagonist of the latter affirms (*affirmat*) that the gods do not exist.[55]

Epigrams **4.34** and **4.36**, both consisting of an elegiac couplet, deal with contrasting behaviours: Attalus' slovenliness, symbolised by his dirty toga (which is ironically said to be *nivea*), and Olus' hair dye (*nigra . . . coma*), which contrasts with his white beard (*cana . . . barba*).[56] Another interesting verbal echo is that in **4.51** (*vectus es*) and **4.52** (*gestari*).[57]

Other subtle thematic links can be perceived between contiguous epigrams: **4.25** ends with a nostalgic and unattainable wish to be free to choose where to spend old age, whereas the following epigram, **4.26**, confronts us with the awful truth of enslaving *clientela*.[58]

c. *Intricate sequences: contrast and progression*

It is not always easy to group epigrams into cycles, since they interact in different ways, forming webs. Let us focus on a sequence

[50] Equally, epigrams 4.33 and 4.34 begin with a concesive clause (*cum*): they are both mordantly satirical, but on unrelated subject-matter.

[51] For the water images of these poems, see Lorenz, 2004: 265–266.

[52] Lorenz (2004: 265), who also matches 4.12 with 4.7 and other related *negare* poems: 4.38; 4.71; 4.81.

[53] Lorenz (2004: 268) draws attention to the fact that the protagonist of this epigram, *Pudens*, echoes the *pudet* of the two preceding compositions.

[54] See Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 164–165; 2004c.

[55] Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 165.

[56] See Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 166. For the black-and-white contrast, see Lorenz (2004: 270–271), who links 4.34 with 4.2.

[57] Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 168.

[58] Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 165–166.

around the middle of the book: epigram **4.39** deals with the subject of *os impurum*, which was suggested in **4.36**, and will be overtly censured in **4.43**. The preceding epigram is a refined description of a *puer delicatus* (**4.42**), whereas this is a crude attack on passive homosexuality and oral sex. The first is written in elegiac couplets and refers to sexual behaviour by means of euphemisms; the second is written in hendecasyllabics and makes use of dysphemistic terms. Repetitions in 4.42 helped to sublimate the *puer*, but they reinforce the invective in 4.43. There is a further link between them: the Greek names of their protagonists, Amazonicus (suggesting purity) and Coracinus (suggesting depravity).[59] Epigram **4.42** has been interpreted as an elegant epitaph.[60] If so, it would relate to 4.3, on the Emperor's dead son, and to 4.18, on the accidental death of a *puer*. It also anticipates the gloomy tone of **4.44**, on the devastation of Mt. Vesuvius. A poem on death is followed by a birthday poem (**4.45**):[61] Phoebus is asked to protect Parthenius' son. The book began with a *genethliakon* for Domitian, so it is significant that the epigram right in the middle should be a birthday poem for a child of the imperial court. Wishes that the boy should enjoy a long life contrast with the menacing presence of death throughout the book (especially in the previous epigrams, 4.42 and 4.44). The invocation to Phoebus, the ideal ephebe, in 4.45, evokes the description of adolescence in 4.42: the wish that he may surpass Bromius subtly links this epigram with 4.44, since Bacchus could do nothing to save his much-beloved Vesuvius. The allusions to Diana and Daphne (4.45) convey the ideas of purity and innocence, already suggested by the names Amazonicus (4.42) and Parthenius.

After a votive epigram (4.45.1–2 *Haec tibi pro nato . . . dat . . ./ Phoebe, Palatinus munera Parthenius*), **4.46** deals with *munera*[62] of another kind: it consists of a catalogue of shoddy Saturnalian gifts. The following poem **4.47** belongs to the tradition of epigrams dealing wittily with

[59] This is ingeniously explained by Lorenz (2004: 271) by means of the black-and-white contrast.

[60] Obermayer, 1998: 47 n. 121; 58 n. 165.

[61] Both significantly begin with a demonstrative: 4.44.1 *Hic*; 4.45.1 *Haec*. The burning in 4.44.7 (*flammis*) anticipates that of the incense in 4.45.1.

[62] The term is extensively used in this book: in 4.2.2 it refers to the spectacles, which can be seen as a 'gift' from the Emperor; in 4.10.3; 4.10.6; 4.19.11; 4.88.1 it alludes to presents given during the Saturnalia. In 4.56 (and possibly in 4.61) they are far from altruistic.

the relationship between the themes depicted and the techniques or materials employed in a work of art. The poor quality of this particular painting links it with the worthless presents of the previous epigram, whereas its theme, Phaethon,[63] suggests the end it deserves, and links it with **4.49**, among whose catalogue of topics foreign to epigram the fall of Phaethon could have appeared. The aggressive tone of **4.47** continues in **4.48**, an attack on a passive homosexual[64] and **4.49**.

d. *Webs*

Epigram **4.59** forms a pair with **4.32**, inasmuch as both deal with an amber fossil, but also with **4.60**, since both reflect on a sudden unexpected death.[65] Its closing address to Cleopatra is reminiscent of **4.11**, where she was mentioned in a roundabout way (4.11.4 *Phariae coniugis*), and also of **4.22**, on a girl called Cleopatra. The final disparagement of wealth echoes the last couplet of **4.19**. Besides, 4.32 and 4.22 have remarkable lexical echoes, amber resembling water, and an extraordinary symbolic force. The deadly amber of **4.59** is evocative of the fatal icicle of **4.18**.[66]

e. *Repetition of names*

A further way of creating a sense of unity and progress is by repeating significant names at certain intervals, both of 'real' and fictitious characters, the latter normally associated with the censure of particular vices:[67] Caecilianus is the addressee of **4.15** and **4.51**; Postumus is the mean patron of **4.26** and **4.40**; Papylus appears in **4.48** and **4.69**; Bassa is the foul-smelling subject of epigrams **4.4** and **4.87**;

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[63] Phaethon is indirectly alluded to in 4.25.2 *Phaethontei conscia silva rogi*, 4.32.1 *Phaethontide . . . gutta*, and 4.59.1 *Flentibus Heliadum . . . ramis*.

[64] Cf. 4.43. Sexual invective is also the theme of 4.50 and 4.52.

[65] This juxtaposition (death of an animal/death of a human being) is also perceptible in 4.74 and 4.75: see Moreno Soldevila (2004b: 170) and Lorenz (2004: 273 n. 57).

[66] On the cycle formed by 4.22, 4.32, 4.59 (and 4.11), see Ruiz Sánchez, 1998, and Lorenz, 2004: 269.

[67] These links often go beyond the bounds of single books: for instance, *Charinus* is accused of practising oral sex in 1.77 and 4.39, and of being a *cinaedus* in 5.39 and 7.34; in 3.60 and 4.85 *Ponticus* is blamed for offering his guests food and drink of poorer quality than that which he himself is served.

epigrams **4.20** and **4.54** are addressed to Collinus; **4.5** and **4.24** to Fabianus; **4.10** and **4.57** to Faustinus; **4.42** and **4.49** to Flaccus; Galla is the protagonist of epigrams **4.38** and **4.58** and Thais of **4.12**, **4.50** and **4.84**; the name Mancinus appears both in **4.37** and **4.61**. Let us take the Afer poems as an example of how the repetition of a name influences the interpretation of a previous poem: in **4.37** Afer tortures his friends by unrelentlessly reckoning his profits without sharing them; Martial delays his revenge until **4.78**, where he reveals the debased means by which Afer earns his money.

f. *The ending of the book: recapitulation*

By the end of the book, the epigrams appear to mirror previous compositions: **4.71** goes back to 4.38; **4.72**, in which Martial refuses to offer his books as a present, contrasts with 4.10 and 4.14; **4.73** echoes 4.54 verbally and thematically; 4.74 forms a diptych with 4.35;[68] **4.75** on conjugal love recalls 4.13. There follows a series of satirical epigrams which resume themes previously dealt with: **4.76** can be linked to 4.15; **4.77** to 4.27; **4.78** to 4.5; **4.80** to 4.41; and **4.81** to 4.71.[69] In at least three of these epigrams Martial jokingly asks for economic compensation (4.76; 4.77; 4.83); the structure and themes of **4.83** echo 4.51; **4.84** is the sequel to 4.12 and 4.50, on the *fellatrix* Thais.

As was analysed above, Martial reflects again on literature in the final epigrams (**4.82**; **4.86**; **4.89**), though the Emperor is absent from the closing sequence. The antepenultimate epigram (**4.87**) forms a pair with 4.4; the second last says goodbye to the Saturnalia (**4.88**) and the last calls a halt to the book itself (**4.89**).

g. *Visual and aural variety: metre and length*

Metrical variation is essential for avoiding monotony in a long series of poems, but also for establishing further links between the poems and for endowing them with new interpretative possibilities. In the opening sequence, there is an alternation of elegiac couplets and hendecasyllables, corresponding to a variation of tones:

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[68] For epigram pairs, see Scherf, 1998: 128–129; 2001: 35–40.

[69] For epigrams involving a reaction to previous poems, see Scherf, 1998: 130; 2001: 41–42.

4.1	Domitian's birthday	elegiac couplets
4.2	a snowfall at the spectacles	hendecasyllables
4.3	a snowfall and Domitian's son	elegiac couplets
4.4	foul-smelling Bassa	hendecasyllables
4.5	living in the Urbs	elegiac couplets
4.6	an indecorous *recitator*	hendecasyllables
4.7	a non-compliant *puer*	elegiac couplets
4.8	offering of the book to Domitian	elegiac couplets

Likewise, metrical similarity between apparently unrelated contiguous (or nearby) epigrams prompts a combined interpretation, as in the case of 4.32–4.36,[70] or 4.41–4.47:

4.32	a bee fossilised in amber	2 elegiac couplets
4.33	a prolific writer	2 elegiac couplets
4.34	on a dirty, threadbare toga	1 elegiac couplet
4.35	fighting antelopes	3 elegiac couplets
4.36	on a black-haired, grey-bearded man	1 elegiac couplet

4.41	on a bad reciter	1 elegiac couplet
4.42	on a *puer delicatus*	8 elegiac couplets
4.43	on a *cunnilingus*	11 hendecasyllables
4.44	on Mt. Vesuvius	4 elegiac couplets
4.45	Burrus' birthday	4 elegiac couplets
4.46	Sabellus' boasting	19 hendecasyllables
4.47	on a bad painter	1 elegiac couplet

The longest epigrams in the collection, 4.55 (29 hendecasyllables) and 4.64 (36 hendecasyllables) also show similarity in metre and length, and are 8 epigrams apart. Both describe a place, 4.55 focusing on Martial's homeland with an assorted catalogue of place names, and 4.64 describing Julius Martialis' villa commanding a superb view over Rome. Both epigrams end with a similar *praeceptio* and the poet's confirmation of his fondness for these places: 4.55.27–29 *Haec tan rustica, delicate lector,/rides nomina? rideas licebit:/haec tan rustica* ***malo*** *quam Butuntos*; 4.64.31–36 *Vos nunc omnia parva qui putatis,/centeno gelidum lligone Tibur/vel Praeneste domate pendulamque/uni dedite colono, dum me iudice* ***praeferantur*** *istis/Iuli iugera pauca Martialis.*

[70] The same applies to 4.59–4.60 (3 elegiac couplets each).

h. *Time and space*

Time goes by as we read the book:[71] the first epigram goes back to October (4.1), but December soon arrives, with snow (4.2; 4.3), ice (4.18) and storms (4.19). Martial makes several Saturnalian presents (4.10; 4.14; 4.19), mocks a barrister who is proud of his 'harvest' of gifts (4.46), and complains at the end of the book, when the Saturnalia are over, to a 'friend' who has sent him nothing (4.88). This wintry season contrasts with a series of summer epigrams, dealing with various holiday resorts in Italy, above all Tibur and Baiae.[72] In **4.57** the poet takes his leave of Baiae and makes for cooler Tibur: it is mid-summer.[73] This series has been interpreted autobiographically: Martial is thus assumed to have spent the summer of 88 on the Bay of Naples, where he had become acquainted with Silius Italicus (4.14), admired the imperial *villae* (4.30) and been overwhelmed by the devastation of Mt. Vesuvius (4.44).[74] Epigram 4.57 is addressed to Faustinus, who apparently invited Martial to spend some time with him in Tibur.[75] Here Curiatius dies (4.60), but in addition the waters of Baiae witness an accidental death (4.63). Anywhere, at any time Death will find her course: 4.18.8 *Aut ubi non mors est, si iugulatis aquae?*; 4.60.5–6 *Nullo fata loco possis excludere: cum mors/venerit, in medio Tibure Sardinia est.*

There are other locations outside Rome:[76] the Venetian region (**4.25**), distant Hispania, recollected in a long and dazzling epigram (**4.55**), and the villa of Julius Martialis, very close to the Urbs (**4.64**). Martial overtly expresses his personal preference for these places: 4.25.7–8; 4.55.27–29; 4.64.35–36. His ideal of the idyllic country life is counterbalanced by 4.66. Its protagonist, Linus, is the opposite of the elegant and hospitable Julius Martialis. The summer (countryside) cycle ends significantly with **4.79**, a symbolic selling of a Tiburtine villa.[77]

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[71] The sensation of moving on is also metapoetically achieved: 4.81 is the reaction of a reader to a previous epigram (4.71).

[72] Scherf (1998: 131; 2001: 44) groups epigrams 4.57, 4.60, 4.62 and 4.63 as the Poems of Baiae and Tibur. Yet the series begins with 4.30 and extends to 4.79.

[73] In poems 4.57, 4.60 and 4.66 the stars mentioned (Leo and the Dog Star) contrast with those named in 4.3 and 4.11; noticeable also is the contrast between *brumas* in 4.40.5 and *aestates* in 4.66.4, both used metonymically for 'years': see Lorenz, 2004: 272 and n. 52.

[74] Friedländer, 1886: 342.

[75] Martial tells two anecdotes about his Tibur vacation (**4.62** and **4.79**).

[76] See Sullivan (1991: 155–162) for a general approach to this theme.

[77] See Lorenz, 2004: 273. More details in Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 173–174.

Attentive reading shows that Martial's books are not configured by a disorderly array of poems: their arrangement is the result of a consciously artistic willingness to create a coherent corpus of sundry elements, displayed with great care and beauty.

4. *The form of the epigrams: structure, language, metrics*

As regards the structure of epigrams,[78] they are usually bipartite.[79] Within this book, this is especially so in the case of single-couplet epigrams: 4.12; 4.34; 4.36; 4.38; 4.41; 4.47; 4.50; 4.58; 4.62; 4.68; 4.76; 4.79; 4.85. There is normally an amusing or intriguing turn at the end, marked by the use of apostrophe (4.4; 4.10; 4.16; 4.17; 4.18; 4.22; 4.26; 4.27; 4.33; 4.37; 4.39; 4.51; 4.56; 4.63; 4.69; 4.83), questions (4.1; 4.7; 4.18; 4.67; 4.70), answers to questions (4.3; 4.51; 4.53; 4.65; 4.71; 4.74; 4.77; 4.84; 4.87), and sententious statements or thoughts (4.5.10; 4.18.7–8; 4.25.7–8; 4.35.5–6; 4.49.10; 4.59.5–6; 4.60.5–6; 4.75.7–8; 4.78.9–10; 4.88.9–10). In this book, a great number of epigrams are structured round a catalogue[80] or *cumulatio* (4.5; 4.19; 4.28; 4.37; 4.39; 4.46; 4.55; 4.66; 4.78; 4.88) and end with a witty turn or a repetition or reworking of the first line or couplet (e.g. 4.64; 4.66). Cumulation of images or similes can be found in 4.4; 4.13; 4.29. It can be stated that the arrangement of elements in this kind of epigram is never haphazard. Repetition and parallelism are apparent in desiderative epigrams (4.1; 4.45). Dialogue is also prominent in this book: 4.5; 4.33; 4.40; 4.42; 4.49; 4.72; 4.80.

Martial is renowned for his wit and humour:[81] the playful nature of his work is apparent in the words he uses to describe it (*lusus, ioci, nugae, sales*), all forming part of a long-established literary tradition. His comicity often springs from antithesis, paradox (4.16; 4.34), analogy, surprise, hyperbole and, above all, irony, as well as from

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[78] See Siedschlag, 1977; Barwick, 1932; Salemme, 1976; Burnikel, 1980; Laurens, 1989.

[79] In Lessing's words, *Erwartung* and *Aufschluss*. A revision of his theory can be read in Barwick, 1958: 33–37; Citroni, 1969 and Sullivan, 1991: 222–224.

[80] La Penna, 1992a.

[81] See Sullivan, 1989a; 1991: 237–249; Holzberg, 2002: 86–97. See also Craig, 1912; Barwick, 1959: 42–48; Kuppe, 1972; Szelest, 1981; Malnati, 1984; Plass, 1985.

his use of alliteration,[82] wordplay (e.g. 4.9),[83] paronomasia (e.g. 4.67; 4.68) and significant names[84] (e.g. 4.34).

Martial's language is versatile.[85] His use of adjectives is rich and vivid, and contributes to the sensorial nature of his epigrams. Diminutives have a popular flavour and usually an ironic intention (cf. e.g. *putidula, misella*).[86] Martial plays with language and innovates: he is very fond of neologisms[87]—loan words (*endromida, harpastum*) or derivatives (*sabattaria, glabaria, infantaria*)[88]—and Hellenisms (e.g. *dipyrum, rhonchos*),[89] but in this book he also devotes a poem to the *nomina duriora* of his native Celtiberian land (4.55). Much attention has been paid to his use of sexual vocabulary,[90] inherent to the nature of epigram.[91] A more popular register[92] coexists with a learned use of literary language,[93] with perceptible echoes from Catullus, Virgil,[94] Horace, Propertius, and Ovid. This elevated style does sometimes have a satiric and parodic function (cf. e.g. 4.66).

As regards metrics,[95] the elegiac couplet is used in 64 poems[96] (71,91%), hendecasyllabics are used in 19 epigrams (21,35%), and there are six poems written in scazon or choliambic[97] metre (6,74%). The elegiac couplet is Martial's most frequently used metre.[98] It is

[82] Adamik, 1975b.
[83] Joepgen, 1967; Grewing, 1998a.
[84] Giegengack, 1969.
[85] I will only focus on lexis; for syntax, see e.g. Lease, 1898; Lowther, 1906; Stietzel, 1907. For a more detailed analysis, see Watson, 2002.
[86] Watson, 2002: 235; 239–241.
[87] Stephani, 1889. For Martial's *hapax legomena*, see Fortuny Previ, 1981–82; Sullivan, 1991: 230.
[88] Watson, 2002: 241.
[89] Adamik, 1975.
[90] Rodríguez, 1981; Fortuny Previ, 1986; 1988. See Montero Cartelle (1991a), for his tendency to end epigrams with a dysphemistic term. See also Watson, 2002: 223–231.
[91] Hallet, 1996.
[92] Watson, 2002: 231–228.
[93] Watson, 2002: 248–251.
[94] Fortuny Previ, 1984.
[95] There is a recent comprehensive study of Martial's metres: Marina Sáez, 1998. See also Luque Moreno 1987; 1991.
[96] 4.1; 4.3; 4.5; 4.7; 4.8; 4.10; 4.11; 4.12; 4.13; 4.15; 4.16; 4.18; 4.19; 4.20; 4.22; 4.24; 4.25; 4.26; 4.27; 4.29; 4.31; 4.32; 4.33; 4.34; 4.35; 4.36; 4.38; 4.40; 4.41; 4.42; 4.44; 4.45; 4.47; 4.48; 4.49; 4.51; 4.52; 4.53; 4.54; 4.56; 4.57; 4.58; 4.59; 4.60; 4.62; 4.63; 4.66; 4.67; 4.68; 4.69; 4.71; 4.72; 4.73; 4.74; 4.75; 4.76; 4.78; 4.79; 4.80; 4.82; 4.83; 4.85; 4.87; 4.88.
[97] 'A limping iambic': it consists of an iambic trimeter in which the final short syllable is replaced by a long one, thus ending in a spondaic or trochaic foot.
[98] Marina Sáez, 1998: 31–219.

used in a variety of contexts, from laudatory to satiric epigrams. Martial's use of the elegiac couplets is, in general, markedly influenced by Ovid.[99] Martial employs the hendecasyllable for a variety of contexts, usually with satiric intent (4.2; 4.4; 4.6; 4.9; 4.21; 4.28; 4.39; 4.43; 4.46; 4.50; 4.77; 4.84), but not exclusively: it is the metre of an epigram on the Imperial *vivaria* (4.30) and of four literary epigrams (4.14; 4.23; 4.86; 4.89), in all of which a witty, playful, even ironic tone—as well as a Catullan flavour—is perceptible. The two longest epigrams in the collection are also written in hendecasyllables (4.55; 4.64). Martial's hendecasyllable has a fixed form, with a spondee and a dactyl in the first and second feet. Finally, the scazon (4.17; 4.37; 4.61; 4.65; 4.70; 4.81), is used for invective (note that 4.37 and 4.61 deal with the same topic).

5. *The manuscript transmission of Martial: some issues relating to book IV*

Schneidewin (1842: c–cxxxi) demonstrated that Martial's manuscripts could be grouped into three families, whose archetypes were reconstructed by Lindsay (1903).[100]

The first family, whose archetype is traditionally called α, is represented by three *florilegia* of the ninth century:[101] ***H*** *Hauptii Vindobonensis* (*cod. lat.* 277), which does not have a single epigram from book IV (only *Sp.* 19–30, 1.3–4), ***T*** *Thuaneus Parisinus* (*lat.* 8071) and ***R*** *Vossianus Leidensis* (Q 86). The archetype was a bowdlerised edition,[102] but frequently offers a better text than the other families.[103] Manuscript ***T*** only contains thirty-nine complete epigrams from book IV (epigrams 5, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 31–35, 42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 51, 53, 56–59, 63, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80, 83, 85, 87), and fragments from eight more: 4 (1–4; 11–12), 19 (1–4; 9–12), 37 (1–2,

[99] See Wilkinson (1948) for the trisyllabic ending of the pentameter.

[100] For a fuller account of the manuscript transmission of Martial, see Lindsay, 1903; 1929; Citroni, 1975: xlv–lxxix; Reeve, 1983; Muñoz Jiménez, 1982; Moreno Soldevila-Fernández Valverde-Montero Cartelle, 2004: liv–lxi.

[101] Lindsay, 1903: 8–12; 1929: iv; Reeve, 1983: 240; Citroni, 1975: xlv–l; Muñoz Jiménez, 1982: 6–11.

[102] Montero, 1976; Mastrandea, 1996.

[103] Lindsay, 1929: ii. As in the case of ***T***: 4.4.12 mallem; 4.19.12 sindone; 4.42.1 possit; 4.42.2 rogare; 4.42.9 leviter; 4.59.2 gutta; 4.74.3 ardent.

6–10), 43 (1–3, 7–11), 61 (1–4, 7–8, 13–16), 66 (1–2, 5–12, 15–18), 78 (1–6, 9–10), 88 (1–2, 7–10). Manuscript ***R*** has even fewer epigrams, eleven complete poems from book IV (7, 10, 12, 13, 27, 36, 38, 62, 71, 73, 85), and seven fragments: 15.1–2; 16.5–6; 20.1–2; 25.7–8; 42.11–16; 78.1–4; 88.9–10.

The second family (***β***) is also known as the Gennadian, since its archetype was Torquatus Gennadius' edition of AD 401.[104] Lindsay reconstructed it, mainly form its *codex optimus*, ***L*** (*Lucensis Bibl. Reg. Berolinensis*), dating from the twelfth century.[105] Other testimonies are codices ***P*** (*Palatinus Vaticanus lat.* 1696) and ***Q*** (*Arondel.* 136 *Musei Britannici*),[106] both dating from the fifteenth century and, consequently, substantially interpolated. ***Q*** contains an epigram from the *Anthologia Latina* falsely attributed to Martial (number 89 in many humanist editions and manuscripts), which can be read as the first epigram of book V in the first family.[107] Ms ***f*** (*Mediceus* XXXV 39) also belongs to this family[108] and ***F*** (*Florentinus Mediceus* XXXV 38)[109] is also related to it. In the archetype of the second family epigrams 4.24.2–4.69.1 were transmitted as part of book I, between epigram 1.47 and 1.104.

The third family[110] or vulgata is best represented by ***E*** (*Edinburgensis Bibl. Facultatis Advocatorum*),[111] dating from the tenth century. Manuscripts ***A*** (*Vossianus Leidensis primus* [O 56]), ***X*** (*Puteanus Parisinus lat.* 8067) and ***V*** (*Vaticanus* 3294) also belong to this family. Less important testimonies are codex ***B*** (*Vossianus Leidensis* Q 121), a likely copy of ***V***; ***G*** (*Gudianus Wolfenbuttelensis* 157),[112] very closely related to ***A***; ***C*** (*Vossianus Leidensis* Q 89), saec. XIV;[113] and ***Y*** (*Mediolanensis, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* H 39), saec. XII–XIII.[114]

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[104] Lindsay, 1903: 1–7; 1929: 5–11; Reeve, 1983: 239–240; Citroni, 1975: l–lvii; Muñoz Jiménez, 1982: 12–21.

[105] See Lindsay (1901: 309–311; 1901b: 413–420), who also provides a detailed collation of *L* and *E* (1903: 65–118).

[106] Lindsay, 1900: 354–355; 1901: 44–46.

[107] See Schneidewin, 1842: 632 and Mastrandea, 1997. It is *A. L.* 26 (Riese), 13 (Shackleton Bailey).

[108] Lindsay, 1902: 48–52; Lindsay, 1929: x; Citroni, 1975: lii–liii.

[109] Lindsay, 1929: xi and Friedländer, 1886: 89; Citroni, 1975: lvi–lvii.

[110] Lindsay, 1903: 7–8; Reeve, 1983: 239; Citroni, 1975: lvii–lxvi; Muñoz Jiménez, 1982: 6–11.

[111] See n. 105.

[112] For a later date, see Citroni, 1975: lxiii.

[113] This is closely related to ***X***: see Citroni, 1975: lxiv.

[114] See Citroni, 1975: lxiv.

6. *This commentary*

Each commentary begins with a brief introduction, focusing on themes and structure and discussing general aspects of the poem, while placing it within the broader framework of Greek and Latin literature. Links with other epigrams in the collection are also discussed or suggested. Before the detailed commentary, there are suggestions for further reading. In the commentary proper, I discuss the meaning of particular lines, words, or expressions, both in isolation and in relation to the whole poem; prosopographical, topographical, and any other relevant information is provided, together with illustrative *loci similes*, as well as scholarly discussion. Where there has been controversy, my intention has been to offer and assess the different opinions. I am especially interested in language itself, in how a single word can convey multiple meanings and how Martial exploits the art of irony and implication. It is impossible, I acknowledge, to cater for all potential readers and users of a commentary, but I hope that this may be a useful tool or at least a starting point for further discussion and research.[115]

For the text, I have worked mainly from Lindsay's OCT and Shackleton Bailey's Teubner editions, but I have also taken into consideration all the editions quoted in the bibliography. As other editors have done, in the critical apparatus I generally offer the readings of the different archetypes, following Lindsay's reconstruction, but also the readings of specific manuscripts, for which I have drawn on several of Lindsay's articles and his collation of *L* and *E* (Lindsay, 1903a), as well as on my own collation of a representative of β and γ (*Q* and *X*),[116] although I am positive that these particular readings do not add anything substantial to the text itself. The same can be said of the *lemmata*: despite their spuriousness and their blatant errors, they are present in manuscripts and early editions, and give an idea of how the epigrams were understood and approached. In the commentary I discuss many of the manuscript and editorial variants,

[115] In this sense my commentary owes much to the outstanding work of previous commentators on Martial, to whom I consistently refer the reader for further information. Gregor Damschen's (Frankfurt a. M.-New York, 2004) commentary on book X has reached me too late; likewise, I have not read Javier Pizarro's unpublished dissertation on book IV (Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 2004).

[116] As well as several manuscripts in Spanish libraries, chiefly BN 10098 (Muñoz Jiménez, 1982).

especially when there has been controversy. Spelling apart,[117] these are the main differences between my text and Lindsay's and Shackleton Bailey's:

	This edition	Lindsay	Shackleton Bailey
4.1.3	aevo	aevo	aevo,
4.4.1	siccae . . . lacunae	siccae . . . lacunae	sicca . . . lacuna
4.5.3	haberi,	haberi	haberi,
4.5.4	reos,	reos	reos,
4.5.5	amici,	amici	amici,
4.5.8	Cano,	Cano	Cano,
4.7.1	Cur	Cur,	Cur,
4.7.4	es,	es	es
4.8.7	decima	decuma	decima
4.8.11	gressu timet ire	gressun metire . . .?	gressu timet ire
4.8.12	nostra Thalia	, nostra Thalia,	nostra Thalia
4.10.3	i, puer,	i puer	i puer
4.10.6	spongea—	spongea:	spongea:
4.11.10	conlatus	conlatus	collatus
4.12.1,2	Thai	Thaï	Thai
4.12.1	negas;	negas,	negas;
4.14.12	libellos:	libellos.	libellos.
4.15.2	Caeciliane	Caeciliane	Maeciliane
4.15.3	dixi.	dixi:	dixi:
4.15.6	nummos:	nummos,	nummos,
4.18.8	iugulatis,	iugulatis	iugulatis
4.19.4	endromida:	endromida:—	endromida:
4.19.8	Athan,	Athan—	Athan,
4.21.2	Segius—	Segius:	Segius:
4.22.3	amplexus,	amplexus.	amplexus.
4.22.3	latentem:	latentem;	latentem;
4.22.4	aquis.	aquis:	aquis:
4.22.8	perspicuae,	perspicuae	perspicuae
4.22.8	vetuistis,	vetuistis	vetuistis
4.23.5	Bruttiano	Brutiano	Bruttiano
4.28.7	misella:	misella:	misella!
4.29.5	amicam,	amicam	amicam,
4.31.10	semper belle	semper belle	belle semper
4.35.3	praedam	praedam,	praedam,
4.37.3	Sabinus	Sabinus	Sabellus
4.37.7	possim;	possim:	possim:

[117] I write <m> before /p/ or /b/, <u> after <v>, and capital letters after full stops.

Table (*cont.*)

	This edition	Lindsay	Shackleton Bailey
4.38.1	torquent.	torquent:	torquent:
4.40.2	domus:	domus;	domus;
4.40.3	regnis;	regnis:	regnis:
4.40.5	brumas,	brumas:	brumas:
4.42.13	et	et	nec
4.43.5	Metili;	Metili:	Metili:
4.45.3	ut	ut	ut,
4.45.3	lustro	lustro	lustro,
4.47.2	dipyrum	dipyrum	δίπυρον
4.52.2	eras . . . eris	eras . . . eris	erat . . . erit
4.53.8	Cosme.	Cosme:	Cosme:
4.54.10	secat	negat	secat
4.55.3	disertis,	disertis:	disertis:
4.55.7	palaestras;	palaestras:	palaestras:
4.55.16	Tutelamque	tutelamque	Tutelamque
4.55.21	Turasiaeque	Perusiaeque	Turasiaeque
4.55.29	licebit:	licebit,	licebit,
4.58.2	non	nam	non
4.59.2	gutta	gemma	gutta
4.59.2	feram.	feram:	feram:
4.61.14	tandem,	tandem.	tandem.
4.64.3	recumbunt.	recumbunt:	recumbunt.
4.64.4	Lati	lati	alti
4.64.8	peculiari:	peculiari:	peculiari;
4.64.16	virgineo cruore	virgineo cruore	†virgineo cruore†
4.64.26	putabis;	putabis	putabis,
4.64.28	hospitalitate,	hospitalitate:	hospitalitate.
4.64.30	aut,	aut	aut
4.64.30	divitis,	divitis	divitis
4.66.17	decies	decies,	decies,
4.67.5	ait:	ait	ait
4.67.7	arcae!	arcae.	arcae.
4.71.1	urbem	urbem,	urbem,
4.71.4	liceat,	liceat:	liceat,
4.71.5	Sunt castae	Sunt castae	Castae sunt
4.72.2	habeo,	habeo	habeo,
4.73.3	sorores	sorores,	sorores
4.75.7	melius,	melius:	melius:
4.77.4	causa est	causast	causa est
4.78.4	‘have’	Have	‘have’
4.80.5	erras:	erras;	erras;
4.83.2	melius:	melius.	melius.
4.83.4	homo est;	homo est:	homo est.
4.89.8	dicit:	dicit	dicit

In order to avoid the need to explain minor points, I offer a translation. It is basically a tool for a better understanding of the Latin text and is not meant to carry any artistic value, given that English is not my native language. I owe an invaluable debt to the Loeb translations by Ker and the late Prof. Shackleton Bailey. For references to ancient authors and works, the abbreviations of the OLD and LSJ are used; when citing passages of Martial, the abbreviation (Mart.) is only used when it is necessary to avoid confusion; editions, commentaries and translations are often cited by the author's last name only, whereas works of modern scholarship are cited by last name and year of publication. The bibliography at the end of the volume is not a complete survey of the bibliography for Martial: it comprises only the works cited in this commentary.

SIGLA

α = Archetypum codicum TR
β = Archetypum codicum LPQf
γ = Archetypum codicum *EXAVBG*
A = Vossianus Leidensis primus (O 56), saec. XI
B = Vossianus Leidensis secundus (Q 121), saec. XII
E = Edinburgensis Bibliothecae Facultatis Advocatorum, saec. X in.
f = Florentinus chartaceus Bibliothecae Laurentianae (XXXV 39), saec. XV
F = Florentinus membranaceus Bibliothecae Laurentianae (XXXV 38), saec. XV
G = Gudianus Wolfenbuttelensis (157), saec. XII
L = Lucensis Bibliothecae Regiae Berolinensis (612), saec. XII
P = Palatinus Vaticanus (1696), saec. XV
Q = Arondellianus 136 Bibliothecae Britannicae (olim Musei Britannici), saec. XV
R = Vossianus Leidensis (Q 86), saec. IX
T = Thuaneus Parisinus (8071), saec. IX–X
V = Vaticanus (3294), saec. X
X = Puteanus Parisinus (8067), saec. X
z = Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis (10.098), saec. XV
ς = Italorum libri recentes (etiam impressi) quorum lectiones pro coniecturis sunt habendae

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

M. VAL. MARTIALIS EPIGRAMMATON LIBER IV

1

Caesaris alma dies et luce sacratior illa
conscia Dictaeum qua tulit Ida Iovem,
longa, precor, Pylioque veni numerosior aevo
semper et hoc vultu vel meliore nite.
Hic colat Albano Tritonida multus in auro
perque manus tantas plurima quercus eat;
hic colat ingenti redeuntia saecula lustro
et quae Romuleus sacra Tarentos habet.
Magna quidem, superi, petimus, sed debita terris:
pro tanto quae sunt improba vota deo?

2

Spectabat modo solus inter omnes
nigris munus Horatius lacernis,
cum plebs et minor ordo maximusque
sancto cum duce candidus sederet.
Toto nix cecidit repente caelo:
albis spectat Horatius lacernis.

3

Aspice quam densum tacitarum vellus aquarum
defluat in vultus Caesaris inque sinus.
Indulget tamen ille Iovi, nec vertice moto
concretas pigro frigore ridet aquas,
sidus Hyperborei solitus lassare Bootae
et madidis Helicen dissimulare comis.
Quis siccis lascivit aquis et ab aethere ludit?
Suspicor has pueri Caesaris esse nives.

---

1 DE NATALI DOMITIANI ς : AD CAESAREM X Q L E V
3 aevo β : aevi γ • 5 cultus *in margine* Q • 8 Terentus *Schneidewin*[1] • 9 sed β : et γ

2 DE HORATIO X L E : DE ORATIO V
1 modo β : modos γ • omnis z • 2 minus Q *a. c.*

3 DE CAESARE ET NIVIBVS X Q V E : DE CESARE ET NVBIBVS L : DE CAESARE z
1 bellus X *a. c.* • 3 moto γ : muto β : multo Q • 5 hyperborei (hip-) β : hyperboreis γ • 7 quis z *Gryphius edd.* : qui *codd.* *Schneidewin*[1]

MARTIAL, EPIGRAMS, BOOK IV

1

Caesar's birthday, more sacred than that morning
on which Mount Ida secretly delivered Jupiter Dictaeus,
come and last long, I pray, come in greater number than the Pylian's
[years,
and shine forever with this or an even fairer countenance.
May he oft honour the Tritonian goddess with Alban gold,
may abundant oak garlands pass through those mighty hands;
may he celebrate the centuries as they come round after an immense
[interval,
as well as the rituals carried out in Romulean Tarentos.
I am asking, gods of the heavens above, for much, yet the earth
[deserves it:
for so great a god, what prayers are immoderate?

2

Not long ago Horatius was the only one
to watch the spectacles dressed in a black cloak,
whereas the common people, the equestrian and the senatorial orders
sat clad in white together with our blessed sovereign.
Suddenly, all over fell snow from the sky:
now Horatius watches the spectacles in a white cloak.

3

Contemplate what a dense fleece of silent waters
flows down onto Caesar's countenance and bosom.
Yet he indulges Jupiter and, without moving his head,
he laughs at the waters congealed by the numbing cold,
for he is accustomed to wearying the Hyperborean Bootes
and to ignoring Helice with drenched locks.
Who is playing with dry waters and amusing himself from the heavens?
I have a feeling that this snowfall is sent by Caesar's child.

4

Quod siccae redolet palus lacunae,
crudarum nebulae quod Albularum,
piscinae vetus aura quod marinae,
quod pressa piger hircus in capella,
lassi vardaicus quod evocati,
quod bis murice vellus inquinatum,
quod ieiunia sabbatariarum,
maestorum quod anhelitus reorum,
quod spurcae moriens lucerna Ledae,
quod ceromata faece de Sabina,
quod vulpis fuga, viperae cubile,
mallem quam quod oles olere, Bassa.

5

Vir bonus et pauper linguaque et pectore verus,
quid tibi vis urbem qui, Fabiane, petis?
Qui nec leno potes nec comissator haberi,
nec pavidos tristi voce citare reos,
nec potes uxorem cari corrumpere amici,
nec potes algentes arrigere ad vetulas,
vendere nec vanos circa Palatia fumos,
plaudere nec Cano, plaudere nec Glaphyro:
unde miser vives? 'Homo certus, fidus amicus—'
Hoc nihil est: numquam sic Philomelus eris.

---

4 AD BASSAM X Q L E
1 siccae . . . lacunae β γ : sica . . . lacunae T : sicca . . . lacuna *Shackleton Bailey* • palus β : paulus T : thalus γ • 5 bardaicus Q *p. c.* : bardiacus z : bardaici os ς *et in margine* Q • 7 sabbatatiorum P : sabatariorum ς • 12 mallem T : malles β γ

5 AD FABIANVM X L Q E V
1 bonus T β : vanus γ • verus T β : versus γ • vanus pauper X • 5 pavidos tristi T β : pavido stricti γ • 7 circa β γ : circum T • 8 Cano β γ : Plano T • 9–10 *in margine* Q • 9 certus . . . fidus T *edd.* : fidus . . . certus β γ • 10 Philomelus β : Philomeus T : Philomerus γ

4

The stench of the mud of a dry pool,
of the fumes of acrid Albulae,
of the stale whiff from a salt-water fishpond,
of a lazy billy-goat mounting a she-goat,
of the boot of a weary veteran,
of a fleece twice stained in purple dye,
of the breath of fasting female Sabbath-worshippers,
of the sighs of dejected defendants,
of dirty Leda’s fading lamp,
of ointments made of Sabine dregs,
of a fox’s den or a viper’s nest,
I’d rather smell of any of these, Bassa, than the way you smell.

5

A good, poor man, of truthful tongue and heart,
what are you after, Fabianus, in coming to town?
You cannot act as a pimp, or reveller,
nor summon anxious defendants with your fearsome voice;
you cannot debauch a good friend’s wife,
nor get a hard-on with cold hags,
nor sell vain expectations around the Palace,
nor applaud Canus, nor applaud Glaphyrus.
What will you do for a living, poor thing?—‘An upright man, a loyal
[friend . . .’
That amounts to nothing: that way you will never become a
[Philomelus.

6

Credi virgine castior pudica
et frontis tenerae cupis videri,
cum sis improbior, Malisiane,
quam qui compositos metro Tibulli
in Stellae recitat domo libellos.

7

Cur here quod dederas, hodie, puer Hylle, negasti,
durus tam subito qui modo mitis eras?
Sed iam causaris barbamque annosque pilosque.
O nox quam longa es, quae facis una senem!
Quid nos derides? Here qui puer, Hylle, fuisti,
dic nobis, hodie qua ratione vir es?

8

Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora,
exercet raucos tertia causidicos,
in quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit,
sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palaestris,
imperat extructos frangere nona toros:
hora libellorum decima est, Eupheme, meorum,
temperat ambrosias cum tua cura dapes
et bonus aetherio laxatur nectare Caesar
ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: gressu timet ire licenti
ad matutinum nostra Thalia Iovem.

---

6 AD MALISIANVM L E V Q X
post VII coll. Q
1 castior β : castiore γ • 2 tenerae β : teneri γ • 3 massiliane ς

7 AD HYLLVM L E Q
1 puer Hylle] pure Q *a. c.* • 2 qui R β : quid γ • 3 barbamque β γ : barbam R • 5 qui] quid X

8 AD EVFEMVM DE HORIS L Q : AD EVFEMVM DE HORIS NOMINANDIS E V Q
1 conterit γ : continet β *Friedländer* • 4 erit β : erat γ • 6 ex(s)tructos γ : excelsos β • 7 hora] nota Q • 9 lassatur Q[1] • 11 Gressu timet ire ς, Q *p. c.* : gressum metire β γ : gressu metire P f • licenter z • 12 matutinum γ : matutinos β • Talia nostra Q

6

You want to be thought more chaste
than a virtuous maiden, and have
an innocent appearance, yet you are
more shameless, Malisianus, than the one who in Stella's home
recites books composed in Tibullus' metre.

7

Why have you refused me today, Hyllus my boy, what you granted [me yesterday,
suddenly so reluctant, when you were not long ago compliant?
But now you adduce your beard, years, and hair.
One single night, how long you are to make a man old!
Why are you laughing at me? You, Hyllus, who were a boy yesterday,
tell me, how can you be a man today?

8

The first and second hours of the day exhaust callers,
the third tires out hoarse barristers,
until the fifth Rome extends its various activities,
the sixth will give rest to the weary, the seventh put an end to it.
From the eighth to the ninth is enough for the oily wrestling-places,
the ninth commands us to crush piled up couches,
the tenth is the time for my books, Euphemus,
when you carefully prepare divine banquets
and good Caesar relaxes with heavenly nectar,
holding moderate cups in his mighty hand.
Then, let my jokes in: my Thalia does not dare
approach a morning Jupiter with her wanton stride.

9

Sotae filia clinici, Labulla,
deserto sequeris Clytum marito
et donas et amas: ἔχεις ἀσώτως.

10

Dum novus est nec adhuc rasa mihi fronte libellus,
pagina dum tangi non bene sicca timet,
i, puer, et caro perfer leve munus amico
qui meruit nugas primus habere meas.
Curre, sed instructus: comitetur Punica librum
spongea—muneribus convenit illa meis.
Non possunt nostros multae, Faustine, liturae
emendare iocos: una litura potest.

11

Dum nimium vano tumefactus nomine gaudes
et Saturninum te, miser, esse pudet,
impia Parrhasia movisti bella sub ursa,
qualia qui Phariae coniugis arma tulit.
Exciderathe adeo fatum tibi nominis huius,
obruit Actiaci quod gravis ira freti?
An tibi promisit Rhenus quod non dedit illi
Nilus, et Arctois plus licuisset aquis?
Ille etiam nostris Antonius occidit armis,
qui tibi conlatus, perfide, Caesar erat.

---

9 AD FABVLLAM E V X : AD BVLLAM L Q : IN LABVLLAM ς
1 Clinici γ : Clunici β (L) • Labulla γ : Bulla β : Fabulla *Scriverius Schneidewin* • 2 deserto β : desertos γ *ut vid.*

10 AD FAVSTINVM L E V Q X
1 nec adhuc rasa mihi β (mihi rasa Q) : et adhuc rasa mihi γ : rasa nec adhuc mihi R *Schneidewin²* : et adhuc crassa mihi *Schneidewin¹* • 3 i β γ : in R • prefer Q • amico] amori Q

11 AD SATVRNINVM E V X : AD CAESAREM Q¹
2 miser esse pudet β : pudet esse miser γ *Gilbert* • 5 fatum γ : factum L Q¹ (*et fort.* β)

9

Labulla, doctor Sotas' daughter,
you abandoned your husband and now pursue Clytus,
you give him presents and love him: you have an incurable malady.

10

Whilst my little book is still new, the edges not yet pumiced,
while the page, not yet dry, is afraid to be touched,
go, boy, and take this humble gift to a dear friend
who deserved to be the first to have my trifles.
Hurry up, but go furnished: let a Punic sponge
accompany the book—it is suitable for my present.
Many erasures cannot emend my jokes, Faustinus,
but one erasure can.

11

Puffed-up and excessively happy with your vain name
and ashamed, wretched man, to be Saturninus,
you provoked impious war beneath the Parrhasian Bear
just like the one who brandished the weapons of his Pharian wife.
Had you so forgotten the fate of that name,
which the formidable wrath of the Actian sea overwhelmed?
Or did the Rhine promise you what the Nile did not
give him, and should more licence have been granted to the Arctic [waters?
Even the other Antony succumbed to our weapons,
when, compared to you, traitor, he was a Caesar.

12

Nulli, Thai, negas; sed si te non pudet istud,
hoc saltem pudeat, Thai, negare nihil.

13

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit Peregrina Pudenti:
macte esto taedis, o Hymenaee, tuis.
Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo,
Massica Theseis tam bene vina favis;
nec melius teneris iunguntur vitibus ulmi,
nec plus lotos aquas, litora myrtus amat.
Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto,
tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo:
diligat illa senem quondam, sed et ipsa marito
tum quoque, cum fuerit, non videatur anus.

14

Sili, Castalidum decus sororum,
qui periuria barbari furoris
ingenti premis ore perfidosque
astus Hannibalis levisque Poenos
magnis cedere cogis Africanis:
paulum seposita severitate,
dum blanda vagus alea December
incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillis
et ludit tropa nequiore talo,
nostris otia commoda Camenis,

---

12 AD THAIDEM L E V Q
1 negas R β : negat γ • 2 saltim *Schneidewin*[2]

13 AD RVFVM L E Q X
post 14 colloc. γ
1 Claudia γ : Cladia R *a. c.* (et fort. α *[Lindsay]*) : Glaudia *ut vid. (Lindsay)* β • nubit R γ : nupsit β • Pudenti R β : parenti γ • 2 esto β γ : ades R • o *om.* β • 3 suo] Syro *Schmieder (at cf. Ov. Am. 2.5.37)* • 4 tam β γ : quam R • 6 lotos R γ : latos β • 9 diligat R γ : diligam β • ipsa marito β : illa m- γ *Schneidewin*[1] : ipse m- R marito α γ : maritum β

14 AD SILVM L E X
2 barbari γ : punici ς : barbaris β • 4 astus β : fastus γ Q *Schneidewin*[1] • poenos β : plenos γ • 5 cedere cogis β : cede ne cogit γ • 7 vagus γ : vagus piger *(ex glossa)* β • 9 tropa *Brodaeus* : popa β : rota γ : pompa z

12

You refuse no one, Thais, but if you are not ashamed of that,
at least be ashamed of this, Thais: that you refuse nothing.

13

Claudia Peregrina, Rufus, is marrying my dear Pudens:
blessed be you, Hymenaeus, and your torches!
So good is the mixing of exotic cinnamon with its nard,
so good is the mixing of Massic wines with Athenian honey;
elm trees are not better joined with tender vines,
nor does the lotus love better the waters, or the myrtle the shores.
Reside perpetually in their bed, resplendent Concordia,
and let Venus always be propitious to such a well-matched [couple.
May she love him when he grows old, and may she not seem
aged to her husband, even when she is.

14

Silius, pride and joy of the Castalian sisters,
you who overcome the perjuries of barbarian madness
and Hannibal's treacherous deceits
with your powerful voice, and force fickle Carthaginians
to surrender to the great Africani:
lay aside your severity for a while,
and, when trouble-free December with seductive dice
resounds everywhere with hazardous dice-shakers
and *tropa* plays with more roguish knucklebones,
make some leisure time for my Muses

nec torva lege fronte, sed remissa
lascivis madidos iocis libellos:
sic forsan tener ausus est Catullus
magno mittere Passerem Maroni.

15

Mille tibi nummos hesterna luce roganti
   in sex aut septem, Caeciliane, dies
'non habeo' dixi. Sed tu causatus amici
   adventum lancem paucaque vasa rogas.
Stultus es? An stultum me credis, amice? Negavi
   mille tibi nummos: milia quinque dabo?

16

Privignum non esse tuae te, Galle, novercae
   rumor erat, coniunx dum fuit illa patris.
Non tamen hoc poterat vivo genitore probari.
   Iam nusquam pater est, Galle, noverca domi est.
Magnus ab infernis revocetur Tullius umbris
   et te defendat Regulus ipse licet,
non potes absolvi: nam quae non desinit esse
   post patrem, numquam, Galle, noverca fuit.

17

Facere in Lyciscam, Paule, me iubes versus,
quibus illa lectis rubeat et sit irata.
O Paule, malus es: irrumare vis solus.

---

14 14 passerem *Schneidewin* • Maroni γ : marino β

15 AD CECILIANVM L E Q X
1 hesterna α β : externa γ • 2 C(a)eciliane α A β : Maeciliane E *Shackleton Bailey (etiam in 9.70.6; cf. 1.73.2)* : meciciliane (caecil- *in lemm.*) γ

16 AD GALLVM L E
2 erat T β : erit γ *(sed* erat *EAB^{2}G)*

17 AD PAVLVM Q X

and, not frowning but relaxed,
read my little books steeped in wanton jokes:
Perhaps this way tender Catullus dared
to send his ‘Sparrow’ to great Virgil.

15

When yesterday you asked me for one thousand sesterces
just for six or seven days, Caecilianus,
I replied: ‘I don’t have it’, but you, on the pretext of
a friend’s visit, now ask me for a dish and a few vessels.
Are you a fool? Or do you take me for a fool, my friend?
I refused you one thousand, am I going to give you five?

16

Rumour had it that you were not your stepmother’s
stepson while she was married to your father, Gallus.
Yet this could not be proved when he was alive.
Now he has departed, Gallus, but your stepmother is still at home.
Though great Tullius be summoned from the infernal shades,
though Regulus in the flesh defend you,
you cannot be acquitted: a woman who does not cease to be your
[‘stepmother’
after your father’s death never was one.

17

You tell me to make up some verses against Lycisca, Paulus,
so that she will blush and get furious when she reads them.
O Paulus, you are evil: you want her to suck only your own.

18

Qua vicina pluit Vipsanis porta columnis
et madet adsiduo lubricus imbre lapis,
in iugulum pueri, qui roscida tecta subibat,
decidit hiberno praegravis unda gelu:
cumque peregisset miseri crudelia fata,
tabuit in calido vulnere mucro tener.
Quid non saeva sibi voluit Fortuna licere?
Aut ubi non mors est, si iugulatis, aquae?

19

Hanc tibi Sequanicae pinguem textricis alumnam,
quae Lacedaemonium barbara nomen habet,
sordida, sed gelido non aspernanda Decembri
dona, peregrinam mittimus endromida:
seu lentum ceroma teris tepidumve trigona
sive harpasta manu pulverulenta rapis,
plumea seu laxi partiris pondera follis
sive levem cursu vincere quaeris Athan,
ne madidos intret penetrabile frigus in artus
neve gravis subita te premat Iris aqua.
Ridebis ventos hoc munere tectus et imbris
nec sic in Tyria sindone tutus eris.

20

Dicit se vetulam, cum sit Caerellia pupa:
pupam se dicit Gellia, cum sit anus.
Ferre nec hanc possis, possis, Colline, nec illam:
altera ridicula est, altera putidula.

---

18 DE PVERO STILLICIDIO IVGVLATO L E X Q
1 porta T β : sporta γ • 2 madet T β : manet γ • 3 templa ς

19 AD DROMEDAM L Q : *om.* E X
1 hanc . . . alumnam T β : hac alumna γ • 4 endromedam T Q : -meda β : -mia γ : -midam F *Schneidewin*[2] *Gilbert* • 5 trepidum Q • 8 sive levem β : si levem γ • cursu β : fors γ *(forsan* B G[2] *Schneidewin*[1]*)* • 12 sindone T : sidone β γ • tutus T β : cultus γ

20 AD COLLINVM L E X : AD COLINVM Q
ante XVIII coll. Q
2 Gallia α *et a. c.* z : Gellia β γ

18

Where the gate close to the Vipsanian columns
drips and the stone is wet and slippery because of the constant
[rain,
the throat of a boy, who was passing under the dewy arch,
was pierced by a falling mass of winter ice.
As soon as it had wrought the poor wretch's cruel fate,
the fragile sword melted in his warm wound.
Is there anything that cruel Fortune does not allow herself?
Or where is Death not present, if you, waters, can slit throats?

19

This thick nursling of a Gallic weaver,
which, though barbarian, has a Lacedaemonian name,
an uncouth gift, but not to be disdained in chilly winter,
I send you: an imported *endromis*.
Whether you wear down the muddy wrestling ring or the warm
[*trigon* ball
or catch the dusty *harpastum* with your hand,
whether you toss the feathery weight of a soft ball,
or attempt to defeat swift Atha in a race,
it won't let biting cold chill your wet body,
nor heavy Iris overwhelm you with sudden rain.
Covered by this gift, you will scorn the winds and showers,
and will not be so safely clad in Tyrian muslin.

20

Caerellia claims to be old, although she is a doll,
Gellia claims to be a doll, although she is an old woman.
You could not stand either of them, Collinus:
one is ridiculous, the other repulsive.

21

Nullos esse deos, inane caelum
affirmat Segius—probatque, quod se
factum, dum negat haec, videt beatum.

22

Primos passa toros et adhuc placanda marito
  merserat in nitidos se Cleopatra lacus,
dum fugit amplexus, sed prodidit unda latentem:
  lucebat, totis cum tegeretur aquis.
Condita sic puro numerantur lilia vitro,
  sic prohibet tenuis gemma latere rosas.
Insilui mersusque vadis luctantia carpsi
  basia: perspicuae, plus vetuistis, aquae.

23

Dum tu lenta nimis diuque quaeris
quis primus tibi quisve sit secundus
Graium quos epigramma comparavit,
palmam Callimachus, Thalia, de se
facundo dedit ipse Bruttiano.
Qui si Cecropio satur lepore
Romanae sale luserit Minervae,
illi me facias, precor, secundum.

24

Omnes quas habuit, Fabiane, Lycoris amicas
  extulit: uxori fiat amica meae.

---

21 DE SEGIO *L E Q X*
2 Selius *ed. Ferr. Lemaire Schneidewin*[1] : Celius ς • 3 hoc *Q P F* • negat] videt *Q*

22 DE CLEOPATRA L E Q : DE CLEOPATRA VXORE ς
2 nitidos] virides Q • 5 condita β γ : candida T Q *Scriverius* • 6 tenuis A V : tenues T β E X • 7 insilui T γ : in silvis β • 8 perspicuae β γ : perspicuo T

23 DE BRVTTIANO L E X : DE BRVTRIANO Q[1] : AD THALIAM ς
3 Graium quos *Koestlin* : gratumque *codd.* : gratum quisve Q[2] • comparavit β : comparabit γ : compararit *Schneidewin*[2] • 5 ipse β : ipsa γ • Bruttiano β, γ *lemm., Heraeus* : Brutiano γ • 6 si γ : sic β • 7 sale β : sales γ • Roma scole luseris Q[1] • 8 facias β : facis γ

24 AD FABIANVM L E Q X
2 uxori T γ : -is β

21

‘The gods do not exist, the sky is empty’,
claims Segius, and he proves it
for, while making these denials, he sees himself become rich.

22

After having her first taste of the bridal bed, and yet to be reconciled [with her husband,
Cleopatra had plunged into a gleaming lake,
fleeing from his embrace, but the wave betrayed her hiding-place:
she was shining, though totally covered by the waters.
Thus one can count some lilies enclosed in a clear glass,
thus delicate crystal never lets roses hide.
I jumped in, and, diving into the depths I stole reluctant
kisses: you, translucent waters, forbade more!

23

While it takes you, indecisive Thalia, too long to resolve
which of the poets whom Greek epigram
has made evenly matched rivals will be the first and
which the second, Callimachus himself
has given the palm to eloquent Bruttianus.
If, satiated with Cecropian charm,
he ever plays with the salt of Roman Minerva,
please make me second to him.

24

Lycoris has buried, Fabianus, all the friends
she had: let her make friends with my wife.

25

Aemula Baianis Altini litora villis
   et Phaethontei conscia silva rogi,
quaeque Antenoreo Dryadum pulcherrima Fauno
   nupsit ad Euganeos Sola puella lacus,
et tu, Ledaeo felix Aquileia Timavo,
   hic ubi septenas Cyllarus hausit aquas:
vos eritis nostrae requies portusque senectae,
   si iuris fuerint otia nostra sui.

26

Quod te mane domi toto non vidimus anno,
   vis dicam quantum, Postume, perdiderim?
Tricenos, puto, bis, vicenos ter, puto, nummos.
   Ignosces: togulam, Postume, pluris emo.

27

Saepe meos laudare soles, Auguste, libellos.
   Invidus ecce negat: num minus ergo soles?
Quid quod honorato non sola voce dedisti
   non alius poterat quae dare dona mihi?
Ecce iterum nigros corrodit lividus ungues.
   Da, Caesar, tanto tu magis, ut doleat.

28

Donasti tenero, Chloe, Luperco
Hispanas Tyriasque coccinasque,

---

25 AD LOCA OPTATA z : AD AQVILEIAM L E Q X
1 Altini T γ : Altine β • 2 Phaethontei conscia T β : et Phaeton et conscientia γ • 5 Ledeio Q • Aquilei X • 6 hausit β : haurit (aur- T) T γ : ausit Q z • 7 portus requiesque P Q

26 AD POSTVMVM L E Q X
2 quantum] *om.* T • 3 vicenos T β : denos γ : vel denos *Shackleton Bailey* • 4 ignoscen T

27 AD AVGVSTVM L E Q X
2 num β γ : non Q : non *(ex no)* R : cui z • negat] rogat Q • soles] faves ς • 3 quid quod β γ : quidquid R • honorato non] honoratum me Q *a. c.* • 5 corrodit β γ : conrodet R

28 AD CHLOEM Q L : AD CLOEN E X
1 Luparcus Q

25

O beaches of Altinum that rival the villas of Baiae,
and forest that witnessed Phaethon's pyre,
and the most beautiful of the Dryades, the maiden Sola, who married
Antenorian Faunus near the Euganean lakes,
and you, Aquileia, happy in the Ledaean Timavus,
where Cyllarus drank from sevenfold waters:
you will be a retreat and haven in my old age,
should my retirement be in my own hands.

26

I have not visited you in the morning for a whole year:
shall I tell you, Postumus, how much I have lost?
Twice thirty sesterces, I reckon, or thrice twenty.
You will forgive me: a cheap toga, Postumus, costs me more.

27

You often praise my little books, Augustus,
but an envious man denies it: do you praise them any less for that?
What about the honours you gave me, not only verbally,
gifts which no one else could have given?
Look, green with envy he bites his black nails again.
Give me more, Caesar, to make him suffer all the more.

28

Chloe, you have given tender Lupercus
Hispanic, Tyrian, and scarlet cloaks,

et lotam tepido togam Galaeso,
Indos sardonychas, Scythas zmaragdos,
et centum dominos novae monetae:
et quidquid petit usque et usque donas.
Vae glabraria, vae tibi misella:
nudam te statuet tuus Lupercus.

29

Obstat, care Pudens, nostris sua turba libellis
lectoremque frequens lassat et implet opus.
Rara iuvant: primis sic maior gratia pomis,
hibernae pretium sic meruere rosae;
sic spoliatricem commendat fastus amicam,
ianua nec iuvenem semper aperta tenet.
Saepius in libro numeratur Persius uno
quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide.
Tu quoque de nostris releges quemcumque libellis
esse puta solum: sic tibi pluris erit.

30

Baiano procul a lacu, monemus,
piscator, fuge, ne nocens recedas.
Sacris piscibus hae natantur undae,
qui norunt dominum manumque lambunt
illam qua nihil est in orbe maius.
Quid quod nomen habent et ad magistri
vocem quisque sui venit citatus?
Hoc quondam Libys impius profundo,
dum praedam calamo tremente ducit,
raptis luminibus repente caecus

---

28 3 lotam tepido togam γ : totam lepido totam β • 5 numeros ς, Q *in margine* • 8 nudam β : nudum γ

29 AD PVDENTEM L E Q X
2 opus γ : opes β • 3 iuvant γ : pudent β • 5 faustus Q • 6 semper] nuper Q[1] • 7 numeratur] memoratur ς • 8 lenis Q • Marsus β : Marcus γ • 10 puta γ : putas β

30 AD PISCATOREM L E Q X
1 monemus β : recede γ *Schneidewin* • 3 enatantur X • 6 quid quod β : quidquid γ • 8 impius β : imipus γ • 10 tremente] renuentem Q *a. c.*

and a toga washed in the warm Galaesus,
Indian sardonyxes, Scythian emeralds,
and one hundred newly minted sovereigns,
and whatever he asks for you give him again and again.
Poor you, lover of smooth men, poor wretch,
your Lupercus will strip you bare.

29

Their sheer quantity, dear Pudens, is a drawback for my books,
  and their frequent appearance tires and satiates the reader.
Rare things are pleasant: thus the first fruits are more delightful,
  thus winter roses deserve their high price;
thus disdain makes more attractive a rapacious mistress,
  and an ever open door does not hold a young man.
In just one book Persius achieved more
  than light-hearted Marsus in his whole *Amazoniad*.
Similarly, read again any of my books and imagine it is
  the only one: it will be more highly valued by you.

30

Flee from the pond of Baiae, I warn you,
fisherman, if you do not want to leave guilty.
Sacred fish swim in these waters;
they know their master and lick his hand,
greater than which there is nothing in the world.
And what about their having names and
coming to their keeper when he summons each of them?
In this lake once an impious Lybian,
while he was pulling in his catch with shaking rod,
lost his sight and suddenly went blind,

captum non potuit videre piscem,
et nunc sacrilegos perosus hamos
Baianos sedet ad lacus rogator.
At tu, dum potes, innocens recede
iactis simplicibus cibis in undas,
et pisces venerare delicatos.

31

Quod cupis in nostris dicique legique libellis
  et nonnullus honos creditur iste tibi,
ne valeam si non res est gratissima nobis
  et volo te chartis inseruisse meis.
Sed tu nomen habes averso fonte sororum
  impositum, mater quod tibi dura dedit;
quod nec Melpomene, quod nec Polyhymnia possit
  nec pia cum Phoebo dicere Calliope.
Ergo aliquod gratum Musis tibi nomen adopta:
  non semper belle dicitur 'Hippodame'.

32

Et latet et lucet Phaethontide condita gutta,
  ut videatur apis nectare clusa suo.
Dignum tantorum pretium tulit illa laborum:
  credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori.

33

Plena laboratis habeas cum scrinia libris,
  emittis quare, Sosibiane, nihil?
'Edent heredes' inquis 'mea carmina'. Quando?
  Tempus erat iam te, Sosibiane, legi.

---

30 12 perosus β : perosos γ • 13 rogator β : rogatur γ • 15 simpliciter z • 16 bene rare X • dedicatos ς, Q *in margine*

31 AD HIPPODAMVM L E X : AD HYPPODAMVM Q : AD QVENDAM HYPPODAMVM z
1 dicique] -que *om.* Q • 2 iste T : esse β γ • 5 aversum Q *in margine* • fonte T β : fronte γ • 6 tibi T β : sibi γ • 9 adopta T β : ad opus γ • 10 belle β γ : bella T • belle semper *Shackleton Bailey* • ippodame T : hippodamus (hy-) β γ

32 DE APE GVTTA ARBORIS INCLVSA L E Q X : DE API SVCCINO INCLVSA z
3 dignorum Q[1] • laborum (-ri X) T γ : malorum β

33 AD SOSIBIANVM L E Q X
3 mea T β : me γ

and could no longer see the fish he had captured;
now he curses the sacrilegious hooks
and sits by the pond of Baiae as a beggar.
But you, before it is too late, leave guiltless,
throw inoffensive food into the waters
and venerate these pet fish.

31

You wish to be mentioned and read in my books
   and you consider it a great honour;
I'll be damned if it is not most agreeable to me
   and if I am not willing to include you in my pages.
But you were named by your insensitive mother
   without the approval of the sisters' fountain,
a name which neither Melpomene, nor Polyhymnia,
   nor upright Calliope with the help of Phoebus could pronounce.
Therefore, take any other name pleasing to the Muses:
   it does not always sound good to say 'Hippodame'.

32

A bee both hides and shines, buried in a Phaethontean drop,
   so that she seems to be enclosed in her own nectar.
She has got a worthy reward for her harsh labours:
   one might believe that she herself had wished to die like that.

33

Since you have bookcases crammed with laborious books,
   why don't you produce anything, Sosibianus?
'My heirs will publish my poems', you say. But when?
   It is high time that you were read, Sosibianus.

34

Sordida cum tibi sit, verum tamen, Attale, dicit
quisquis te niveam dicit habere togam.

35

Frontibus adversis molles concurrere dammas
vidimus et fati sorte iacere pari.
Spectavere canes praedam stupuitque superbus
venator cultro nil superesse suo.
Vnde leves animi tanto caluere furore?
Sic pugnant tauri, sic cecidere viri.

36

Cana est barba tibi, nigra est coma: tinguere barbam
non potes—haec causa est—et potes, Ole, comam.

37

'Centum Coranus et ducenta Mancinus,
trecenta debet Titius, hoc bis Albinus,
decies Sabinus alterumque Serranus;
ex insulis fundisque tricies soldum,
ex pecore redeunt ter ducena Parmensi':
Totis diebus, Afer, hoc mihi narras
et teneo melius ista quam meum nomen.
Numeres oportet aliquid, ut pati possim;
cotidianam refice nauseam nummis:
audire gratis, Afer, ista non possum.

---

34 AD ATTALVM L E Q X
1 Attice *coni. Schneidewin*[2] • 1, 2 dicis X *ut vid.* : dixit ς

35 DE PVGNA DAMMARVM L E Q X
2 fati sorte β γ : fatis arte T : fato forte z • iacere T γ : tacere β • 3 superbus T β : superbis γ • 5 animi β γ : animae T

36 AD OLVM L E Q X
1 coma β γ : coria R • 3 est et R β : esset (es sed) γ : est sed ς X

37 AD AFRVM L E Q X
1 Coranus T β : Coracinus γ • 3 Sabinus γ : Sabellus β • 4 tricies β : triciens γ • solidum z • 5 ter β : per γ • ducena γ : ducenta β • Parmensi β : Parmeni γ • 6 haec *coni. Schneidewin*[2] • 8 numeres oportet β γ : numeras et portet T : numerare oportet *Schneidewin* • 9 refice β γ : reficere z : retice T

34

Dirty as it is, Attalus, yet, whoever says
you have a snow-like toga tells the truth.

35

We have seen shy antelopes fight face to face
and succumb to the same fate.
The dogs watched their prey, and the haughty
hunter was astonished that nothing was left for his knife to do.
How can their gentle spirits smoulder with such fury?
Bulls fight like this, men die like this.

36

Your beard is hoary white and your hair is black: you cannot dye
[your beard
(that explains it), Olus, but can dye your hair.

37

'Coranus owes me one hundred thousand, and Mancinus two hundred
[thousand,
Titius owes me three hundred thousand and Albinus twice that much,
Sabinus owes me one million, and Serranus another million;
three million in cash comes from my apartment blocks and estates,
and my flocks from Parma give me an income of six hundred
[thousand'.
All day long you tell me the same thing, Afer,
and I know it better than my own name.
You should pay something so that I can put up with it;
cure my daily nausea with cash:
I cannot listen to all this, Afer, for free.

38

Galla, nega: satiatur amor nisi gaudia torquent.
   Sed noli nimium, Galla, negare diu.

39

Argenti genus omne comparasti
et solus veteres Myronos artes,
solus Praxitelus manum Scopaeque,
solus Phidiaci toreuma caeli,
solus Mentoreos habes labores.
Nec desunt tibi vera Gratiana
nec quae Callaico linuntur auro
nec mensis anaglypta de paternis.
Argentum tamen inter omne miror
quare non habeas, Charine, purum.

40

Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto
   et docti Senecae ter numeranda domus:
praetulimus tantis solum te, Postume, regnis;
   pauper eras et eques sed mihi consul eras.
Tecum ter denas numeravi, Postume, brumas,
   communis nobis lectus et unus erat.
Iam donare potes, iam perdere, plenus honorum,
   largus opum: expecto, Postume, quid facias.
Nil facis et serum est alium mihi quaerere regem.
   Hoc, Fortuna, placet? ‘Postumus imposuit’.

---

38 AD GALLAM L E Q X
1 satiatur R β : patiatur γ

39 AD CHARINVM L E Q X
2 veteris E *Heinsius* • Myronis Q L • 3 Praxitelis Q • manus P Q • 6 Gratiana ς : Grantiana β : Glauciana Q : Graniana γ • 7 Callaico ς : Gallanico β : Callaino γ : Gallicano z (*in marg. alt. man.* Gallaico)

40 AD POSTVMVM L E X : AD POSTHVMVM Q
2 ter] tibi Q • 7 honorum γ : honorem β : honores Q[1] • 9 serum est alium γ : serum talium β • 10 haec z • ‘Postumus imposuit’ *Fortunae dedit Gilbert*

38

Galla, say no: one grows weary of love, if its pleasures do not torture.
But do not say no, Galla, for too long.

39

You have collected every sort of silverware,
and you alone have Myron's old works of art
you alone Praxiteles' and Scopas' craftsmanship,
you alone vases engraved by Phidias' chisel,
you alone Mentor's works.
Nor do you lack authentic Gratian silverware,
or bowls inlaid with Galician gold
or embossed silverware from your father's tables.
Yet amidst all your silver, Charinus,
I wonder why you have nothing pure.

40

When the halls of the Pisos stood with their whole family tree,
and the thrice memorable house of learned Seneca,
I preferred only you, Postumus, to those great patrons:
you were poor, a knight, but to me you were a consul.
I spent thirty winters with you, Postumus,
and we shared the same couch.
Now you can be generous, you can be liberal, now you have honours
and abundant wealth: I am eager to see what you will do, Postumus.
You do nothing, and it is now too late for me to look for another [patron.
Are you pleased with this, Fortune? 'Postumus deceived me'.

41

Quid recitaturus circumdas vellera collo?
Conveniunt nostris auribus ista magis.

42

Si quis forte mihi possit praestare roganti,
audi, quem puerum, Flacce, rogare velim.
Niliacis primum puer hic nascatur in oris:
nequitias tellus scit dare nulla magis.
Sit nive candidior: namque in Mareotide fusca
pulchrior est quanto rarior iste color.
Lumina sideribus certent mollesque flagellent
colla comae: tortas non amo, Flacce, comas.
Frons brevis atque modus leviter sit naribus uncis,
Paestanis rubeant aemula labra rosis.
Saepe et nolentem cogat nolitque volentem,
liberior domino saepe sit ille suo;
et timeat pueros, excludat saepe puellas:
vir reliquis, uni sit puer ille mihi.
'Iam scio, nec fallis: nam me quoque iudice verum est.
Talis erat' dices 'noster Amazonicus'.

43

Non dixi, Coracine, te cinaedum:
non sum tam temerarius nec audax
nec mendacia qui loquar libenter.
Si dixi, Coracine, te cinaedum,
iratam mihi Pontiae lagonam,
iratum calicem mihi Metili;

---

41 AD POETAM L E : AD POETAM NON BONVM *z*
2 ista γ : illa β

42 AD FLACCVM L Q
1 possit T : posset β γ • roganti T β : locanti (*vel* ioc- X) γ • 2 rogare T : locare β γ : iocare X • 4 nequitias γ : nequitia T : nequitiam β • 6 iste color T γ : esse solet β • 9 leviter T : breviter β γ : brevior Q • 10 rubeant T β : rubeat γ • 13 et T β γ : at R : nec *Shackleton Bailey* • 14 vir α β : vis γ • reliquis uni α β : reliqui tui γ • fallis β : falles α *Gilbert Schneidewin*[2] : facilis γ • 16 dices γ : dicens β : dicis α

43 AD CORACINVM L E Q X
6 Metelli ς

41

Why do you wrap a scarf around your neck when you are about [to recite?
That scarf would suit our ears better.

42

If someone could perchance fulfil my wish, hear,
Flaccus, what sort of boy I would ask for.
First, let this boy be born on the banks of the Nile:
no land knows better how to offer frolicsome pleasures.
Let him be whiter than snow, a colour all the more
beautiful for its rarity in black Mareotis.
Let his eyes rival the stars and his soft hair
sway against his neck: I do not like curly hair, Flaccus.
Let his forehead be low and his nose not too large and slightly [curved,
let his lips be as crimson as the roses of Paestum.
Let him often force me when I do not want to and refuse me when [I want to;
let him often be freer than his master.
Let him fear the boys, and often shut the girls out;
a man to the rest, a boy to me alone.
'I know now, you cannot deceive me: it is also true in my view.
Such was,' you will say, 'my Amazonicus'.

43

I did not call you queer, Coracinus,
I am not so daring and bold
or one who takes pleasure in lying.
If I called you queer, Coracinus,
may I incur the wrath of Pontia's flask,
may I incur the wrath of Metilius' cup,

iuro per Syrios tibi tumores,
iuro per Berecyntios furores.
Quid dixi tamen? Hoc leve et pusillum,
quod notum est, quod et ipse non negabis:
dixi te, Coracine, cunnilingum.

44

Hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesbius umbris,
presserat hic madidos nobilis uva lacus:
haec iuga quam Nysae colles plus Bacchus amavit,
hoc nuper Satyri monte dedere choros.
Haec Veneris sedes, Lacedaemone gratior illi,
hic locus Herculeo nomine clarus erat.
Cuncta iacent flammis et tristi mersa favilla:
nec superi vellent hoc licuisse sibi.

45

Haec tibi pro nato plena dat laetus acerra,
Phoebe, Palatinus munera Parthenius,
ut qui prima novo signat quinquennia lustro
impleat innumeras Burrus Olympiadas.
Fac rata vota patris: sic te tua diligat arbor
gaudeat et certa virginitate soror,
perpetuo sic flore mices, sic denique non sint
tam longae Bromio quam tibi, Phoebe, comae.

46

Saturnalia divitem Sabellum
fecerunt: merito tumet Sabellus,
nec quemquam putat esse praedicatque

---

43 9 quid T β : quod γ P Q • hoc T β : huc γ • leve β γ : breve T • 11 cunilingium Q : cunnilingnum X : munilingum T *(Mastrandea 1996)*

44 DE VESBIO MONTE L Q : DE VESIO MONTE X : DE MONTE VESBIO z
1 hic T β : hinc γ • Vesvius X *Scriverius Schneidewin*[2] • 2 uva T β (una Q) : ova *ut vid.* γ • 3 plus Bacchus T β : plus hac bac- γ • 4 choros T β : chorus γ • 5 haec T β : hoc γ • 6 nomine T β : numine γ

45 AD PHOEBVM X z : AD PHEBVM PRECES L Q
5 fac rata T β : ferata γ : fer rata *Heinsius* • arbor T β : uxor γ • 6 et certa] aeterna *Castiglioni apud Giarratano* • 7 sic flore β γ : si flore T

I swear by Syrian swellings,
I swear by Berecyntian frenzies.
What did I call you, then? Something petty and trifling,
which is well known and which you yourself will not deny:
I called you, Coracinus, a cunt-licker.

44

This is Vesuvius, recently green with shady vines;
here noble grapes filled vats to overflowing:
Bacchus loved these hills more than the mounts of Nysa;
not long ago Satyrs danced on this mountain.
This was Venus' abode, more pleasing to her than Lacedaemon;
this place was famous for Hercules' name.
All this lies overwhelmed by fire and sad ashes:
the gods themselves would rather not have been granted this power.

45

These offerings for his son's sake, Phoebus, Palatine Parthenius
gives you happily in a full incense casket,
so that Burrus, who marks his first quinquennium with a new lustrum,
may complete countless Olympiads.
Fulfil his father's prayer: so may your tree love you,
and your sister enjoy assured virginity,
so may you shine in perpetual bloom, so in the end may Bromius'
locks be not as long as yours, Phoebus.

46

The Saturnalia have made Sabellus
a rich man: Sabellus has good reason to be
so puffed up, and to think and claim

inter causidicos beatiorem.
Hos fastus animosque dat Sabello
farris semodius fabaeque fresae,
et turis piperisque tres selibrae,
et Lucanica ventre cum Falisco,
et nigri Syra defruti lagona,
et ficus Libyca gelata testa
cum bulbis cocleisque caseoque.
Piceno quoque venit a cliente
parcae cistula non capax olivae,
et crasso figuli polita caelo
septenaria synthesis Sagunti,
Hispanae luteum rotae toreuma,
et lato variata mappa clavo.
Saturnalia fructuosiora
annis non habuit decem Sabellus.

47

Encaustus Phaethon tabula tibi pictus in hac est:
quid tibi vis, dipyrum qui Phaethonta facis?

48

Percidi gaudes, percisus, Papyle, ploras.
Cur, quae vis fieri, Papyle, facta doles?
Paenitet obscenae pruriginis? An magis illud
fles, quod percidi, Papyle, desieris?

---

46 DE SABELLO L E X : DE SABELLO CAVSIDICO z
5 fastus β : faustus γ • animosque β : animusque γ : annuos Q • 9 nigra Q[1] • defruti β : defriti γ • lagona γ : lacuna β • 10 Lybicae . . . gelatae Q[1] • 11 bulbis β : bullis γ (*praeter* A) • cocleisque ς Q[2] : cocleis z : calcisque β : cholceisque γ • 14 polluta Q[1] • caelo γ : ceno β • 18 fructuosiora β : fructiosiora γ

47 DE PHAETONTE L Q z
1 encaustus γ : encastus β • 2 dipyrum β γ : dipyron ς : δίπυρον *Shackleton Bailey*

48 AD PAPILVM E Q : AD PAPHILVM CYNEDVM z
post XLIX coll. Q
1, 2, 4 Papyle β γ : Phapyle T : Pamphile ς *dub. Schneidewin*[2]

that no other barrister is more fortunate.
What gives Sabellus these airs and graces
is half a peck of flour and ground beans,
and three half-pounds of incense and pepper,
Lucanian sausages together with a Faliscan paunch,
a Syrian bottle of black grape syrup,
and a Libyan pot of jellied figs,
along with onions, snails, and cheese.
There also came a tiny basket, sent by a client from Picenum,
which could hardly hold a small quantity of olives,
and a seven-piece dinner service
smoothed at Saguntum by a potter's rough chisel
—muddy crockery from a Hispanic wheel—
and a napkin patterned with a broad stripe.
Sabellus has not had such fruitful
Saturnalia for ten years.

47

On this tablet you have Phaethon painted in encaustic:
what is the point of your burning Phaethon twice?

48

You enjoy being buggered, Papylus, but afterwards you cry:
why do you ask for it and then lament when you get it, Papylus?
Do you regret your lustful craving? Or rather are you
weeping because the buggering is over, Papylus?

49

Nescit, crede mihi, quid sint epigrammata, Flacce,
qui tantum lusus illa iocosque vocat.
Ille magis ludit qui scribit prandia saevi
Tereos aut cenam, crude Thyesta, tuam,
aut puero liquidas aptantem Daedalon alas,
pascentem Siculas aut Polyphemon ovis.
A nostris procul est omnis vesica libellis,
Musa nec insano syrmate nostra tumet.
'Illa tamen laudant omnes, mirantur, adorant.'
Confiteor: laudant illa sed ista legunt.

50

Quid me, Thai, senem subinde dicis?
Nemo est, Thai, senex ad irrumandum.

51

Cum tibi non essent sex milia, Caeciliane,
ingenti late vectus es hexaphoro:
postquam bis decies tribuit dea caeca sinumque
ruperunt nummi, factus es, ecce, pedes.
Quid tibi pro meritis et tantis laudibus optem?
Di reddant sellam, Caeciliane, tibi.

52

Gestari iunctis nisi desinis, Hedyle, capris,
qui modo ficus eras, iam caprificus eris.

---

49 AD FLACCVM DE SCRIPTIS SVIS L : AD CAECILIANVM FLACCVM DE SCRIPTIS SVIS Q : AD FLACCVM E X
1 nescit T γ : nescis β • sint T β : sit γ • 2 illa β γ *Lindsay Shackleton Bailey* : ista T *Schneidewin Gilbert Heraeus Giarratano* • lusos Q • vocat T γ : putas β • 4 crude T β : trude γ • Thyesta ς : Thyeste *codd.* • 6 pascentem β γ : parcem T • 9 laudant β γ : laudent T

50 AD THAIDEM L Q X
1, 2 Thai γ : Thais β

51 AD CECILIANVM L E X z
1 essent T β : esset γ • 2 exaphoro L Q : axe foro z : haexaphoro X • 3 decies tribuit T β : tribuit decies γ • 4 ecce pedes] ipse caper Q • ecce] ipse z • 5 optes Q

52 AD HEDYLVM CYNEDVM Q : AD HEDILEM X
2 eras . . . eris β γ : erat . . . eris L : erat . . . erit *Shackleton Bailey*

49

Anyone who simply calls them frivolities and trifles, Flaccus,
does not know, believe me, what epigrams are.
More frivolous is the man who writes about
fearsome Tereus' meal or about your dinner, dyspeptic Thyestes,
or about Daedalus fitting liquid wings to his son
or Polyphemus watching over his Sicilian sheep.
Any kind of bombast is far from my little books,
and my Muse does not swell in a wild tragic gown.
'But all praise, admire, venerate those works.'
You are right: They praise those, but read these.

50

Why are you always calling me an old crock, Thais?
Nobody is an old crock, Thais, when it comes to having it sucked.

51

When you did not have six thousand sesterces, Caecilianus,
you were carried to and fro in a huge litter and six:
now that the blind goddess has granted you two million,
and the coins have torn your pocket open, look, you go on foot.
What should I wish you for all such merits and virtues?
May the gods give you back your chair, Caecilianus.

52

Unless you stop riding in a carriage drawn by a pair of goats (*capris*), [Hedylus,
you, who not long ago were a fig tree, will soon become a wild [fig tree (*caprificus*).

53

Hunc, quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae
   Pallados et templi limina, Cosme, novi
cum baculo peraque senem, cui cana putrisque
   stat coma et in pectus sordida barba cadit,
cerea quem nudi tegit uxor abolla grabati,
   cui dat latratos obvia turba cibos,
   esse putas Cynicum deceptus imagine ficta:
Non est hic Cynicus, Cosme. Quid ergo? Canis.

54

O cui Tarpeias licuit contingere quercus
   et meritas prima cingere fronde comas,
si sapis, utaris totis, Colline, diebus
   extremumque tibi semper adesse putes.
Lanificas nulli tres exorare puellas
   contigit: observant quem statuere diem.
Divitior Crispo, Thrasea constantior ipso
   lautior et nitido sis Meliore licet:
nil adicit penso Lachesis fusosque sororum
   explicat et semper de tribus una secat.

55

Luci, gloria temporum tuorum,
qui Caium veterem Tagumque nostrum
Arpis cedere non sinis disertis,
Argivas generatus inter urbes
Thebas carmine cantet aut Mycenas

---

53 AD COSMVM L E Q X
1 nostrae β : nostra T : vestrae γ • 3 cana T β : canna γ • 6 dat latratos β : das latratos T : datus latrat γ • 7 ficta T β : falsa γ

54 AD COLLINVM Q X : AD COLINVM L E
1 prima cingere] patria attingere Q[1] • 2 tingere *ex contingere (ctingere)* β • fronde γ : fronte β • 3 vacaris Q[1] • totus X • 5 nulli γ : nullis β • 9 nil adicit] hila redicit X • 10 secat *Scriverius Heinsius Schneidewin² Gilbert Duff Izaac Shackleton Bailey* : negat γ N *Lindsay Heraus Dolç Giarratano* : neget β : necat F

55 AD LVCIVM L E Q X
1 tuorum γ : duorum β • 2 Caium ς : Gaium β γ • 3 disertis β : desertis γ • 4 urbes β : orbes γ • 5 aut β : et γ

53

This old man whom you often see inside the Temple of our
Pallas and by the threshold of the New Temple, Cosmus,
with a staff and a pouch, and thinning grey hair standing on end
and an unkempt beard falling over his chest,
who covers himself with a yellowish cloak, wife of his bare pallet,
to whom the crowd coming towards him gives the food he barks
[for,
you, misled by a fake appearance, think he is a Cynic:
he is not a Cynic, Cosmus. What, then? A dog.

54

Collinus, you who were granted the gift of touching the Tarpeian
[oaks,
and of crowning your deserving locks with the choicest garland,
if you are wise, make the most of every single day
and consider each one to be your last.
No one can prevail upon the three spinning girls:
they observe the day they have appointed.
Even if you were wealthier than Crispus, or more steadfast even
[than Thrasea,
more elegant than refined Melior,
Lachesis adds nothing to the lot and unwinds her sisters'
spindles, and one of the three always cuts.

55

Lucius, pride of your generation,
you who do not allow old Caius and our Tagus
to give way to eloquent Arpi,
let the one born in Argive towns
sing in his poetry about Thebes or Mycenae

aut claram Rhodon aut libidinosae
Ledaeas Lacedaemonos palaestras;
nos Celtis genitos et ex Hiberis
nostrae nomina duriora terrae
grato non pudeat referre versu:
saevo Bilbilin optimam metallo,
quae vincit Chalybasque Noricosque,
et ferro Plateam suo sonantem,
quam fluctu tenui sed inquieto
armorum Salo temperator ambit,
Tutelamque chorosque Rixamarum,
et convivia festa Carduarum,
et textis Peterin rosis rubentem,
atque antiqua patrum theatra Rigas
et certos iaculo levi Silaos,
Turgontique lacus Turasiaeque,
et parvae vada pura Tvetonissae,
et sanctum Buradonis ilicetum,
per quod vel piger ambulat viator,
et quae fortibus excolit iuvencis
curvae Manlius arva Vativescae.
Haec tam rustica, delicate lector,
rides nomina? Rideas licebit:
haec tam rustica malo quam Butuntos.

56

Munera quod senibus viduisque ingentia mittis,
   vis te munificum, Gargiliane, vocem?
Sordidius nihil est, nihil est te spurcius uno,
   qui potes insidias dona vocare tuas:

---

55 8 Centis X • 9 nomina β : numina γ • 16 Risamorum ς • 18 Peterin γ : Peterem β • 19 rigas γ : ripas β • 20 iaculo β : iaculos γ • Silaos (syl-) γ : Suaevos (-bos) β : Sileos z • 21 Turgontique γ : Turgentisque β • Turasiaeque β : Thuriasieque z : cura si aeque Q : Perusiaeque γ • 22 parvae γ : parvo β • Tvetonissae γ : Tonissae X : veternisse z : Toutonissae β • 23 Buradonis γ : Pura Teonis β : Bura Theonis Q : Duratheonis z • 24 quod γ : quos β • 25 quae β : quod γ • excellit Q • 25 Manilius Q • 26 Vatinesce Q : Vaticesce X : Matinense z • 27 rustica β : rustice γ • 28 ridebis z • 29 Butunto Q : Britannos ς, Q *in margine*

56 AD GARGILIANVM L E Q X : AD GARGILIANVM CAPTATOREM z
1 viduisque T β : viridisque γ

or bright Rhodes or the Ledaean
wrestling-places of lustful Lacedaemon;
we of Celtic and Iberian origin
should not be ashamed to render in pleasant verse
the harsher names of our native land:
Bilbilis, renowned for its cruel metalwork,
surpassing the Chalybes and the Noricans,
and Platea, resounding with its iron,
surrounded by the Salo, temperer of weapons,
with its shallow but rushing stream,
and Tutela, and the choruses of Rixamae,
and the festal banquets of Carduae,
and the Peteris, red with garlands of roses,
and our ancestors' old theatre, Rigae,
and the Silai, skilful with their light javelins,
and the lakes of Turgontum and Turasia,
and the pure waters of little Tvetonissa,
and the holy oak grove of Burado,
which even the lazy traveller crosses on foot,
and the lands of sloping Vativesca,
which Manlius ploughs with strong steers.
Do you deride these provincial names,
fastidious reader? You may laugh if you please,
but I prefer these provincial names to Butunti.

56

Because you send enormous gifts to old men and widows,
   do you want me to call you generous, Gargilianus?
There is nothing dirtier, nothing filthier than you,
   who dare to call your snares presents:

sic avidis fallax indulget piscibus hamus,
callida sic stultas decipit esca feras.
Quid sit largiri, quid sit donare docebo,
si nescis: dona, Gargiliane, mihi.

57

Dum nos blanda tenent lascivi stagna Lucrini
et quae pumiceis fontibus antra calent,
tu colis Argei regnum, Faustine, coloni,
quo te bis decimus ducit ab urbe lapis.
Horrida sed fervent Nemeaei pectora monstri,
nec satis est Baias igne calere suo.
Ergo sacri fontes et litora grata valete,
Nympharum pariter Nereidumque domus.
Herculeos colles gelida vos vincite bruma,
nunc Tiburtinis cedite frigoribus.

58

In tenebris luges amissum, Galla, maritum:
non plorare pudet te, puto, Galla virum.

59

Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera repit,
fluxit in obstantem sucina gutta feram.
Quae dum miratur pingui se rore teneri,
concreto riguit vincta repente gelu.

---

56 5 avidis γ : audis T : avidus β • 6 decipit β γ : deceperit T

57 AD FAVSTINVM L E Q X
1 Lucrini β γ : Lavini Q[1] : Neronis T *(cf. Sp. 2.6; 30.11)* • 2 calent T γ : latent β • 3 Argei *Heinsius* : Argio T : Argui *a. c.* L : argivi β : argoi γ • regnum β γ : rerum T • 6 Baias T β : Balas γ • 7 grata] sacra ς *(cf. sacri fontes)*, Q *in margine*

58 AD GALLAM L E Q X
1 amissa X • 2 non β γ *Shackleton Bailey* : num Q *in margine* : nam ς Q *edd.*: iam T *Heraeus* • virum] maritum Q *a. c.* : palam *Heinsius*

59 DE VIPERA INCLVSA ELECTRO z : AD CLEOPATRAM Q : AD CLEOPATRA X
1 serpit ς, *var. lect.* Q z • 2 gutta T : gemma β γ *Lindsay* • 3 pingui se rore β : pinguis errore (erore) T γ

Thus the cheating hook entices avid fish,
thus the cunning bait deceives stupid animals.
If you don't know what it is to be generous, what it is to give [presents,
I will teach you: give presents to me, Gargilianus.

57

While the alluring waters of wanton Lucrinus
and the caves warmed by volcanic springs detain me,
you, Faustinus, frequent the realm of the Argive colonist,
twenty miles away from the Urbs.
But the hirsute chest of the Nemean monster burns
and it is not enough that Baiae is hot with its own fire.
Therefore, sacred springs and pleasant shores,
home of Nymphs and Nereids alike, farewell.
Beat the Herculean hills in icy winter;
now yield to the coolness of Tibur.

58

You mourn your dead husband in the dark, Galla:
you are ashamed, Galla, I guess, not to shed tears for your man.

59

While a viper was creeping on the weeping branches of the Heliads,
a drop of resin dripped onto the animal in its path.
As it marvelled to see itself trapped in sticky dew,
it stiffened, suddenly bound by congealed ice.

Ne tibi regali placeas, Cleopatra, sepulchro,
vipera si tumulo nobiliore iacet.

60

Ardea solstitio Castranaque rura petantur
quique Cleonaeo sidere fervet ager,
cum Tiburtinas damnet Curiatius auras
inter laudatas ad Styga missus aquas.
Nullo fata loco possis excludere: cum mors
venerit, in medio Tibure Sardinia est.

61

Donasse amicum tibi ducenta, Mancine,
nuper superbo laetus ore iactasti.
Quartus dies est, in schola poetarum
dum fabulamur, milibus decem dixti
emptas lacernas munus esse Pompullae,
sardonycha verum lineisque ter cinctum
duasque similes fluctibus maris gemmas
dedisse Bassam Caeliamque iurasti.
Here de theatro, Pollione cantante,
cum subito abires, dum fugis, loquebaris,
hereditatis tibi trecenta venisse,
et mane centum, et post meridie centum.
Quid tibi sodales fecimus mali tantum?
Miserere iam crudelis et sile tandem,
aut, si tacere lingua non potest ista,
aliquando narra quod velimus audire.

60 DE CVRIACIO X : DE CVRCIO z : DE CVRLATIO Q
1 castranaque β : Paestaque γ : Pestanaque Q[2] ς *Schneidewin[1]* • 3 Curiatius γ : Cur latius β : Cur tius z • aures X

61 AD MANCINVM L E Q X
3 incola Q[1] • 4 fabulamur T γ : famulamur β X • 5 minus Q[1] • 6 Sardonycha β : sardonycas (-ni-) γ • ter cinctum β : ter unctum γ : perunctum ς Q[2] • 9 herede Q X • Pollione β : Polione γ *Schneidewin[2]* • 11 trecenta β : recenta γ *(praeter A)* • inesse Q[1] • 12 et post β : post γ • meridiem ς • 13 fecimus β : facimus γ • mali γ : mili T : male β • 14 miserere γ : misere β • iam γ : tam β • 16 audire *om.* β

Do not delight in your royal sepulchre, Cleopatra,
  if a viper lies in a nobler tomb.

60

Let us go to Ardea and the fields of Castrum at the solstice,
  and to the land scorched by the Cleonean star,
since Curiatius condemns the breezes of Tibur,
  sent to the Styx amid such praised waters.
There is no place where you can shut out fate: when Death
  comes, in the middle of Tibur is Sardinia.

61

Recently you proudly and cheerfully boasted that a friend, Mancinus,
had given you two hundred thousand.
Three days ago, while we were chatting
in the poets' society, you said that your
cloak, costing ten thousand, was a gift from Pompulla,
and swore that Bassa and Caelia had given you
a genuine sardonyx girdled by three lines
and two stones resembling the waves of the sea.
Yesterday, when you suddenly left the theatre
during Pollio's recital, as you were fleeing
you said that you had inherited three hundred thousand,
and one hundred thousand more this morning, and another hundred [thousand this afternoon.
What harm have we, your friends, done to you?
Take pity, cruel man, and shut up once and for all,
or, if your tongue cannot be quiet,
finally tell us something we'd like to hear.

62

Tibur in Herculeum migravit nigra Lycoris,
omnia dum fieri candida credit ibi.

63

Dum petit a Baulis mater Caerellia Baias,
occidit insani crimine mersa freti.
Gloria quanta perit vobis! Haec monstra Neroni
nec iussae quondam praestiteratis, aquae.

64

Iuli iugera pauca Martialis
hortis Hesperidum beatiora
longo Ianiculi iugo recumbunt.
Lati collibus eminent recessus
et planus modico tumore vertex
caelo perfruitur sereniore
et curvas nebula tegente valles
solus luce nitet peculiari:
puris leniter admoventur astris
celsae culmina delicata villae.
Hinc septem dominos videre montis
et totam licet aestimare Romam,
Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles
et quodcumque iacet sub urbe frigus,
Fidenas veteres brevesque Rubras,
et quod virgineo cruore gaudet
Annae pomiferum nemus Perennae.
Illinc Flaminiae Salariaeque

---

62 DE LYCORI Q : DE LICORI E : DE LYCORIDE z : AD LYCOREM Q
1 Tibur in Herculeum ς : Tibur in erculeo R : Tibur ad Herculeium Q : Tibur herculeum β : Tiburiae herculeum γ • 2 crede tibi X

63 DE CERELLIA L E Q X z
1 cum z • 3 Neroni T β : Neronis γ • 4 iussae T γ : iussa β • posteritatis Q[1]

64 DE HORTIS MARTIALIS L
1 Iuli β : Tulli γ (*sed* 36 Iuli) • 2 Hesperidum γ : heseridum β • 4 lati β γ : alti *Shackleton Bailey* • eminent β : imminent γ • 9 admoventur β : admonentur γ • 10 villae γ : vittae β • 11 dominos β : domino γ • 12 extimare Q • 14 iacet γ : facit β • 18 illinc β : illic γ *Schneidewin*[1]

62

Black Lycoris moved to Herculean Tibur,
believing that everything becomes white there.

63

While sailing from Bauli to Baiae, the matron Caerellia
encountered her death, by drowning, murdered by an insane sea.
What glory you have missed! In the past you waters, though [commanded,
refused Nero such a monstrous thing.

64

The few acres of Julius Martialis,
more fruitful than the gardens of the Hesperides,
lie on the long ridge of the Janiculum.
A wide retreat stands out on the hills,
and the flat summit of a gentle slope
enjoys a clearer sky and,
when the mist covers the winding valleys,
shines with its own light:
the dainty roof of a lofty house
rises gently to the clear stars.
From here you can see the seven mighty mounts
and appraise all Rome,
as well as the hills of Alba and Tusculum,
and every cool place near the city,
old Fidenae and little Rubrae
and the fruitful grove of Anna Perenna,
which rejoices in virginal blood.
From there the cart driver on the Flaminian and the Salarian way

gestator patet essedo tacente,
ne blando rota sit molesta somno,
quem nec rumpere nauticum celeuma
nec clamor valet helciariorum,
cum sit tam prope Mulvius sacrumque
lapsae per Tiberim volent carinae.
Hoc rus, seu potius domus vocanda est,
commendat dominus: tuam putabis;
tam non invida tamque liberalis,
tam comi patet hospitalitate,
credas Alcinoi pios Penates
aut, facti modo divitis, Molorchi.
Vos nunc omnia parva qui putatis,
centeno gelidum ligone Tibur
vel Praeneste domate pendulamque
uni dedite Setiam colono,
dum me iudice praeferantur istis
Iuli iugera pauca Martialis.

65

Oculo Philaenis semper altero plorat.
Quo fiat istud quaeritis modo? Lusca est.

66

Egisti vitam semper, Line, municipalem,
  qua nihil omnino vilius esse potest.
Idibus et raris togula est excussa Kalendis
  duxit et aestates synthesis una decem.

---

64 19 gestator γ : gestatori β • patet β : iacet γ • essedo β : et sedo γ • 23 Milvius ς Q[1] • 27 invidam . . . liberalem Q *a. c.* • 28 tam comi patet γ : tam compatet β (computet Q *a. c.*) • 29 Alcioni γ • 30 factam γ • 31 qui ς : quae β γ • 32 centeno γ : contento β : contentum Q • 33 pendulamque γ : pendulamus β • 34 dedite Setiam ς *ed. Rom.* : deditis ediam β : dediti sediam Q : dedite sed iam z : dedite sed tamen γ

65 DE PHILENIDE L E Q X
2 quo β : quod γ

66 AD LINVM L E X
2 vilius T β : dulcius γ • 3 togula est β : togula si γ • excussa β : tibi sumpta γ *Schneidewin[1]*

is in view, but his cart is silent,
so that the wheel does not disturb comforting sleep,
which neither the boatswain's call
nor the bargemen's shout can interrupt,
though Pons Mulvius is so near
and swift keels glide down sacred Tiber.
This country place, or, rather, it should be called a city house,
is commended by its owner: you will think it your own;
it is so amiable and generous,
so warm and welcoming,
that you will deem it the hospitable dwelling of Alcinous
or of a newly-rich Molorchus.
You for whom nothing is big enough nowadays,
go and till cool Tibur or Praeneste
with one hundred hoes, or entrust
perching Setia to a single tenant,
so long as, to my mind,
the few acres of Julius Martialis are preferable to these.

65

Philaenis always weeps from one eye:
Perhaps you ask why this is so? She has but one.

66

You have always led a country life, Linus,
  cheaper than which nothing in the world can be.
On the odd Ides and Kalends your toga has been dusted off,
  and one single dinner outfit has lasted ten summers.

Saltus aprum, campus leporem tibi misit inemptum,
silva gravis turdos exagitata dedit.
Raptus flumineo venit de gurgite piscis,
vina ruber fudit non peregrina cadus.
Nec tener Argolica missus de gente minister,
sed stetit inculti rustica turba foci.
Vilica vel duri compressa est nupta coloni,
incaluit quotiens saucia vena mero.
Nec nocuit tectis ignis nec Sirius agris,
nec mersa est pelago nec fuit ulla ratis.
Supposita est blando numquam tibi tessera talo,
alea sed parcae sola fuere nuces.
Dic ubi sit decies mater quod avara reliquit.
Nusquam est: fecisti rem, Line, difficilem.

67

Praetorem pauper centum sestertia Gaurus
orabat cana notus amicitia,
dicebatque suis haec tantum deesse trecentis,
ut posset domino plaudere iustus eques.
Praetor ait: 'Scis me Scorpo Thalloque daturum,
atque utinam centum milia sola darem'.
Ah pudet ingratae, pudet ah male divitis arcae!
quod non vis equiti, vis dare, praetor, equo?

68

Invitas centum quadrantibus et bene cenas.
Vt cenem invitor, Sexte, an ut invideam?

---

66 7 raptus β γ *Shackleton Bailey* : captus T *cett. edd.* • 8 ruber T γ : rubens β • fudit β γ : fundit T • cadus T β : cadis γ • 9 missus β γ : iussus T *Schneidewin*[1] • 12 vena T γ : turba β • 13 sirius γ : serius β • 14 fuit γ : fluit β *Schneidewin*[1] *Duff* • ulla β : illa γ • 15 tessera β γ : tessara L • talo β : talu γ • 17 avara γ : avar T : amara β

67 DE GAVRO L E X Q
1 sestertia γ : sitertia β • Gaurus β : Gaure γ • 2 cana γ : cara β • 4 iustus γ : iussus β • 5 Thalloque γ : Thalioque β • 7 arcae β : arces γ • 8 non vis β : non das γ Q *Gilbert Heraeus Izaac Dolç*

68 AD SEXTVM L E Q X
cum LXVII confl. β
1 invitas β γ : invitus T

The glen has sent you a boar, the fields hare unbought;
the beaten forest has sent you fat thrushes;
catches of fish came from the river's stream
and a red jar poured unimported wines.
You were not served by a young slave, sent from Argolic people,
but by the rustic crowd of your uncouth house.
You have slept with the bailiff's wife, or a rude farmer's,
whenever your member was inflamed, pricked by wine.
Fire has never harmed your house, nor Sirius your lands,
you have never lost any ship at sea—you have never had one.
The die has never replaced the seductive knucklebone,
and your bets have always been frugal nuts.
Tell me, where is the million your thrifty mother left you?
It's gone: Linus, you have achieved something difficult.

67

Poor Gaurus begged a praetor, an old acquaintance of his,
for a hundred thousand sesterces,
saying he needed to add only this amount to his three hundred
[thousand sesterces,
so that he could applaud his master as a qualified knight.
The praetor said: 'You know I am to make Scorpus and Thallus a
[gift,
and I wish I could give them only one hundred thousand'.
What shameful ingratitude, what shameful misuse of wealth!
What you will not give a knight, will you give to a horse, praetor?

68

You invite me out on one hundred farthings, while you dine lavishly.
Do you invite me to dine, Sextus, or to envy?

69

Tu Setina quidem semper vel Massica ponis,
Papyle, sed rumor tam bona vina negat:
diceris hac factus caelebs quater esse lagona.
Nec puto nec credo, Papyle, nec sitio.

70

Nihil Ammiano praeter aridam restem
moriens reliquit ultimis pater ceris.
Fieri putaret posse quis, Marulline,
ut Ammianus mortuum patrem nollet?

71

Quaero diu totam, Safroni Rufe, per urbem
si qua puella neget: nulla puella negat.
Tamquam fas non sit, tamquam sit turpe negare,
tamquam non liceat, nulla puella negat.
Casta igitur nulla est? Sunt castae mille. Quid ergo
casta facit? Non dat, non tamen illa negat.

72

Exigis ut donem nostros tibi, Quinte, libellos.
Non habeo, sed habet bibliopola Tryphon.
'Aes dabo pro nugis et emam tua carmina sanus?
Non' inquis 'faciam tam fatue'. Nec ego.

---

69 AD PAPYLVM Q X : AD PAPILVM L : AD PAMPHILVM ς
1 massica T : marsica β : mersica γ • ponis β γ : potas T • 2,4 Papyle T β γ : Pamphile ς • 2 rumor tam T β : rumor est tam γ • bona T γ : bene β

70 AD MARVLLINVM L E Q X
1 Ammiano γ : Mamiano β • vestem Q ς • 2 reliquit β γ : relinquit L f • 3 putare posset Q • 4 Ammianus γ : Mammianus β

71 AD RVFVM L E Q X
1 sophroni ς • urbem β γ : orbem α • 3 negare α β : rogare γ • 5 sunt castae α γ : castae sunt β *Shackleton Bailey* • quid α β : quod γ

72 AD QVINTVM L E X Q
post LXXIII coll. Q

69

You always serve Setine or Massic, Papylus, that's true,
but rumour has it that your wines are not so good:
You are said to have been made a widower four times with that
[flagon.
I do not think so, or believe it, Papylus, but I am not thirsty.

70

Nothing but a dry rope did his dying father leave
in his last will to Ammianus.
Who would have thought it possible, Marullinus,
for Ammianus to lament his father's death?

71

I have long been looking throughout the city, Safronius Rufus,
for a girl who will say 'no': no girl says 'no'.
As though it were a sin, as though it were shameful to say 'no',
as though it were illegal, no girl says 'no'.
Is none of them chaste, then? One thousand are chaste. What, then,
does a chaste maid do? She does not offer, but she does not say
['no' either.

72

You insist, Quintus, on my giving you some books of mine.
I have none, but the bookseller Tryphon does.
'Am I to hand over cash for your trifles and buy your poems in my
[right mind?
I won't be such a fool', you say. Neither will I.

73

Cum gravis extremas Vestinus duceret horas
et iam per Stygias esset iturus aquas,
ultima volventis oravit pensa sorores
ut traherent parva stamina pulla mora,
iam sibi defunctus caris dum vivit amicis.
Moverunt tetricas tam pia vota deas.
Tunc largas partitus opes a luce recessit
seque mori post hoc credidit ille senem.

74

Aspicis imbelles temptent quam fortia dammae
proelia? tam timidis quanta sit ira feris?
In mortem parvis concurrere frontibus ardent.
Vis, Caesar, dammis, parcere? Mitte canes.

75

O felix animo, felix, Nigrina, marito
atque inter Latias gloria prima nurus:
te patrios miscere iuvat cum coniuge census,
gaudentem socio participique viro.
Arserit Euhadne flammis iniecta mariti,
nec minor Alcestin fama sub astra ferat:
tu melius, certo meruisti pignore vitae
ut tibi non esset morte probandus amor.

---

73 DE VESTINO L Q X
3 volentes L • oravit α β : orabit γ • 4 pulla γ : puella T : nulla R β • 5 caris α γ : carus β • 6 deas α β : teas γ • 7 tunc α γ : tum β : tam Q • partitus α β : patitus γ • 8 seque α β : deque γ

74 DE DAMIS ς Q^2 : AD CAESAREM L E X : *om.* Q^1
1 qua Q^2 • 2 tam T β : quam γ • 3 ardent T : audent β γ • 4 canes T β : canis γ

75 AD NIGRINAM L E Q X
2 Latias β γ : latices T • parva Q^1 • 3 te β γ : iam T • census T β : sensus γ • 4 participique γ : participeque (PfF) vel -pemque (LQ) β : participare T *Gilbert Schneidewin*[1] • 5 arserat Q • Euhadne hanc flammis Q z • iniecta ς : inlecta T β : intecta γ • 6 minor] minus ς : nimis z • ferat T γ : fera β • 7 certo T β γ : certe Q ς • pignore T β : pignora γ *(cf. Ov. Fast. 4.323 nostrae pignora vitae)* • vitae β γ : famam T *Schneidewin*[1] *(cf. Mart. 1.8.5; Ov. Tr. 5.14.42)*

73

When dying Vestinus was spending his last hours
  and was about to cross the Stygian waters,
he asked the sisters, as they unwound his last strands,
  to draw the dark threads a little more slowly,
while, already dead to himself, he lived on for his dear friends.
  Such noble prayers moved the stern goddesses.
Then, having divided his abundant wealth, he departed this life,
  believing that, after this, he was dying an old man.

74

Can you see what brave battles unwarlike antelopes essay,
  how great the rage of such timid beasts?
They burn to clash, with little brows, and die.
  Do you want to save the antelopes, Caesar? Set the dogs on them.

75

O happy in your soul, Nigrina, happy in your husband,
  prime glory among Latian wives!
You are pleased to share your father's wealth with your husband,
  rejoicing in your man as your partner and partaker.
Let Evadne burn, cast on her husband's pyre,
  and let no lesser fame carry Alcestis to the stars:
you did better, since by a sure pledge given in life
  you deserved not to have to prove your love by death.

76

Milia misisti mihi sex bis sena petenti:
  ut bis sena feram bis duodena petam.

77

Numquam divitias deos rogavi
contentus modicis meoque laetus:
paupertas, veniam dabis, recede.
Causa est quae subiti novique voti?
Pendentem volo Zoilum videre.

78

Condita cum tibi sit iam sexagensima messis
  et facies multo splendeat alba pilo,
discurris tota vagus urbe, nec ulla cathedra est
  cui non mane feras irrequietus ‘have’;
et sine te nulli fas est prodire tribuno,
  nec caret officio consul uterque tuo;
et sacro decies repetis Palatia clivo
  Sigerosque meros Partheniosque sonas.
Haec faciant sane iuvenes: deformius, Afer,
  omnino nihil est ardalione sene.

79

Hospes eras nostri semper, Matho, Tiburtini.
  Hoc emis. Imposui: rus tibi vendo tuum.

---

76 IN AVARVM Q : AD BISSENAM X
1 misisti T γ : misistis β • 1, 2 bissena X

77 DE ZOILO Q : DE ZOILO INVIDO z : DE SE E X
1 deos rogavi T β : rogavi deos γ • 4 causa est quae T γ : causasque β • subiti β γ : subito T

78 AD AFRVM Q^{2} : DE HARDALIONE Q^{1} : DE CARDALIONE X
1 messis α β : mensis γ • 4 ave ς • 5 prodire α γ : prodere β *(praeter* L*)* • 8 sigerosque β : sigereosque γ : sigeriosque G *Gilbert Schneidewin*^{1} : sidereosque (syd-) ς • meros] medos Q : modos ς • 9 faciant sane iuvenes γ : faciat sane iuvenis β • 10 ardalione γ : ardelione Q ς : hardalione β E A

79 AD MATHONEM L E Q X
1 Tiburti Q^{1} • 2 rus β : ius γ (Q^{1}) *Schneidewin*^{1}

76

You gave me six thousand when I asked for twice six:
to get twice six, I will ask for twice twelve.

77

I never asked the gods for riches,
content with moderate means, happy with my lot:
Poverty (forgive me), be gone.
Why this new and sudden prayer?
I want to see Zoilus hanging.

78

Although you have stored your sixtieth harvest
and your face shines white with many a hair,
you go to and fro all over the city and there is no chair
to which you do not take your unrelenting 'good morning'.
Without you, no tribune is allowed to go forth,
and neither consul lacks your obsequiousness;
you make for the palace ten times a day by the sacred slope
and repeat just the names of Sigeruses and Partheniuses.
It is right for young people to do so: yet there is nothing in the
[world
more disgusting, Afer, than an aged meddler.

79

You were always my guest at my Tiburtine villa, Matho.
You are buying it. I have defrauded you: I am selling you your
[own country place.

80

Declamas in febre, Maron: hanc esse phrenesin
si nescis, non es sanus, amice Maron.
Declamas aeger, declamas hemitritaeos:
si sudare aliter non potes, est ratio.
'Magna tamen res est'. Erras: cum viscera febris
exurit, res est magna tacere, Maron.

81

Epigramma nostrum cum Fabulla legisset
negare nullam quo queror puellarum,
semel rogata bisque terque neglexit
preces amantis. Iam, Fabulla, promitte:
negare iussi, pernegare non iussi.

82

Hos quoque commenda Venuleio, Rufe, libellos
imputet et nobis otia parva roga,
immemor et paulum curarum operumque suorum
non tetrica nugas exigat aure meas.
Sed nec post primum legat haec summumve trientem,
sed sua cum medius proelia Bacchus amat.
Si nimis est legisse duos, tibi charta plicetur
altera: divisum sic breve fiet opus.

83

Securo nihil est te, Naevole, peius; eodem
sollicito nihil est, Naevole, te melius:

---

80 AD MATHONEM Q
Cum LXXIX confl. *β γ propter similitudinem nominum* Matho *et* Maron
1,2 Mathon Q • 4 sudare γ : sudares β • 5 est erras β : est erra Q : es terra γ

81 DE FABVLLA L Q X : AD FABVLLA E
2 quo queror β : conqueror γ • 4 amantis iam Fabulla γ : amantium f. (L P Q) *vel* amantuam f. (f) β

82 AD RVFVM L E Q X
1 Venuleio γ : Venulei β (-le P f) • 4 tetrica ς : tetriga γ *(cf. nugas, exigat)* : tetricas β • exigat a. meas γ : exigat (exiget P) a. mea β • 6 commodius X • 8 opus β : onus γ *Schneidewin*

80

You declaim in a fever, Maron: if you do not know that this is
frenzy, you are not sane, my friend Maron.
You declaim when ill, you declaim in a semi-tertian fever:
if you cannot sweat otherwise, that's reasonable.
'But this is a great achievement'. You are wrong: when fever
burns up your entrails, the great achievement is to shut up, Maron.

81

When Fabulla had read my epigram
in which I complain that no girl says 'no',
solicited once, and twice and thrice, she ignored
her lover's prayers. Now, Fabulla, give him your promise:
I told you to say 'no', not to refuse forever.

82

These little books, Rufus, also commend to Venuleius
and ask him to charge to my account a little spare time,
and, when he forgets for a while his worries and occupations,
to criticise my trifles with no unkind ear.
Let him not read them after the first or the last cup,
but when Bacchus, in the middle, loves his contests.
If it is too much to read two books, you may roll up one
of them: divided, the book will thus become short.

83

There is nothing worse than you when you are easy in mind, Naevolus; [but
when you are worried, there is nothing better:

securus nullum resalutas, despicis omnes,
  nec quisquam liber nec tibi natus homo est;
sollicitus donas, dominum regemque salutas,
  invitas. Esto, Naevole, sollicitus.

84

Non est in populo nec urbe tota
a se Thaida qui probet fututam,
cum multi cupiant rogentque multi.
Tam casta est, rogo, Thais? Immo fellat.

85

Nos bibimus vitro, tu murra, Pontice. Quare?
  Prodat perspicuus ne duo vina calix.

86

Si vis auribus Atticis probari,
exhortor moneoque te, libelle,
ut docto placeas Apollinari.
Nil exactius eruditiusque est,
sed nec candidius benigniusque:
si te pectore, si tenebit ore,
nec rhonchos metues maligniorum,
nec scombris tunicas dabis molestas.
Si damnaverit, ad salariorum
curras scrinia protinus licebit,
inversa pueris arande charta.

---

83 AD NEVOLVM L E Q X
4 liber γ : *om.* β : visus Q[1] ς • notus Q[1] : gratus *(ex gnatus?)* Q[2] ς

84 DE THAIDE Q : DE THAIDA L X : AD THAIDA E
2 Thaida γ : Thaidam β

85 AD PONTICVM L E Q
2 perspicuus α γ : perspicuum β

86 AD LIBRVM SVVM L E X : AD LIBELLVM SVVM Q
3 docto γ : docte β • 6 tenebit β : tenedit γ • 7 malignorum ς

when you are easy in mind, you greet no one back and scorn every [one,
you deem no one a free person, you deem everyone a nobody;
when you are worried, you make gifts, greet as 'master' and 'lord',
invite to dinner. Be worried, Naevolus.

84

No one in the community, or in the whole city,
can prove that Thais has been fucked by him,
though many desire and beg for it.
Is Thais so chaste, then? No, she sucks.

85

We drink from glass, you from murrine, Ponticus. Why?
A transparent cup would reveal that there are two wines.

86

If you want to be approved by Attic ears,
I advise and counsel you, little book,
to please learned Apollinaris.
No one is more rigorous and erudite,
but no one more benevolent and well-intentioned:
if he holds you in his heart and on his lips,
you won't be afraid of the sneers of the spiteful,
nor be used as a 'tight tunic' for mackerel;
if he damns you, you'd better run straight
to the drawers of salt fishmongers,
fit to be ploughed by children on the back of the papyrus.

87

Infantem secum semper tua Bassa, Fabulle,
   collocat et lusus deliciasque vocat,
et, quo mireris magis, infantaria non est.
   Ergo quid in causa est? Pedere Bassa solet.

88

Nulla remisisti parvo pro munere dona,
   et iam Saturni quinque fuere dies.
Ergo nec argenti sex scripula Septiciani
   missa nec a querulo mappa cliente fuit,
Antipolitani nec quae de sanguine thynni
   testa rubet, nec quae cottana parva gerit,
nec rugosarum vimen breve Picenarum,
   dicere te posses ut meminisse mei?
Decipies alios verbis vultuque benigno,
   nam mihi iam notus dissimulator eris.

89

Ohe, iam satis est, ohe, libelle,
iam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos.
Tu procedere adhuc et ire quaeris,
nec summa potes in schida teneri,
sic tamquam tibi res peracta non sit,
quae prima quoque pagina peracta est.
Iam lector queriturque deficitque,
iam librarius hoc et ipse dicit:
'Ohe, iam satis est, ohe, libelle.'

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87 AD FABVLLVM T Q X
1 Fabulle γ β : Catulle T • 2 vocat T γ : facit β • 3 quo T : quod β γ

88 AD SEPTECIANVM L Q : DE SEPTICIANO X
2 *fortasse pro* quinque *ne nomen desideretur* Quinte *scribendum est, coinciecit Schneidewin, sed inepte puto* • 3 scrupula L Q • Septiciane ς : Septetiane Q • 5 antipolitani γ : antipolitano β • 8 posses β γ : possem z : possis T

89 AD LIBRVM SVVM L E Q X
4 sceda Q • 6 peracta est β : notatur γ • 7 deficitque γ : defecitque β

87

Your dear Bassa, Fabullus, is always holding a baby
and calling it 'darling' and 'sweetie',
and, what is more surprising, she does not like babies.
So, why does she do it? Bassa is in the habit of farting.

88

You have not sent any gift in return for my little present
and already Saturn's five days are over.
Didn't you have six scruples of Septician silver,
or a napkin sent by a grumpy client,
or a pot reddened with the blood of Antipolitan
tuna or carrying small figs,
or a tiny basket with shrivelled olives from Picenum,
so that you could say you remembered me?
You may deceive others with your words and your kind face,
for to me hereafter you will be a known hypocrite.

89

Whoa, that's enough, whoa, little book!
We have arrived at the roller-stick.
But you still want to go on and keep going
and cannot be held at the last sheet,
as though you had not finished your duty,
which was finished even on the first page.
Already the reader is complaining and getting weary,
already the copyist himself is saying:
'Whoa, that's enough, whoa, little book!'

COMMENTARY

1

The book begins solemnly with a *genethliakon*, a birthday poem dedicated to the Emperor on his anniversary. There is a perceptible change with respect to the beginnings of previous collections, inasmuch as they were introduced by epigrams on literary themes. From this book onwards, the number of poems in honour of Domitian increases substantially (Martin, 1986: 202–203; Lorenz, 2002: 121). This overture is part of a larger group of poems exalting the sovereign (4.2; 4.3; 4.8; 4.11) and equating him with Jupiter.

The poem starts with an invocation to the *Dies Natalis*, an occasion more sacred than the date of Jupiter's birth (1–2). The poet wishes that the day will be celebrated many times, conforming to genre conventions and ruler-worship requirements: long live the king! (3–4). Lines 5–8 constitute an *amplificatio* of the preceding distich: the wish for Domitian's long life also applies to the festivals he favours. These catalogued celebrations, incidentally, contribute to the elaboration of his portrait as patron of the arts, especially literature. The poem could thus be interpreted as an attempt to win the support of the Emperor. The listing of festivals is carefully built in a crescendo: the annual celebrations of Minerva, the *Agon Capitolinus*, held every four years, and the *Ludi Saeculares*. Yet Domitian would not live long enough to celebrate the last event one more time. The poem ends in the expected complimentary way: if Domitian is a god, who even surpasses Jupiter, his omnipotence in unquestionable. Longevity thus turns into immortality.

The epigram is anything but subtle: not only is Domitian explicitly deified, but also magnified and surrounded with a sacred halo by every single word: notice the abundance of comparative and superlative adjectives (*sacratior, numerosior, vultu meliore; plurima*) as well as other expressions of hugeness (*multus, per manus tantas, ingenti lustro, magna, pro tanto deo*). Despite being overtly flattering and grandiloquent, one cannot agree with Cesareo's remark on this poem (1929: 147): 'Marziale si mostra stavolta notevolmente inferiore a se stesso'. On the contrary, it is precisely through this kind of composition lacking in spontaneity that the poet displays his creative and innovative skills. On the one hand, he creates an environment of religious and

even mystic worship by means of the sonic component: the solemn hymn-like tone conferred by the anaphora *hic colat* (Burkhard, 1991: 116) is reinforced by other effects such as assonance (*precor/numerosior; colat/eat; multus/manus/quercus*). On the other hand, the poem is full of exquisite and pertinent allusions: every epithet alludes to birth or birthplaces.

There are two clashing forces in this epigram: the equation of Domitian with Jupiter against his human mortality. It is paradoxical that the Emperor, presented as superior to the god in the first distich, cannot yearn for eternity, but only for a long life. The scope of the adverb *semper* is narrowed down, for these earthly gods, the Caesars, are mortal (cf. 2.59.4). Consequently, the prayers please Domitian by virtue of their hyperbolic foundations, but are impossible to fulfil (*magna, improba*); hence the ambiguous use of the final question.

Besides some precedents in Greek epigrams (*A. P.* 6.235; Gow-Page, 1968 II: 410–411; 6.329; 9.355 [See Page, 1981: 519–520; 535–6]), this is the only Latin *genethliakon* dedicated to an Emperor (Cesareo, 1929: 147). Within the Latin literary tradition the most immediate model is Tibullus 1.7, offered to Messalla.

According to White (1974: 44–47), this epigram must have been presented to the Emperor for his birthday, in October, and later included in this book for publication. Otherwise, the reference to Domitian's *Natalis* would have been remote and meaningless. See also Coleman, 1986: 3101; Nauta, 2002: 365.

Further reading: on the Graeco-Roman *genethliakon*, see Burgess, 1902: 142–146; Cesareo, 1929 (especially 147–149 on this epigram); Cairns, 1972: 112–113; 135–137; 165–169; Burkhard, 1991 (especially 114–118 on this epigram). On Domitian and literature, see Thiele, 1916, and Coleman, 1986. On Martial's relationship to Domitian, see Garthwaite, 1978; Hofmann, 1983; Szelest, 1984; Nauta, 2002. On the Emperor Domitian, consult Gsell, 1894; Waters, 1964; Jones, 1992; Southern, 1997. See Sauter, 1934 and Scott, 1936 on the Emperor worship in the time of Domitian, and Sullivan (1991: 137–145) for the occurrence of this motif in the epigrams.

1. Caesaris alma dies: Domitian was born on 24th October, AD 51 (Suet. *Dom.* 1.1 *Domitianus natus est VIII Kal. Novemb.*; cf. ILS 3546). Instead of addressing the *Genius Natalis* (Tib. 1.7.49; 2.2.5) or Juno ([Tib.] 3.12.1), as was usual, Martial addresses the *Dies Natalis* (cf. 10.24.1 *Natales mihi Martiae Kalendae*; 12.60.1 *Martis alumne dies*). On the use of apostrophe, see Siedschlag, 1977: 14–16. The Emperor's birthday is also mentioned in Mart. 9.39.1–2.

Caesaris: *Caesar* is one of the names by which Martial most frequently refers to Domitian: see Martin, 1986: 205, and **4.8.9** (n.).

alma dies: cf. [Julian.] *De die natali* (*A. L.* II 638 Riese) 4 *concelebrate diem votis felicibus almum*; Auson. *Geneth.* 22 *Idus alma dies, geniis quoque culta deorum*. *Alma*, as well as *conscia*, belong to the semantic field of delivery and upbringing: both are frequently used as epithets of nurses (Lucr. 5.230 *almae nutricis*) and mothers (Mart. 8.21.8; Ov. *Met.* 14.546. Verg. *A.* 2.591; 2.664; 10.252; Sen. *Phoen.* 222). *Alma* is the epithet of goddesses connected with life and fertility (TLL *s. v.* 1705.39–79 [v. Mess]), especially Venus, Ceres, and Cybele. It is applied to the earth (TLL *s. v.* 1704.35–41) and anything supporting life, such as light (TLL *s. v.* 1704.42–50; cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.664; Verg. *A.* 1.306; 3.311; 8.455; Sen. *Her. F.* 592; *Ag.* 726; [Sen.] *Oct.* 224; Sil. 13.808), and daylight: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.17 *diem . . . almum; A.* 5.64; *Ciris* 349; Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.7–8; Ov. *Met.* 5.444 *alma dies*; Man. 3.187. The connotations of this phrase are, therefore, manifold: the invocation to Domitian's *Dies Natalis* is imbued with a solemn tone and evokes life and divinity.

luce sacratior illa: cf. Mart. 10.24.2.

luce: the metonymical use of *lux* instead of *dies* is common in Latin literature (TLL *s. v.* 1911.26–1912.11 [Ehlers]); the special meaning of 'holiday' or the sense of '*Dies Natalis*' are typical of Latin poetry: Tib. 2.1.5 *luce sacra*; 2.1.29 *festa luce*; Ov. *Ib.* 217 *lux . . . natalis*; Mart. 10.24.1–2; 12.60.6.

sacratior: birthday consecration is a characteristic of the *genethliakon*. Here it also contributes to the deification of Domitian: the sacredness of his birthday surpasses that of Jupiter himself. This, far from being a blasphemy, is a recurrent motif in panegyrics revolving around the Imperial cult: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.58 *posthabito . . . Tonante*; see Scott (1936, 136–140); Mart. **4.3.3** (n). *Sacra lux* is a festival, consecrated to a deity: Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.19–20 *Sacro/Dianae . . . die*; cf. Tib. 2.1.5 *Luce sacra requiescat humus*, where *sacra lux* stands for the birthday of his patron Messalla.

2. conscia . . . Ida: cf. 9.20.2 *infantis domini conscia terra fuit*. Jupiter was hidden from his father on the isle of Crete, on Mount Ida. *Conscia* is commonly attributed to nurses (e.g. Ov. *Ep.* 21.17; *Rem.* 637; *Met.* 9.707): Mount Ida comes to life and plays an important role in the birth and upbringing of Jupiter. Besides, *conscius* can also mean *testis* (Verg. *A.* 9.428; Ov. *Met.* 13.15), a witness or partaker

of a secret. *Conscius* is frequently applied in this sense to place names in poetry: **4.25.2** *conscia silva rogi* (cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.438 *conscia silva*; see Bömer, 1969: 524–525; V. Fl. 3.584); Sen. *Thy.* 632 *conscius . . . locus*.

Dictaeum . . . Iovem: the epithet evokes Jupiter's birthplace, since, according to one version of the myth, Zeus was born at Mount Dicte (Crete); there he was hidden in a cave by the Curetes (Lucr. 2.633; Verg. *G.* 4.152). *Dictaeus* applied to Jupiter is not common either in Latin or Greek literature: Call. *Hymn.* 1.4; Verg. *G.* 2.536 *sceptrum Dictaei regis* (Serv. *ad loc.: Iuppiter,/qui est in Dictaeo Cretae monte nutritus*); Stat. *Theb.* 3.481 *Dictaee*. The epithet, often meaning Cretan, has an elevated, epic flavour (cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 4.73; Luc. 2.610; 4.322; 6.214; 9.38), and is most appropriate in this solemn context.

3. One of the topoi of the *genethliakon* are longevity wishes (*A. P.* 6.235.5–6), usually in the form of an invocation to the *Dies Natalis*: Tib. 1.7.63–64 *At tu, Natalis multos celebrande per annos,/candidior semper candidiorque veni*; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.13. *Precor . . . veni* is a typical birthday wish, but the wish for prolonged existence is also characteristic of the ruler cult: see Scott, 1933: 256–259; 1936: 149–156: Mart. 5.6.3–4; 5.65.15–16; 6.3 (Grewing *ad loc.*); 8.2.6–8 (Schöffel *ad loc.*); 8.39.5–6; Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.46–47; 4.3.145–163; Sil. 3.626–629.

Pylioque . . . aevo: *Pylius* is the epithet of Nestor (cf. e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.22; Ov. *Am.* 3.7.41; *Met.* 8.365; Sen. *Tro.* 212 *Pylii senis*), king of Pylos, a paradigm of longevity: *Eleg. Maecen.* 1.138; Ov. *Pont.* 1.4.10; 2.8.41; Sen. *Tro.* 211; *Apoc.* 4.1.14; *Ep.* 77.20; Stat. *Theb.* 5.751 *Pyliae . . . senectae; Silv.* 5.3.255; Sil. 15.456; Juv. 12.128. The allusion to this and other longeval characters, such as Priamus or Tithonus, had become frequent in these contexts: Ov. *Tr.* 5.5.62 *aequarint Pylios cum tua fata dies*. Both Martial and Statius used them as an epitome of longevity, especially in compositions dedicated to Domitian (Scott, 1936: 149–153), but not exclusively: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.110; 1.4.125–127; 2.2.108; Mart. 5.58.5; 6.70.12; 7.96.7; 8.2.7; 10.24.11; 10.38.14 *Pyliam quater senectam*. The comparison can also be seen in satiric epigrams: 2.64.3 (Williams, 2004: 212); 8.6.9; 8.64.14; 9.29.1; 11.56.13. The selection of words and the indirectness of the allusion make up for the triteness of the image (Otto, 1971: 1223; 13.117.1 *Nestorea . . . senecta*): the name *Pylius* can be related to the epithets given to deities (*Dictaeum, Tritonida*); the choice of *aevo* instead of the more commonly used *aetas* or *senecta*, conveys a further nuance of eternity.

numerosior: notice the assonance (*precor*, *sacratior*) and the parallelism with the first line. The adjective, having an adverbial force, is analogous to *multus* in line 5.

4. semper et hoc vultu vel meliore nite: cf. Tib.1.7.64 (*supra*). The face of the day is the weather. If the birthday is shining, it is full of good omens: Ov. *Tr.* 5.5.13–14 *optime natalis! quamvis procul absumus, opto/candidus huc venias dissimilisque meo* (Luck, 1977 *ad loc.*); [Julian]. *De die Natali* (*A. L.* II 638 Riese) 1–2 *clarus inoffenso procedat lumine Titan/laetificusque dies eat omnibus aethere puro*. *Niteo* can be used of the Sun (Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.8), or of the sky on a clear day (Lucr. 1.9). The day and the heavens pay homage to the Emperor. However, the line could be understood in a slightly different way: the countenance could belong to the Emperor himself by virtue of analogy, inasmuch as the deification of the day contributes to the sanctification of Domitian. Good weather is a standard metaphor for political peace. Therefore, by alluding to the splendour of the day, the poet is also asking earthly Jupiter for benevolence and equanimity. Other passages describing the serenity of his countenance (5.6.9–11 *Nosti tempora tu Iovis sereni,/cum fulget placido suoque vultu,/quo nil supplicibus solet negare*; Howell *ad loc.*; 6.10.6; 6.10.10 *hoc vultu*) remind us, in a very subtle way, of Jupiter's—and the Emperor's—potential wrath: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.3 *voltus instantis tyranni*. Finally, this line is reminiscent of a Horatian passage dedicated to Augustus: *Carm.* 4.5.6–8 *instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus/adfulsit populo, gratior it dies/et soles melius nitent*.

semper: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.18–9 *talem te cernere semper/mense meo tua Roma cupit*.

5–8. In the following couplets the poet anticipates the perpetuation of the celebrations—games and literary contests—promoted by the Emperor (see Coleman, 1986: 3087–3115; Nauta, 2002: 328–355). Although Domitian's fondness of literature has often been called into question (Jones, 1992: 11), these literary *certamina* served his own political interests: he wanted to appear as a new Augustus in the eyes of the Romans. In book IV Martial portrays him twice as patron of the arts, though in a more private sphere: **4.8**; **4.27**. See also Thiele, 1916: 240–249.

5. This line alludes to the games established by Domitian in honour of Minerva, his favourite deity: see Gsell, 1894: 76–77; Sauter, 1934: 90–96; Scott, 1936: 166–188; Girard, 1981: 203–232; 1981a: 233–245; Coleman, 1986: 3096; Jones, 1992: 28; 100; 1996: 46; RE *s.* Minerva (Heichelheim, XVII, 1932: 1801–1802); OCD[3] *s. Alban Games*; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.91 *familiare numen Minerva*; Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.22 *tuae . . . Minervae* (Coleman *ad loc.*); Suet. *Dom.* 15.3 *Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat*; Dio Cass. 67.1.2; 67.16. 1; Mart. 5.2.8; 5.5.1 *Palatinae . . . Minervae*; 6.10.9 *nostri . . . conscia virgo Tonantis* (Grewing); 7.1 (Galán); 8.1.4 *Pallas Caesariana* (Schöffel); 9.3.10 (Henriksén); 14.179.

These games were held annually under the reign of Domitian, at his Alban palace in March: cf. 5.1.1 *Palladiae . . . Albae.* More details can be found in Suetonius and in Cassius Dio's accounts: Suet. *Dom.* 4.11 *Celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervae, cui collegium instituerat, ex quo sorte ducti magisterio fungerentur ederentque eximias venationes et scaenicos ludos superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina* (cf. Juv. 4.99f.); Dio Cass. 67.1.2–3 θεῶν μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἤγαλλε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια μεγάλως ἑώρταζε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνας καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ λογογράφων μονομάχων τε κατ' ἔτος ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ἐποίει· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀλβανόν, ἀφ' οὗπερ οὕτως ὠνομάσθη, ὂν ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀκρόπολιν ἐξείλετο (see Gsell, 1894: 125–126).

Albano . . . auro: in the games of Minerva held at Domitian's Alban residence (Jones, 1992: 96–97; 1996: 45; Darwall-Smith, 1994: 144–161), the award in the poetic contest was a golden olive wreath: 9.23.5 *Albanae livere potest pia quercus olivae* (Henriksén *ad loc.*); Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.28–29 *me nitidis Albana ferentem/dona comis, sanctoque indutum Caesaris auro*; 4.2.67 *palladio tua me manus induit auro*; 4.5.24 *Caesareo . . . auro* (see Coleman *ad loc.* and cf. 5.3.228–229).

Tritonida: Gr. Τριτωνίς; i.e. Minerva. The epithet alludes to her birthplace, for, according to the myth, she was born on the shore of lake (or river) Tritonis: cf. e.g. Diod. Sic. *Hist.* 3.70.2–3; Sil. 9.297. This same adjective, used as a noun here, is applied to the goddess several times in Latin poetry, along with the more common *Tritonia*: Lucr. 6.750 *Palladis . . . Tritonidis almae*; Verg. *A.* 5.704 *Tritonia Pallas*; 11.483 *Tritonia virgo*; Ov. *Met.* 8.548; Luc. 9.354 (see Carter, 1902: 71, and Bruchmann, 1893: 15–16 for its Greek equivalents Τριτωγένεια, Τριτογενής, Τριτωνίς).

multus: with predicative, almost adverbial, force (OLD *s. v.* 6; cf. Sal. *Jug.* 84.1; 96.3; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.38; Luc. 8.285; Flor. *Epit.* 2.13).

6. Domitian also established the *Agon Capitolinus* to commemorate the restoration of the temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* in AD 86 (Censorinus, *De die Natali* 18.15). This *certamen* was held every four years in honour of Jupiter: Suet. *Dom.* 4.8 *Instituit et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi triplex, musicum equestre gymnicum, et aliquanto plurium quam nunc est coronatorum* (Jones *ad loc.*); cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.62 (Coleman); Mart. 9.40.1–2; 9.101.22 (Henriksén). The main topic of the literary contest was the eulogy of Jupiter (Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.3). Domitian took advantage of this fact by promoting the equation between him and the god: Jupiter was, in fact, a key element in the propaganda of the Flavian dynasty (Jones, 1992: 99; Fears, 1981: 74–80). On the *Agon Capitolinus*, see RE *s. Capitolia* (Wissowa, III 2, 1899: 1527–1530); Friedländer SG III 379f.; Gsell, 1894: 122–125; Coleman, 1986: 3097; 2000: 243–244; Jones, 1992: 100; 103–105; 1996: 42–43, Thuillier, 1996; White, 1998; Rieger, 1999; and especially Caldelli, 1993.

manus tantas: cf. **4.8.10** (n.) *ingentique tenet pocula parca manu*; **4.30.4–5** (n.) *manumque . . . / illam, qua nihil est in orbe maius*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.6 *magna manus Iouis*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.60–63 (Laguna *ad loc.*). *Tantas* suggests both power and authority, and also endows the Emperor with superhuman proportions (Weinreich, 1928: 145; Scott, 1936: 118; Sauter, 1934).

plurima quercus: in the *Agon Capitolinus* the prize consisted of a golden oak wreath: cf. **4.54.1–2**; 9.3.8 *Tarpeiae frondis honore*; 9.23.5; Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.231; Juv. 6.387. The oak was sacred to Jupiter (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.13; Serv. *ad loc.; G.* 3.332 *Iovis . . . quercus*; Ov. *Met.* 7.623; Phaed. 3.17.2–4) and the *Agon Capitolinus* was dedicated to him. This line alludes indirectly to the *certamen*, apart from applying significantly one of Jupiter's attributes to Domitian's hands.

7–8. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.17–18 *salve, magne parens mundi, qui saecula mecum / instaurare paras*. This distich alludes to the *Ludi Saeculares*, held by Domitian in AD 88 (see RE *s. Saeculares Ludi* [Nilsson, I A II, 1920: 1686–1720]). These originated in the *Ludi Tarentini*, first held in 249 BC, and then in 146 BC. They took place in an area of the *Campus Martius* called *Tarentum*, and consisted of theatrical games and religious celebrations. Augustus wanted to signal the advent of a new era with the celebration of the Secular Games in 17 BC: for him the *saeculum* lasted for 110 years. Claudius celebrated them in AD 47, to commemorate the eighth centenary of the foundation of Rome;

for Claudius a *saeculum* consisted of 100 years, as in Republican times. Domitian's games conformed to Augustus' era: Suet. *Dom.* 4.3 *Fecit et ludos saeculares, computatione temporum ad annum non quo Claudius proxime, sed quo olim Augustus ediderat* (*vid.* Jones *ad loc.*), although he held the games six years early. On the *Ludi Saeculares*, see Pighi, 1941; Brind'Amour, 1978; Coarelli, 1997: 100–117.

7. redeuntia saecula: Sauter, 1934: 19–24; Jones 1992: 102–103; 218 (n. 21); cf. Verg. *A.* 8.324–5 *aurea . . . saecula*: 'The conception of the monarch as founder of a golden age had long been associated with the ruler cult' (Scott, 1936: 96). For similar wishes, cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.37 *mecum altera saecula condes*. The phrase recalls Lucr. 1.311 and Verg. *A.* 8.47 *redeuntis annis*.

ingenti . . . lustro: the meaning of this phrase is not univocal. Together with a religious value, the term *lustrum* refers to an indefinite period of time (TLL *s. v.* 1883.51–66 [Clavadetscher]): Verg. *A.* 1.283 *veniet lustris labentibus aetas*. It also suggests a cyclical time period (cf. *redeuntia saecula*): cf. Sen. *Nat.* 7.19.2. Both senses are present when *lustrum* indicates the interval between the celebration of games (TLL *s. v.* 1884.50–61): Hor. *Saec.* 66–68 *remque Romanam Latiumque felix/ alterum in lustrum meliusque semper/ prorogat aevum*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.45 *annua veloci peragunt certamina lustro* (Laguna *ad loc.*). The term can also allude to the games proper: Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.62; CIL VI 33976; IX 2860 CERTAMINE SACRO IOVIS CAPITOLINI LVSTRO SEXTO CLARITATE INGENII CORONATVS EST.

8. Note that the *Ludi Saeculares* were celebrated at *Tarentum* (*vid. infra*), a place in the *Campus Martius*. The *Ludi Tarentini*, which could have been similar to the cult of Demeter in the *Thesmophoriae* (RE *s. Tarentum* 2 [St. Weinstock, IV A II, 1932: 2313–2316]), were the origin of the *Ludi Saeculares* (cf. Varr. *Litt.* 70.1–8), and might have given the place its name. Obviously, lines 7–8 refer to the same celebration in AD 88 (see Burkhard, 1991: 114, n. 178).

Romuleus . . . Tarentos: Tarentum, in the *Campus Martius* (see Coarelli, 1997: 74–100; 1999: 21–22 [LTVR s. Tarentum]). Here there was a shrine consecrated to Dis and Persephone, to whom sacrifices were originally held during the *Ludi Tarentini*. Instead of the more common forms *Terentum* (Paul. Fest. 441 L) or *Tarentum*, Martial uses *Tarentos*, which was also the name of a Greek colony, hence the explicatory adjective *Romuleus*, that is, 'Roman': 10.63.3

Romano . . . Tarento; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.56 *aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum*; Ov. *Met.* 15.51 *praeterit et Sybarin Lacedaemoniumque Tarentum.* Martial uses *Romuleus* as a poetic equivalent to *Romanus* only in this epigram, but this sense became popular in Silver poetry: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.260; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.165; 4.4.4; 4.6.79; 4.8.62; 5.1.87; 5.2.21; 5.2.161; 5.3.176; Sil. 10.279; 11.75; 11.583; 12.606; 15.1; 17.526.

9. magna quidem . . . petimus, sed debita terris: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 16.19 *praemia magna quidem, sed non indebita, posco; Met.* 4.534 *magna quidem posco; Pont.* 3.1.87 *Magna peto, sed non tamen invidiosa roganti.* The prayers of lines 5–6 are feasible, for they conform with human life expectancy; however, the one in lines 7–8 (i.e. that Domitian will celebrate another *Ludi Saeculares*) is intemperate and impossible to fulfil (Burkhard, 1991: 118), as the poet acknowledges. *Magna* is semantically quite close to *improba* in line 10: cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.54–56 *magna petis, Phaethon, et quae nec viribus istis/munera conveniant nec tam puerilibus annis:/sors tua mortalis, non est mortale, quod optas.*

superi: the change of addressee in the final distich is relevant: Martial now invokes the heavenly gods in contrast with the indirect allusion to the underworld in the previous line.

debita terris: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.817–8.

10. improba vota: excessive pride or lack of measure in any mortal (*hybris*) would incur the gods' wrath: yet Domitian *is* a god! *Improbus* means 'daring' or 'intemperate': Plin. *Nat.* 2.95 *ausus rem etiam deo improbam*; Sen. *Dial.* 5.7.2 *actiones nostrae nec parvae sint nec audaces et improbae.* The expression *improba vota* appears in Sen. *Thy.* 1074; Lucan. 5.277; Sil. 7.214; Stat. *Theb.* 11.505; 12.260.

tanto: see Sauter, 1934: 96; Scott, 1936: 117; cf. **4.1.6** (n.) *tantas.*

deo: for the deification of Domitian, see Sauter, 1934: 54–78; Scott, 1933; 1936: 102–112; 133–140; Fears, 1981: 74–80; Clauss, 1999: 119–132; Nauta, 2002: 380–383. Although Martial presents the Emperor Titus as an earthly god (*Sp.* 17.(20).4 *Nostrum sentit et ille deum*) it is especially from book IV onwards that an emperor is overtly and frequently portrayed as such and even called Jupiter: **4.8.12** (n.) *matutinum . . . Iovem*; 5.5.2; 5.6.9 *Iovis sereni*; 6.10.1, 4; 7.99.8 *ipsi . . . deo*; 8.8.6; 8.24.4; 8.82.3; 9.36.2 *alterius . . . Iovis*; 9.91.6 *in terris Iuppiter.* He is completely identified with the father of the gods. Notice that the poem—and the book—started with the word *Caesaris* and ends, significantly, with the word *deo* (Burkhard, 1991: 118).

2

Domitian decreed that the audience should wear the toga at the spectacles, and restricted the range of colours to white (14.135; see Leary *ad loc.*), although purple and crimson were also allowed. The Emperor was very strict regarding etiquette (cf. Dio Cass. 67.8.3). Only in bad weather could a cloak (*lacerna*) be worn, but it should match the toga, that is, it should be white. The protagonist of this epigram contravenes Domitian's rule by wearing a black cloak.

Although apparently breaking the short cycle of epigrams **4.1** and **4.3**, this poem is closely related to them and is purposefully positioned in between: here the Emperor is also the presiding figure (*sancto cum duce*) and the epigram focuses on the same event as **4.3**, a snowfall amid the spectacles (*nix* 2.5; *nives* 3.8). Nevertheless, the nature and tone of epigrams 4.2 and 4.3 differ noticeably. The present poem is direct and to the point. The first two lines clarify the circumstances: not long ago a man, called Horatius, went to the spectacles wearing a black cloak. He looked like a black spot in the midst of a white multitude (*candidus*), the rest conforming with their sovereign (3–4). Apparently Domitian only acts as a spectator; he does not have to do anything, for the Heavens themselves make the dissenter obey (5–6): a snowfall whitens Horatius' cloak. Poem **4.2** contrasts with **4.3** in its use of denotative language (cf. *nix, caelo, repente*) and paratactic, asyndetic syntax, as well as in its casual tone. Their juxtaposition, however, influences the interpretation of the former, adding a further symbolic meaning. The anecdote turns into a warning: there is no room for dissent. Notice that Domitian has been and will be equated with Jupiter, a meteorological deity. *Variatio* is attained by means of change in tone and metre (Phalaecean hendecasyllables): the rigid solemnity of the cycle is thus subtly eased.

Further reading: on this epigram see also Thiele, 1916: 255–256; Lorenz, 2004: 260–261.

1. solus inter omnes: only Horatius wears black garments. The metrical component helps to visualise him as a marginalised figure, for the phrase *solus inter omnes* is isolated by the caesura after the dactyl.

2. nigris . . . lacernis: the *lacerna* was a type of cloak suitable for bad rainy weather: Plin. *Nat.* 18.225 *ita nubilo occasu pluviosam hiemem denuntiat, statimque augent lacernarum pretia*; Mart. 14.135.2 *Cum teget algentes alba lacerna togas* (Leary *ad loc.*). On this garment, see Wilson, 1938: 117–125, Paoli, 1963: 102, Goldman, 2001a: 229, and TLL *s. v.* 823.25–824.9 (Montefusco). For the colour adjective, see André, 1949: 43–59. Lorenz focuses on the 'black and white' colour contrast, a symbol of good and evil (2004: 261 and n. 18).

munus: the spectacles (TLL *s. v.* 1665.66–1666.2 [Lumpe]), especially the gladiatorial ones (TLL *s. v.* 1665.78–1666.12), were fervently promoted by Domitian (Jones, 1992: 105–6). Despite being a technical term, *munus* adds nuances of bounty and liberality (TLL *s. v.* 1664.4–1664.34), as well as divinity, in that it may refer to a gift from the gods (TLL *s. v.* 1664.35–69). Lorenz (2004: 260) aptly links this epigram with the preceding one, inasmuch as the Alban and Capitoline Games 'consisted in part of performances in the arena'.

Horatius: this is the only time Martial uses this name to refer to a contemporary (cf. 9.41.5). It is strongly—though ironically—reminiscent of the poet Horace: vanquished at Philippi, he ended up singing of Augustus' grandeur.

3. plebs et minor ordo maximusque: the whole of society enfolds the Emperor, in a harmonic, yet hierarchical, picture. Social classes are named according to their relative position in the social pyramid: the *plebs*, the equestrian, and the senatorial *ordines*. Notice the significant use of the terms *minor* and *maximus*. For similar ways of referring to these classes, cf. Prop. 3.18.21 *primus et ultimus ordo*; Cic. *Leg.* 3.24.15 *summus ordo*. The most frequent adjectives are, nevertheless, *senatorius* and *equester*: e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 136 *ordo senatorius*; Sal. *Cat.* 17.3; Liv. 26.36.12 *equester ordo*. For the hierarchical presentation of society in Martial's epigrams, see Sullivan, 1987: 188.

4. sancto cum duce: 'the *Princeps* is the apex of the Roman social pyramid' (Sullivan, 1987: 188). The metrical component stresses his select position, as the caesura separates this phrase from the rest of the line. *Sanctus* stresses the moral authority of Domitian and endows him with a sacred nature: Mart. 5.6.8 (cf. 6.29.2); 6.91.1 (Grewing *ad loc.*); Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.29 (Laguna *ad loc.*); Quint. *Inst.* 4. pr.3; see Sauter, 1934: 113. Ovid (*Fast.* 2.127) calls Augustus *sancte pater patriae*;

Valerius Flaccus addresses Vespasian as *sancte pater* (1.11). On the use of epithets such as *sanctus* and *sacer* for emperors, see Berlinger, 1935: 70–77; Frei-Stolba, 1969: 34. *Dux* applied to the Caesar is rooted in Augustan poetry: Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.52 (Nisbet-Hubbard); 3.14.7; *Ep.* 1.18.56; Prop. 2.10.4; Ov. *Ars* 1.202; *Pont.* 2.1.22; *Fast.* 1.613; 1.646 *dux venerande* (*Tiberi*); 2.60 *sacrati . . . ducis*; 2.136; 4.408; 5.145; 6.92. Both Statius and Martial refer to Domitian as *dux* on occasion: Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.50; 4.3.139 *dux hominum*; Mart. 1.70.6 *summi . . . ducis*; 5.5.4; 6.76.2; 6.91.1; 7.60.2; 8.49.8; 8.55.2; see Martin, 1986: 206–207. It presents the Emperor as the head of society in broad terms, not only in a military sense.

candidus: as a colour adjective it can be applied to white clothes (TLL *s. v.* 243.24–63 [Goetz]), especially the toga (TLL *s. v.* 243.28–31), and also to a person clad in white, as in this passage (TLL *s. v.* 243.57–62; Mart. 8.65.5 *candida cultu/Roma*; Ov. *Am.* 2.13.23; *Fast.* 4.906). The epithet has, however, symbolic connotations of purity and innocence, which are stressed by the closeness of *sancto* (cf. **4.13.7** n.; **4.86.5** n.; see André, 1949: 31–38).

sederet: in the sense of watching a spectacle: Cic. *Sest.* 118; Hor. *S.* 1.6.48; Sen. *Con.* 7.3.9; Apul. *Fl.* 9.

5. toto . . . caelo: cf. Verg. *A.* 8.427; 12.283; Ov. *Am.* 1.8.9 *toto glomerantur nubila caelo*; Prop. 2.16.49; Sen. *Med.* 531.

nix cecidit: cf. Lucr. 3.21; Ov. *Am.* 3.5.11; Sen. *Ben.* 4.39.3; *Nat.* 4.2.18; 4.3.18; 2.152.234; 18.138. For the frequency of snowfalls in the area in antiquity, see Le Gall, 1953: 26–27.

6. The epigram displays a compact structure. The last line echoes the first two with slight but significant changes: *albis*, in a prominent position (cf. 2 *nigris*), and *spectat*, in the present tense (cf. 1 *spectabat*). For the structural device of ending an epigram with variations on a previous line, see Salemme, 1976: 52; Siedschlag, 1977: 123; and cf. 3.20.1/21; 4.55.27–29; 6.19.2/9; 6.22.1/4; 7.17.1/12; 7.45.9/11; 9.55.2/8; 9.57.1/13. The repetition of a line with antithetical variations can be traced back to Catul. 62.20/26; 62.42/44; 62.53/55; Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.20/22; and also appears in Mart. 1.109.22–23; 2.41.1/23; 2.68.8/9; 7.39.4/9; 10.35.1–2/3–4; 11/12; 12.15. 8/10. For a detailed study, see Siedschlag, 1977: 121–124.

albis . . . lacernis: for the use of *albus*, see André, 1949: 25–31. Is *albis* used merely for the sake of variation and for metrical rea-

sons, simply as the opposite of *nigris*, or is it intentionally used in contrast with *candidus*? Perhaps it should be taken into account that *albus* lacks the nuance of luminosity present in *candidus* (cf. Serv. *G.* 3.82): the whiteness of the cloak is not intrinsic but due to an external agent. Besides, in contrast to the positive connotations of *candidus, albus* is often equivalent to 'pale' and is even applied to fear (André, 1949: 28): Hor. *Epod.* 7.15 *albus . . . pallor*; Pers. 3.115 *timor albus*. The subject's dread of the Emperor is subtly suggested: cf. Plin. *Pan.* 48.1.

3

The episode of the previous epigram is now focused on from a new perspective and with an absolutely different style and purpose. Written in elegiac couplets, this is a solemn laudatory poem addressed to the Emperor, who is both praised for his military achievements and consoled on the premature death of his son. Domitian is the centre of the epigram: in the first distich, it seems that the snow falls only on him. However, it does not disturb him: as an experienced warrior in northern campaigns, he is used to adverse weather conditions. In this respect he surpasses Jupiter himself, lord of the elements, thus echoing **4.1**. The end of the epigram is rather surprising: Domitian endures the storm because it is his own son, dead and deified, who sends the snowfall from the heavens. He is now portrayed not as a general, but as an affectionate father.

The complex combination of both facets is rendered in a periphrastic, somewhat baroque, style. For instance, the snowfall, simply referred to as *nix* in the preceding epigram, is alluded to in periphrastic, meaningful ways: *densum tacitarum vellus aquarum; concretas . . . aquas; siccis . . . aquis*. The oxymoron involved in all these phrases stresses the rarity of the event, endowing it with a mysterious, almost supernatural halo, which anticipates the closing distich. This indirectness links this epigram with the first in the collection, both written in the same metre.

Further reading: Thiele, 1916: 255–256; Lorenz: 2004: 261.

1–2. Notice the enigmatic quality of the first line by means of the use of metaphor and oxymoron: *densum tacitarum vellus aquarum*. Lorenz (2002: 136) points out that the theme of mourning is already present at the beginning of the epigram: the waters falling on the Emperor's chest evoke his tears for his son's death. The allusion to tears is a key element in *epicedia* and *consolationes* (Esteve-Forriol, 1962: 144): Tib. 1.1.61–62; Ov. *Am.* 3.9.11; 46; *Epic. Drusi* 101–102 (snow as a metaphor for tears) *Liquitur, ut quondam zephyris et solibus ictae/solvuntur tenerae vere tepente nives*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.17–20; 213. This passage is comparable to the following passage in the *Consolatio ad Liviam*:

Congelat interdum lacrimas **duratque** tenetque
suspensasque, oculis fortior, intus agit:
erumpunt iterumque lavant **gremiumque sinusque**,
effusae gravidis uberibusque genis.
In vires abiit flendi mora: plenior **unda**
defluit, exigua siqua retenta mora (113–118).

Verbs describing the held-back tears are related to snow: *concretas aquas* recalls *congelat . . . lacrimas duratque*. Martial's second line is reminiscent of the second couplet in the passage of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*. Finally, the same verb is used (*defluat/defluit*) together with a metaphor (*vellus aquarum/plenior unda*), of snow and rain respectively. For the rain as a metaphor for tears, see **4.18.2** (n.).

1. Aspice: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.7 *cerne pios fletus laudataque lumina terge.* The verb suggests that the event has taken place in public. Epigram **4.2** clarified that the snowfall occurred during a spectacle. *Aspice* is an invitation to look at, but also to reflect on the scene. Lorenz (2002: 136, n. 98) points out that *aspice* is a typical beginning for an epitaph: see Grewing *ad* 6.73.5; Siedschlag, 1977: 9 (with other instances of *verba videndi*). As a common set phrase in epitaph, it is widely attested in the CLE: ASPICE QVAM INDIGNE SIT DATA VITA MIHI (502.2; 1083.2; 1084.2; 1539.2; 1540.2; 1542.2; with *misere* instead of *indigne* 1541.2); cf. 1489.1–2; 457.2. Notice that this funerary formula mainly appears when parents outlive their children.

densum: Col. 7.3.3 *densique velleris*; [Tib.] 3.7.156 *densam . . . nivem*; Germ. *fr.* 3(34).14 *densa nive*; Verg. *G.* 1.333 *imber.*

tacitarum . . . aquarum: Ov. *Fast.* 3.652 *sustinuit tacitas conscius amnis aquas*; Verg. *A.* 10.227 *tacitis . . . undis*; cf. Tib. 1.6.12; 1.9.4. *Tacitus* also has a figurative sense close to 'secret', 'hidden' (OLD *s. v.* 8), contributing to an atmosphere of mystery, which will culminate in the final line.

A cry can also be silent: Ov. *Am.* 1.7.22; Liv. 3.47.3.2 *tacito fletu*; Sil. 12.553–554 *fusae/per tacitum lacrimae*; cf. 17.214–215; Apul. *Met.* 9.38 *ne tacitum quidem fletum.* Both Domitian's grief and restraint are evoked. Water is on occasion used as a metaphor for crying (TLL *s. v.* 363.37–43 [Prinz]): cf. Prop. 3.6.10; Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.98 *inque sinum maestae labitur imber aquae.*

vellus: a poetic metaphor for clouds (Verg. *G.* 1.397; Luc. 4.124), feathers (Grat. 77 *nivei . . . vellera cygni*), or snow (Man. 3.445 *nivei . . . vellera signi*). Ovid compares tears with melted snow: Ov. *Ep.* 13.52

(Reeson *ad loc.*, with Greek sources such as *Od.* 19.204–9; Call. *Hymn.* 6.91); *Am.* 1.7.57–58 (McKeown *ad loc.*); *Tr.* 3.2.19–20; *Pont.* 2.3.89–90; *Epic. Drusi* 101–102.

2. in vultus . . . inque sinus: waters falling on Domitian's face and chest evoke his tears (Lorenz, 2002: 136). In fact, the poetic image of tears bathing the face (Verg. *A.* 9.251; *Epic. Drusi* 199; Ov. *Tr.* 3.5.12; Sen. *Med.* 937; *Phaed.* 381; *Ag.* 922; Sil. 6.294; 17.214; Apul. *Met.* 10.6), chest (Verg. *A.* 4.30; Ov. *Ep.* 8.62; *Am.* 3.6.68 *spargebat teneros flebilis imbre sinus; Fast.* 4.521–522; *Epic. Drusi* 115), or both (Ov. *Ep.* 6.70 *et lacrimis osque sinusque madent*) is recurrent.

In a figurative sense, *sinus*, a fold of the toga normally used as a pocket, can refer to the chest itself, over which it lay. In this passage the term adds further nuances which are not fully apprehended until the end of the epigram: *sinus* also means 'bosom' (Apul. *Apol.* 44; 88 *materno sinu*; Tac. *Hist.* 3.38 *sinu complexus*; *Dial.* 28.4 *gremio ac sinu matris educabatur*). After these subliminal suggestions of the Emperor's paternal and affective traits, Martial praises his qualities as an experienced warrior in the following couplets.

Caesaris: the same name as in **4.1.1** (n.).

3. Indulget tamen ille Iovi: on the one hand, Domitian tolerates adverse meteorological conditions; on the other, he patiently endures his son's death. According to Lorenz (2002: 136) this line also evokes a context of mourning, in which surviving relatives could complain about the gods or the forces of destiny (Esteve-Forriol, 1962: 138–140; cf. e.g. Mart. 11.91.3; Sen. *Thy.* 1068–1096); yet Domitian does not blame Jupiter.

Indulget: this is an attitude pertaining to gods: Mart. 10.38.3 *Indulsit deus*; Calp. *Ecl.* 7.75 *indulgente deo*; V. Fl. 2.356. Just as in **4.1.1–2**, Domitian is placed above Jupiter. Indulgence is also a paternal attitude: Cic. *De orat.* 2.168; Sen. *Con.* 9.4.14; Sen. *Ben.* 4.17.2 *indulgere liberis; Dial.* 1.2.5; *Ep.* 78.2.2; Quint. *Decl.* 259.2; 296.1; 315.19.

Iovi: the sky, the weather: 7.36.1 *madidumque Iovem* (Galán *ad loc.*); Verg. *G.* 2.419 *et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.19–20 *malus . . ./Iuppiter urget* (Nisbet-Hubbard); Juv. 5.78–79 *fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus/Iuppiter.*

4. concretas . . . aquas: cf. Lucr. 3.20 *nix acri concreta pruina*; Verg. *G.* 2.376 *frigora nec tantum cana concreta pruina*; Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.32 *undas frigore concretas*; Curt. 5.6.14 *concretam glaciem*; 8.4.6 *concreto gelu*; Petr. 122.1.150 *glacie concreta*; 123.1.200 *et concreta gelu ponti velut unda ruebat.*

pigro frigore: cf. Verg. *G.* 4.259 *ignavaeque fame et contracto frigore pigrae*; Tib. 1.2.31 *Non mihi pigra nocent hibernae frigora noctis*; Ov. *Met.* 2.174 *frigore pigra prius nec formidabilis ulli; Rhet. Her.* 4.43 *frigus* (*dicimus*) *pigrum, quia pigros efficit.*

ridet: just as in **4.19.11** (*ridebis ventos . . . et imbris*), *ridet* denotes contempt as well as nonchalance towards adverse conditions. Besides, just like *indulgere, ridere* is an action befitting the gods: cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.87 *Hunc Venus e templis, quae sunt confinia, ridet*; 1.633 *Iuppiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum; Tr.* 1.5.27 *dum iuvat et vultu ridet Fortuna sereno.*

5–6. Reference is made to Domitian's northern campaigns against the Chatti and the Dacians in 82/83 and 85/86 respectively (Suet. *Dom.* 6.1). He is portrayed as a tough and experienced general, somehow assimilated to Jupiter. The constellations mentioned in these lines stand for the northern latitudes and their adverse climatological conditions, but also have a symbolic value and evoke the deification of dead members of the imperial family (Henriksén *ad* 9.101.22).

5. sidus Hyperborei . . . Bootae: boreal constellation close to the Great Bear (Man. 1.316), also called *Arctophylax* (Cic. *N. D.* 2.109.8; *Arat.* 16.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 2.2.2). Arcas, the son of Callisto and Jupiter, was turned into a star, *Artophylax* (Ov. *Met.* 2.507; *Fast.* 2.153–192; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.4). Notice the subtle analogy between Jupiter's and Domitian's offspring. *Hyperboreus* is an appropriate epithet for northern realities: Lucan applies it to the Great Bear (5.23 *Hyperboreae . . . Ursae*). Cold and snow are also given this epithet: Verg. *G.* 4.517 *Hyperboreas glacies.*

lassare: 'to wear down'. If its object refers to adverse conditions, it emphasises the subject's endurance (OLD *s. v.* 2c; TLL *s. v.* 990.6–19 [Ravenna]).

6. madidis . . . comis: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.104 *et madidam siccas aequoris imbre comam; Ars* 3.224 *madidas exprimit imbre comas; Pont.* 4.1.30 *aequoreo madidas quae premit imbre comas.* The reference is quite ambiguous:

whose is the wet hair? Most likely, Domitian's, but it may be argued that his baldness is an obstacle to this interpretation (Suet. *Dom.* 18.1). Baldness, however, does not mean absolute lack of hair. On Domitian's concern about it, see Morgan, 1997. On the other hand, it could not pertain to *Helicen*, for she is condemned not to bathe in the Ocean: Hom. *Il.* 18.489; Ov. *Met.* 2.527–530; *Fast.* 2.191–192. However, just as this constellation is said to be *horrida* (6.25.2 *horrida . . . ursa*), *madidis comis* may allude to the rain and snow connected to it: cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 1539 *Helices nivosae*; Germ. *Arat.* 41–42 *sed candida tota/et liquido splendore Helice nitet.*

Helicen: the Great Bear (Hyg. *Fab.* 177.3) and, metonymically, the northern regions (cf. **4.11.3** *Parrhasia . . . sub ursa*) and their cold weather (Sen. *Her. O.* 1539 *Helices nivosae*). There are two main mythological versions of the origins of the constellation: one pertaining to Helice and Cynosura, Jupiter's nurses (Hyg. *Astr.* 2.2.1); the other tells that Callisto, previously transformed by an angry Juno into a bear, was turned by Jupiter into a star, along with their son: Ov. *Met.* 2.507; *Fast.* 2.153–192; Serv. *G.* 1.67; 1.246. Notice again the analogy with Domitian's son (see Desnier, 1979: 58).

dissimulare: *non respicere, vid.* TLL *s. v.* 1484.3–1484.54 (Bannier).

7. In epigram 5.34.7 (*infra*) the poet imagines another dead child, Erotion, playing among the dead. Dead or deified, children are portrayed at play.

quis: this *lectio* was absent from the manuscript tradition (*qui*), and it was Gryphius (1585) who first introduced this reading, totally accepted among the editors. However, *qui* seems to have been preferred to *quis* when an -s followed (see Hofmann-Szantyr: 540) in order to avoid sigmatism: Sal. *Cat.* 44.5 *Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces*; cf. Cic. *Catil.* 3.12 *Qui* (*var. lect.* quis) *sim scies ex eo quem ad te misi.* This seems to be simply a tendency, not an established rule: Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.17 *quis scit*; Mart. 1.104.11 *quis spectacula non putet deorum?*

siccis . . . aquis: cf. Sid. *Carm.* 5.512 *sicca pluvia.* The phrase *sicca aqua* is not documented elsewhere: it is a poetic oxymoron denoting snow. In spite of the proximity of *siccae* at the beginning of the following poem, it is unlikely that this is a passage corrupted in trasmission.

lascivit . . . ludit: both are terms appropriate for children at play: cf. Mart. 5.34.7 *inter tam veteres ludat lasciva patronos* (14.79.1 *ludite las-*

civi); Juv. 11.98; Ov. *Rem.* 23–24; *Fast.* 4.701. *Lascivere* is a synonym for *ludere*: Plin. *Nat.* 21.2; *Schol. ad* Hor. *Ep.* 2.199. For a metapoetic interpretation, see Lorenz, 2004: 261.

ab aethere: notice the use of the more poetic term *aether* instead of the more common *caelum* (**4.2.5**) in the same context (TLL *s. v.* 1151.17–30 [v. Mess]). *Aether* suggests the notion of divinity, for it is used of the gods' abode (TLL *s. v.* 1151.31–60). Compare with *aetherio* in **4.8.9**.

8. pueri Caesaris: the son of Domitian and Domitia was born during his second consulate, AD 73 (Suet. *Dom.* 3.1) and died very young, before AD 83 (a discussion on these dates can be found in Desnier, 1979). Like other members of his family he was deified (Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.97; Sil. 3.626–629). On some coins he is represented sitting naked on the globe, surrounded by seven stars: see Clauss, 1999: 121–122. Desnier (1979) interprets that the seven stars represent the Great Bear (*septem Triones*) and that he is portrayed as Arcturus, the brightest star of the constellation Bootes, into which the son of Callisto and Jupiter was transformed. Arcturus rises before the autumn and is a dreaded star, especially for sailors, since it causes tempests: Amp. 2.6.16 *Arcturus nominatus est (cuius stella cum exoritur, continuas tempestates facit)*; Plin. *Nat.* 2.106 *arcturi vero sidus non ferme sine procellosa grandine emergit*; Pl. *Rud.* 69–71; Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.27; Verg. *A.* 1.744; Ov. *Pont.* 2.7.58. The portrayal of Domitian as Jupiter is further emphasised. The death of Domitian's son is equated with the loss of Sarpedon, Jupiter's offspring, in 9.86.7–8.

The phrase *pueri Caesaris* is ambiguous: it may mean 'Caesar's son' or 'young Caesar' (or rather, boy-Caesar). Domitian's son is called *Divus Caesar* on coins, and, according to Desnier (1979: 63–64), who attempts to reconstruct the complete name of the child, the title *Caesar* must indicate that he had been designated by his father as his successor. See also TLL *onom. s. Caesar* 37.49ff.

On parents mourning their children, see Dixon, 1988: 113–114.

4

With an abrupt change of subject-matter and tone after the dedicatory beginning, this is a satiric epigram on the bad smell of a woman Martial calls Bassa. This epigram forms a pair with the third from last of the collection (**4.87**), dealing with the same fault in the protagonist: *pedere Bassa solet*. Whereas epigram 4.87 is direct and straightforward, this one is built on a *cumulatio* of similes which evoke her indescribable stench. This array of images, haphazard as it may seem, shows a certain organisation based on the association of ideas around the verb *redolet*: lines 1–3 refer to different types of reeking water; line 4 contains a paradigm of pestilence: the billy goat mounting the she-goat; the next image pertains to the human world, though it may have been suggested by the preceding one (*piger* → *lassi*); the veteran's boot paves the way for the smelly purple cloth (line 5), both inherently human; there follows bad breath (7–8), characteristic of the dregs of society, which evokes a prostitute's lamp, probably fuelled by low quality oil; bad oil is the main ingredient of the *ceroma* in line 10. The catalogue is rounded off by further animal stench: the fox and the viper, a likely misogynist touch involving the prostitute's (*Leda*) and the protagonist's name (*Bassa*). Although the cause of the bad smell is never stated, there are some clues which point to an obscene origin (4, 9): in 6.69.1 (Grewing *ad loc.*) Bassa is a *fellatrix*. Halitosis, especially as a result of oral sex, is a common theme in Martial's epigrams (11.30; Kay *ad loc.*; 12.85), going back to Catullus' sexual attacks (97; 98).

Unpleasant body odour in general is a traditionally satirical theme: cf. Catul. 69; Hor. *S.* 1.2.27; Mart. 1.87; 6.93. The attempt to mitigate it by means of perfume is also the butt of satire: 2.12.4; 3.55; 6.55.5. The topic is also present in Greek epigram (see Prinz, 1911: 77; Brecht, 1930: 94–95), ranging from bad breath (Lilja, 1972: 124–126; Prinz, 1911: 77; *A. P.* 11.239; 11.241; 11.242; 11.415 [see Gow-Page, 1968 II: 103]; cf. Catul. 97.2; Mart. 2.42) to breaking wind (Brecht, 1930: 95; cf. Mart. 4.87). See also *A. P.* 11.427 and Mart. 1.83; 3.17; 3.28; 7.94, as well as Poetschel, 1905: 5.

On the use of *cumulatio*, see Pertsch (1911: 42–44) and Kuppe (1972: 137–140), who offers the following comparable catalogues of similes: 3.65; 6.93; 11.8; 11.21.

Further reading: Prinz, 1911: 77; Burnikel, 1980: 32–36; Lorenz, 2004: 261. On smells in Latin literature, see Lilja, 1972; more specifically on Martial, see Spaeth, 1922.

1. Quod: for the repetition of *quod*, cf. 3.65; 11.8, as well as 1.41. In 6.93, an epigram similar to this in tone and content, there is an accumulation of negative particles.

siccae . . . lacunae: ***β γ***; *sica . . . lacunae T*; Shackleton Bailey (1990; 1993) *sicca . . . lacuna*. This echoes 4.3.7 (see Lorenz, 2004: 261).

redolet: *redoleo* has, in most cases, positive connotations: 3.65.4; 11.8.9; 14.59.2; Verg. *G.* 4.169; *A.* 1.436; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.46; Serv. *A.* 1.436 *quidam olere res vel malas vel bonas, redolere tantum bonas tradunt*. It is mainly used, however, for intense, pungent smells, not necessarily pleasant: 13.18 *Fila Tarentini graviter redolentia porri/edisti quotiens, oscula clusa dato*; Ov. *Rem.* 355 *Illa tuas redolent, Phineu, medicamina mensas*.

palus: Izaac translates 'les joncs' (cf. OLD *s. v.* 3; TLL *s. v.* 179.34–37 *pro herbis palustribus* [Hodges]): cf. 11.32.2; 14.38.2; 14.160.2. Nevertheless, *palus* may simply mean a quagmire (Lemaire, 1825: 372), resulting from a dried-up pond: cf. Col. 2.2.16 *limosae paludis*; Sen. *Ag.* 768 *palude limosa*; Sil. 4.750; Verg. *G.* 2.110 *crassis . . . paludibus*. *Siccus* would not necessarily mean completely waterless: cf. Curt. 4.16.14 *nec ulla adeo avia et sicca lacuna erat, ut vestigantium sitim falleret*. Marshes are traditionally insalubrious (Catul. 17.10; Col. 1.5.3 *et pestilens (aqua), quae in palude semper constitit*; Fro. *Amic.* 1.11.1) and foul-smelling (Lilja, 1972: 166–167: *Catal.* 13.23–25; Verg. *G.* 4.48; Sil. 8.379).

2. This line refers to *Aquae Albulae* ('La Solforata'), a spring near Tivoli, famous for its chilliness and healing properties: Strab. 5.3.11 ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ Ἄλβουλα καλούμενα ῥεῖ ὕδατα ψυχρὰ ἐκ πολλῶν πηγῶν, πρὸς ποικίλας νόσους καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθημένοις ὑγιεινά. Vitruvius explains how springs like this, despite their low temperature, have the appearance of thermal waters due to their sulfurous emanations (cf. *nebulae*):

> sunt etiam odore et sapore non bono frigidi fontes, qui ab inferioribus locis penitus orti per loca ardentia transeunt et ab eo per longum spatium terrae percurrentes refrigerati perveniunt supra terram sapore, odore coloreque corrupto, uti in Tiburtina via flumen Albula et in Ardeatino fontes frigidi eodem odore, qui sulphurati dicuntur, et reliquis locis similibus. hi autem, cum sunt frigidi, ideo videntur aspectu fervere (Vitr. 8.3.2).

See also Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.75 *illic sulpureos cupit Albula mergere crines*; Mart. 1.12.2 (Citroni *ad loc.*) *Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis*; Sen. *Nat.* 3.20.4 *Hoc minus tibi videbitur mirum, si notaveris Albulas et fere sulphuratam aquam circa canales suos rivosque durari*. Virgil mentions a sulfurous spring in Tivoli called *Albunea: A.* 7.83–84 *consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro/fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim*. Horsfall (2000: 96–97) and Fordyce (1977: 74–75) point out that both *Albula* and *Albunea* derive from *albus*, probably because of the white sulfurous colour of their banks. On their smell, see Lilja, 1972: 200–205.

crudarum: one is inclined to interpret this adjective in relation to the strong smell of sulfurous water (cf. *saevam . . . mephitim* [*supra*]). Yet there is no other instance of this meaning, and *crudus* has traditionally been taken as a synonym for *frigidus* (see Friedländer *ad loc.* and TLL *s. v.* 1236.6 [Hoppe]): cf. Mart. 6.42.18 *cruda Virgine Marciave mergi* (Grewing *ad loc.*). The curious thing is that, as Howell remarks (*ad* 1.12.2), these are thermal waters nowadays.

3. piscinae . . . marinae: this refers to sea water ponds, essentially used for pisciculture. The same phrase appears again as an image of intense smell (12.32.16–17; see Lilja, 1972: 166) and in a very different context (11.21.11; Kay *ad loc.*). Mankin (*ad* Hor. *Epod.* 12.5) states that 'sea creatures were proverbial for their stench'. More information on Roman fish-farming in OCD[3] *s. fishing*, 599.

vetus aura: cf. 12.32.17 (*supra*). *Aura* as an odorous emanation (TLL *s. v.* 1474.9–62 [Hey]): 3.65.2; 11.8.2; Verg. *G.* 4.417; Stat. *Theb.* 4.417.

4. quod pressa piger hircus in capella: the billy goat's smell is traditionally unbearable: cf. e.g. Ar. *Pax.* 813; *Ach.* 852 (Lilja, 1972: 124); Pl. *Mer.* 575; *Ps.* 738; Catul. 69.5–6; 71.1; Ov. *Ars* 1.522 *nec laedat naris virque paterque gregis; Ars* 3.193; Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.7 (Porph. *ad loc.*); *Epod.* 12.5 (Watson *ad loc.*); Plin. *Nat.* 12.46; *A. P.* 11.240.2; Mart. 3.93.11 *et illud oleas quod viri capellarum*; Lilja, 1972: 151–152.

This smell is especially foul at the moment of copulation: Mart. 6.93.3 *ab amore recens hircus* (Grewing). In fact, the smell of certain animals becomes more intense during rut (Lilja 1972: 140, n. 5). Besides, this sexual image corresponds to the traditional concept of their excessive sexual activity (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 10.23 *libidinosus . . . caper*; Serv. *Ecl.* 3.8 *libidinosa constat esse animalia*), thus suggesting some kind of deviation in the protagonist of the epigram. It is quite surprising that the *tragus*, normally related to underarm smell, is applied here to a woman (cf. 3.93.11). It may also allude, however, to bad breath: Hor. *S.* 1.2.27; 1.4.92 *pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum* (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 86.13). In similar passages goats are also characterised as stinking: Hor. *Ep.* 1.5.29 *olidae . . . caprae*; Samm. 12.175 *olidae . . . capellae.*

pressa: *premere* (and its compounds *comprimere* and *opprimere*) means 'to copulate' and it is generally applied to the male (Adams, 1982: 182; OLD *s. v.* 2b).

5. vardaicus: (see Stephani, 1889: 61; Colton, 1971: 56) a type of military footwear, the name of which derives from the *Bardaei* or *Vardaei*, a people of Illyria: cf. Juv. 16.13–14 *Bardaicus . . . calceus.* It has to be assumed that these boots were made of leather or goat's hide, materials famous for their strong smell: see Lilja, 1972: 154–155 and cf. 12.59.7. See also 9.73.1–2 (Watson-Watson, 2003: 278–289). It goes without saying that Martial is also thinking of the smell of feet, especially a veteran's. For the military boots or *caligae*, see Goldman, 2001: 122–123.

lassi . . . evocati: a weary veteran (see OLD *s. v.*), someone who has worn the boots for so long that they would be particularly old and smelly.

6. bis murice vellus inquinatum: purple dye (TLL *s. murex* 1671.5–30 [Halter]) had a penetrating odour: 1.49.32 *olidae vestes murice*; 2.16.3 *Sidone tinctus olenti*; 9.62 (Henriksén *ad loc.*); see also Taylor-Singer, 1979: 367. Purple was a dark brownish-red dye, extracted from molluscs such as *murex* or *purpura*. In order to get a more intense and lasting shade, wool could be dyed twice (Wilson, 1938: 9): Hor. *Epod.* 12.21 *muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae*; [Tib.] 3.8.16 *vellera . . . bis madefacta*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.107 *induerat Tyrio bis tinctam murice pallam*; Stat. *Theb.* 9.690 *bis Oebalio saturatam murice pallam.* The resulting dye would be richer and more expensive. The technical

term is *dibaphos*: Nep. fr. 27.3 *dibapha Tyria*; Plin. *Nat.* 9.137; 137.9; 21.45.

inquinatum: *tingere* is the most frequently used verb for textile dyeing (Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.36; *Ep.* 2.2.181; Ov. *Ars* 1.251; *Met.* 6.9; *Fast.* 2.107; Tib. 2.4.28; [Tib.] 3.3.18; Mart. 5.23.5; 9.62.1), alongside *saturare* (Ov. *Ep.* 13.37 *saturatas murice lanas; Met.* 11.166; Mart. 8.48.5; Stat. *Theb.* 9.690). Although the OLD states that *inquinare* is a mere synonym for *tingere*, it must have pejorative connotations, in accordance with its primary meaning, 'to stain'. *Inquinatum* does not stress the beauty of the resulting colour, but the bad smell of the fabric after double dyeing: cf. Sil. 15.116 *non Tyrio vitiatas murice vestes*.

7. As already stated, bad breath was a common satiric theme (Lilja, 1972: 124–129). For bad breath due to fasting, see Pl. *Mer.* 574–575 *ieiunatis plenus, anima foetida/senex hircosus tu osculere mulierem?*; Caecil. *com.* 160–1 *savium/dat ieiuna anima*; Ov. *Ars* 3.277 *Cui gravis oris odor numquam ieiuna loquatur*; Petr. 128 *'numquid te osculum meum offendit? numquid spiritus ieiunio marcens?'* On this line, see also Salanitro, 2002: 561–563.

ieiunia sabbatariarum: on Jewish fasting see Horace's dubious passage *S.* 2.3.291 and Suet. *Aug.* 76.2 *'ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi'*. Barret (1984: 42) states that Martial and Suetonius were totally uninformed of Jewish customs: the Sabbath is not precisely a fasting date (*Talmud*, Sabbath 118b; see Sevenster, 1975: 131; Feldman, 1993: 162). This seems to have been a common misconception of non-Jewish writers (Reinach, 1895: 287; Sevenster, 1975: 131–132; Stern, 1976: 277; Feldman, 1993: 162–164). Likewise, Strabo (J. *A.J.* 14.66), when narrating Pompeius' taking of Jerusalem, tells that he chose τήν τῆς νηστείας ἡμέραν, the fasting day, meaning the Sabbath, because he then explains that they refrained from any work on that day. Pompeius Trogus (Iust. 36.2) asserts that Moses dedicated the seventh day to fasting. See Sevenster (1975: 132) and Feldman (1993: 163) on the possible causes of this misconception.

'Martial, like many Romans and Provincials, was contemptuously anti-Jewish' (Sullivan, 1991: 189): cf. 7.30; 7.35.4; 11.94 (Leanza, 1973; Eden, 1988); 12.57.13 (Barret, 1984). For more information on anti-semitism in the Ancient World, see Sherwin-White, 1967: 86–99; Sevenster, 1975.

sabbatariarum: despite the manuscript variant *sabbatariorum*, Martial most probably wrote the feminine, as the whole epigram has a misogynist undertone. Stern (1976: 244) affirms that the feminine can be explained by the strong attraction women felt to Judaism (cf. J. *B.J.* 2.560; *Acts* 13.50). *Sabbatariarum* is a *hapax* (Stephani, 1889: 50), derived from *sabbata*, and this from Hebrew Šabbāt (Hor. *S.* 1.9.69; Ov. *Rem.* 220; Pers. 5.184; Sen. *Ep.* 95.47; Juv. 6.159; 14.96; Suet. *Aug.* 76.2), and the suffix *-arius* (Nichols, 1929; Watson, 2002: 241). The term would later be used by Sidonius Apollinaris and Augustine: Sidon. *Ep.* 1.2.6; *vid.* Colton, 1976a: 14; August. *Ep.* 36.21 *Sabbatarius temptator*. A similar term σαββατισταί appears in a Greek inscription in Cilicia (OGIS 573; cf. Tcherikover, *Corpus papyrorum Iudaicorum*, XIII 46; Gressman, PW 2.1. 1560ff., quoted by Stern, 1976: 524).

8. maestorum . . . anhelitus reorum: cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.521 *Nec male odorati sit tristis anhelitus oris*. According to Lilja (1972: 129), these defendants are distressed because they are poor and cannot afford a lawyer. Their bad breath is due to a poor diet.

9. spurcae . . . Ledae: in Martial's epigrams Leda is the nickname of a prostitute (3.82.3; 11.61.4; Kay *ad loc.*) and of a nymphomaniac (11.71.2; Kay *ad loc.*). *Spurcus* is a colloquial adjective with strong scatological implications. Lilja (1972: 96) suggests that it may refer to Leda's poverty, which makes her buy poor-quality oil. In sexual terms, however, *spurcus* is normally applied to prostitutes (1.34.8) and to disreputable practices such as fellatio and cunnilingus (Catul. 78b.2 *spurca saliva*; 99.10 *spurca salivae lupae*; Mart. 2.42.2; Williams *ad loc.*).

moriens lucerna: lamp oil was normally of poor quality; its bad smell was therefore proverbial (Juv. 5.87–88 *olebit lanternam*), especially as the flame went out: Plin. *Nat.* 7.43 *odor a lucernarum . . . extinctu*; Cels. 4.27.1b *admovere oportet naribus extinctum ex lucerna li<n>amentum, uel aliud ex is, quae foedioris odoris esse rettuli, quod mulierem excitet*. For a scientific explanation for this phenomenon, see Lilja, 1972: 96. The lamp is, in amatory poetry, a silent witness to sexual intercourse (Mart. 14.39; *A. P.* 5.4; 5.128; 5.197; cf. Ar. *Ec.* 1–16; see Lier, 1914: 43–45 § 24; Sider, 1997: 85–87); it is hardly surprising that it should be traditionally linked with prostitution: cf. Juv. 6.131–132

obscurisque genis turpis fumoque lucernae/foeda lupanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem. For foul-smelling brothels, cf. Hor. *S.* 1.2.30 *olenti in fornice*; Juv. 11.172–3 *olido . . . fornice. Morior*, in this sense, is poetic (Stat. *Theb.* 6.547 *moritur prope conscius ignis*): cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.21.23 (Porph. *ad loc. Vivas lucernas, pro ardentibus dixit*).

10. ceromata: 'unguents'. Reinmuth's (1967) explanation of the meaning of *ceroma* in a passage of Juvenal (6.246 *femineum ceroma*) and four passages of Martial corresponds to the first meaning of the term in the OLD: 'a layer of soft earth or mud put down to form the floor of a wrestling ring' (**4.19.5**). The second meaning is metonymically derived from the first, 'a wrestling-place', 'a wrestler', and there is no other sense applied to the term. However, Reinmuth did not take into consideration this line nor 11.47.5. According to Friedländer, here *ceromata* means 'die bei gymnastichen Übungen gebrauchliche Wachssalbe, zu deren Bestandtheilen jedenfalls auch Oel gehörte' (see also Lilja, 1972: 80; TLL *s. v.* 877.13–31 [Goetz]). But how can we link this line to the previous one? The Greek κήρωμα refers to a salve used in medicine and cosmetics, and this must be the sense here.

faece de Sabina: *faex* means the dregs of wine or, as in this case, of oil (TLL *s. v.* 170.22–30 [Bannier]): cf. Serv. *G.* 1.194 *nam sordes, quae sequuntur oleum, faeces vocantur. Faex* may also mean ointment (Plin. *Nat.* 13.19), with negative connotations: Ov. *Ars* 3.211 *Quem non offendat toto faex inlita vultu*; Hor. *Ars* 277 *peruncti faecibus ora.* For its pejorative implications, see OLD *s. v.* 4.

Sabina or *herba sabina* (Cato *Agr.* 70.1) is the name for savin (*Juniperus Sabina*) belonging to the family of the *cupressaceae*. It has an intense smell. It could be burnt as an aromatic plant (cf. Plin. *Nat.* 24.102): *Culex* 404; Prop. 4.3.58; Ov. *Fast.* 4.741. However, *faece . . . Sabina* could simply refer to olive oil: in Juv. 3.85 *baca Sabina* alludes to the olive. Cf. Larg. 156 *olei sabini.*

I do not agree with La Penna (1999: 171 n. 36), who claims that Martial is referring here to Sabine wine, although it is true that it was certainly not a good variety (cf. 10.49.3) and that *faex* can denote wine dregs and, figuratively, bad wine (cf. 1.26.9; 1.103.9).

11. Both the fox and the viper have feminine grammatical gender and negative associations. *Vipera* can be used as an insult (Dickey, 2002: 364), aimed especially at women: Cic. *Har.* 50 *viperam illam*

venenatam; Afran. *com.* 282 *non sum tam criminosa quam tu, vipera*; Juv. 6.641 *saevissima vipera. Vulpes* is usually related to cunning and hypocrisy (Pers. 5.117; Suet. *Vesp.* 16.3). Placed after the reference to the prostitute and the Jewish women, and just before the female name *Bassa*, these should be taken as a misogynist reference.

On the position of women in Martial's epigrams, see Marchesi, 1910; Bruno, 1965; Chaney, 1971; Kurmally, 1971; Marino, 1971; Sullivan, 1987: 194–195; 1990: 197–207; Verdejo Sánchez, 1995: 109–125; Vidén, 1993: 160–173; Watson, 1983. On misogyny in Latin literature, see Richlin, 1984.

vulpis fuga, viperae cubile: cf. 10.37.13 *olidam . . . vulpem* (see Lilja, 1972: 154). Izaac interpreted the first part as follows: 'la croyance populaire attribue encore aujourd'hui au renard l'habitude, quand il se sent serré par les chiens, d'arrêter leur poursuite en émettant des vents pestilentiels'. Huxley (1965: 646–648) aptly suggests that *viperae cubile* is a variation on *vulpis fuga*, inasmuch as *fuga* may mean a place of refuge (Ov. *Ep.* 6.158; *Pont.* 1.2.128): both phrases mean an animal den (see Lilja, 1972: 154). As regards the viper's lair, Lilja (1972: 154) suggests that Martial may have mixed up vipers and snakes, that is, *viperidae* and *colubridae*. *Natrix natrix* (the grass snake), one of the most common reptiles in Europe, lays its eggs in compost and manure heaps, where the rotting material acts as a natural incubator. Besides, this kind of reptile gives off a pungent substance from its anal glands (Lilja, 1972: 154 n. 3).

viperae cubile: cf. Petr. 77.4 *viperae huius sessorium.*

12. Note the phonic component: ***qu**am* ***qu**od* ***oles, olere*** (Burnikel, 1980: 36). *Olere* echoes *redolet* (l. 1).

mallem: although *malles* is also present in the manuscript tradition, *mallem* is preferable: cf. 6.55.5 *malo quam bene olere nihil olere.*

Bassa: see Kajanto, 1982: 244. As a female name it always appears in burlesque sexual contexts: 1.90 (Citroni *ad loc.*), a *tribas*; 5.45 a *vetula*; 6.69 a *fellatrix*. Within this book it appears in **4.61.8** (n.), and **4.87**, also an attack on this same woman for her bad smell: 4 *pedere Bassa solet.*

5

Satirical epigram on a traditional theme: the impossibility of living an honest life in Rome. In the first line the addressee is presented as an upright, truthful man. The question closing the distich undermines the value of these qualities, for Rome abounds in what he lacks. There follows a catalogue of the profitable occupations in the *Urbs*, to which Fabianus, the protagonist, could not devote himself: dissoluteness, sexual and political corruption, frivolity. Only vice can support one's living. The poet's voice is that of the Roman, so well used to depravation that he can only consider a decent man to be a prude. The traditional conflict between the city and the countryside pervades this epigram, which closes in a circular manner. Martial's disillusioned and embittered voice contrasts with Fabianus' ingenuous principles, and does not allow him even to finish his utterance: there is no place at all for idealism. The reproaching tone adopted by the poet denounces not only the corruption of Rome, but also the generalised acceptance—and even good name—of the immoral.

This poem echoes 3.30 and 3.38. In the first the poet wonders about Gargilianus' livelihood; the second is a dialogue between the poet and a man who moves to town, like Fabianus. Unlike the latter, who does not even dare to reply, Sextus explains his income plans: neither oratory, nor poetry, nor even clientship are worthwhile. It could be argued that Juvenal portrays his Umbricius as a disappointed Fabianus: Juv. 3.21ff. *'quando artibus' inquit 'honestis/nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum . . .'* For a comparison between this epigram and Juvenal 3, see Anderson, 1970: 18–22. See also Pl. *Cur.* 468–485, for a catalogue of disreputable occupations in Rome.

1. Vir bonus et pauper: 1.39.4 *vera simplicitate bonus*; 10.23.7; 3.38.14 *si bonus es, casu vivere, Sexte, potes*. *Vir bonus*, a common expression in a prominent position, emphasises Fabianus' moral qualities. *Bonus*, like *beatus* or its Greek equivalent, ὄλβιος, could also mean 'wealthy' (Pl. *Cap.* 583; Cic. *Att.* 8.1.3; Catul. 37.14). There is, indeed, a wordplay based on the slight paradox of *bonus* and *pauper*. Fabianus excels only in moral integrity (*bonus, verus, fidus, certus*), but being poor he

would never thrive in Rome (cf. **4.67.1**): 5.81 *Semper pauper eris si pauper es, Aemiliane./Dantur opes nullis nunc nisi divitibus*; cf. Juv. 3.161 *quis pauper scribitur heres?*

pauper: *pauper* and *paupertas* do not exactly mean absolute poverty (see Grewing *ad* 6.50, 1): Sen. *Ep.* 87.40 *Ego non video quid aliud sit paupertas quam parvi possessio*; Mart. 11.32.8 *Non est paupertas, Nestor, habere nihil.* Kay (*ad loc.*) points out that 'poverty (*paupertas* or Greek *penia*) would embrace the whole of what we call the lower and middle classes, the ordinary working people'. Martial, however, uses the concept in a broad subjective sense and applies it even to the equestrian order: cf. 4.40.4 *pauper eras et eques*; 5.13.1–2 *Sum, fateor, semperque fui, Callistrate, pauper,/sed non obscurus nec male notus eques* (cf. 4.77; 12.57.4). In **4.67** Gaurus is said to be *pauper* just because he needs one hundred thousand sesterces to become an *eques.*

linguaque et pectore verus: *verus*, like *bonus*, refers to moral integrity (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 84; Prop. 2.29.34; Plin. *Ep.* 2.9.4). *Lingua* and *pectore* stand for sincerity and good feelings. *Lingua* can be metonymically used both with pejorative (3.80; 7.24.2; 7.88.9; Prop. 2.28.14; Apul. *Apol.* 8; *Fl.* 7) and positive connotations (11.91.12; Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.57 *est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque*). Fabianus is not a liar, a *delator*, or a slanderer (cf. Juv. 3.41 *mentiri nescio*; cf. Pl. *Cur.* 470–471; 477–479): he is a well-intentioned man (cf. Sen. *Ben.* 6.34.5).

2. Quid tibi vis: colloquial expression, frequently used in comedy: Pl. *Poen.* 152; *Mil.* 1050 (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 12.1); Ter. *Hau.* 331; *Eu.* 559 *quid tibi vis? satine sanu's?*; 798; 804; 1007. It is sheer madness (cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 2.269 *'quid tibi vis', inquit 'insane?'; Rhet. Her.* 4.5; Hor. *S.* 2.6.29 *quid tibi vis, insane*; Prop. 1.5.3) to come to the city with expectations of a better life: 3.38.1–2 *Quae te causa trahit vel quae fiducia Romam,/Sexte? quid aut speras aut petis inde?*; cf. Juv. 3.41 *'Quid Romae faciam?'*

urbem . . . petis?: cf. 3.47.15.

Fabiane: Kajanto, 1982: 146. This name appears in other satirical contexts, as a cruel patron (3.36), as a tactless man who laughs at someone else's defects (12.83), and as the addressee of a satirical epigram (**4.24**). All these occurrences seem to be totally unconnected. The connotations of this proper name in this epigram are quite relevant, for it is remisniscent of the *Fabii*, paradigms of virtue, models of the *mos maiorum* (see Grewing *ad* 6.64.1 and Galán *ad* 7.58.7).

3–4. Fabianus could not act as a pimp or as a parasite, two long-established literary types. He could not be a *praeco*, either. In Juvenal's satire it is the children of pimps, auctioneers, and gladiatorial masters who enjoy the privileges of decent people: Juv. 3.155–158.

3. leno: the pimp is a conventional character, originally present in comedy (Stolz, 1920). He is a callous, depraved and covetous man who takes advantage of others (Pl. *Capt.* 57; *Cur.* 436; *Mer.* 44; *Per.* 425; *Poen.* 1385; 1414; Ter. *Ad.* 188). He is also a real-life character, habitual in Rome's underworld: 9.5.6; 9.7.3.

comissator: the rake has an easy life, if, like the parasite, he is constantly invited to dinner. The *comissationes* are normally presented as licentious: Cic. *Catil.* 2.10; *Cael.* 35; Sen. *Ben.* 6.32.1; Tac. *Hist.* 1.30; Juv. 14.46. Further uses of the term *comissator* by Martial are 5.16.9 (applied to his book) and 9.61.15 (applied to Bacchus).

4. nec pavidos tristi voce citare reos: the job of the *praeco*, who acted as bailiff at court (TLL *s. v.* 496.40–72 [Breimeier]). He summons (*citat*, cf. Liv. 28.29; 38.51; Suet. *Tib.* 11.3) people to court with his booming voice: Cic. *Flac.* 34 *Citat praeco voce maxima legatos*; *Phil.* 2.64 *voci acerbissimae . . . praeconis*; Quint. *Inst.* 6.4.7; Apul. *Met.* 3.3 *Sic rursum praeconis amplo boatu citatus accusator*; 10.7; *Fl.* 9 *praeconis vox garrula ministerium est.* He scares the accused, because he delivers a verdict (August. *In euang. Ioh.* 13.16.5 *per praeconem loquitur iudex*; Amm. 28.2.13 *lugubre clamante praecone*; Prud. *Ham.* 440 *praeconum voce tremente exanimare reos*; August. *Ep.* 43.12 *inter praeconum terribiles voces*) or is present during the punishment: (TLL *s. v.* 496.72–82): Liv. 26.15.9; Sen. *Con.* 9.2.10.

The job was not highly regarded (cf. Cic. *Pis.* 62)—the term *praeco* is also applied to an auctioneer—though it belonged, according to Martial, to the artes *pecuniosae*: 5.56.11 (Howell *ad loc.*); 6.8.5 (Grewing *ad loc.*); cf. Hor. *S.* 2.2.47; Petr. 46.7; Juv. 7.1–7 (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.12.16–17).

The phrase *citare reum* echoes Martial's dislike for law, a lucrative occupation: 2.30.5 *Is mihi 'Dives eris, si causas egeris' inquit.*

pavidos . . . reos: the fear of the accused is proverbial: 1.49.35 *pallidum . . . reum* (Citroni *ad loc.*); 2.24.2 *pallidior reo* (Williams *ad loc.*); **4.4.8** *maestorum . . . reorum*; 5.16.6 *sollicitis . . . reis* (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.14).

tristi: cf. 5.20.6 *nec litis tetricas forumque triste.*

5. nec potes uxori cari corrumpere amici: sexual debauchery and unfaithfulness. On adultery, see Mart. 2.83; 3.70; 6.2.5; 6.90; 11.7 and Hofmann, 1956–57: 452–453. For the term *uxor*, hardly used in epic poetry and more frequent in Roman elegy and satire, see Adams, 1972: 253; Watson, 1985: 431–432.

corrumpere: TLL *s. v.* 1056.35–1057.15 *de stupro* (Lambertz): Prop. 2.32.58; Liv. 5.33.3; Sen. *Con.* 1.7.4; 7.5.4; Phaedr. *App.* 27.2; Sen. *Thy.* 239; Petr. 106. For the sexual sense of *corrumpere*, see Uría, 1997: 414.

6. algentes arrigere ad vetulas: the poor man can always resort to having sex with, or even marrying, a wealthy old hag (9.80.1; 10.8.2), which Martial considers extremely degrading: 3.76; cf. 3.32; Juv. 1.37–39.

algentes: cf. 14.147.2 *Quid prodest, si te congelat uxor anus?* (Leary *ad loc.*). *Algens* is quite close to *frigidus*, which is applied to the elderly due to their lack of vigour: Verg. *G.* 3.97; Ov. *Ars* 3.70 *Frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus* (Gibson *ad loc.*); Tib. 1.8.29–30 *det munera canus amator,/ut foveat molli frigida membra sinu*; Juv. 6.325 *iam frigidus aevo* (Courtney *ad loc.*); *A. L.* 890.4 *at quoque delicias frigida sentit anus*; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 2.13.1389b.31; Juv. 10.217. Its erotic sense is perceptible here, for *frigidus* and its synonyms refer to those lacking sexual desire or suffering from impotence: e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.1.5. Old age was not considered an appropriate time for love (Calp. *Decl.* 37 *amor velis nolis in senectute frigidior est*): Pl. *Smp.* 195b. See Bertman, 1989: 165–166; Parkin, 2003: 193–202.

arrigere: with erotic connotations, 'to have an erection' (TLL *s. v.* 638.62–72 [Bögel]; Rodríguez, 1981: 104; Fortuny, 1986: 75). It seems to be a colloquial term: it only appears in Martial's epigrams (3.70.4; 3.75.2; 3.76.1; 6.26.3; 6.36.2; 9.66.4; 10.55.1; 10.91.1; 11.46.1; 11.61.10) and the *Carmina Priapea* (68.32; 83.43). Cf. *rigidus* (Adams, 1982: 103–104): *Priap.* 4.1 *rigido . . . deo*; 45.1; Mart. 11.16.5 *rigida . . . vena*; *rigeo*: 6.73.8 *rigeat mentula.*

7. This refers to the flattery and scheming inherent in the imperial court. By pretending to be an influential person, you could receive gifts from those who needed your help (cf. **4.78.7–8** n.).

vendere . . . fumos: on this expression, see Baldwin, 1985: 107–109 and TLL *s. v. fumus* 1544.20–28 (Rubenbauer). Baldwin suggests that

Martial could have coined it on Greek models such as καπνοῦ σκιά (Ar. *Fr.* 399; S. *Ph.* 946; E. *Hipp.* 954) or καπνούς καὶ σκιάς (Eup. 51). However, there are similar Latin expressions involving smoke as a metaphor for something impalpable: Fro. *Laud. Fum. nec fumum manu prendere nec solem queas* (Otto, 1971: 149). The phrase *fumum vendere* appears in Apuleius' *Apol.* 60 and in the *Anthologia Latina* (Riese 199). It was profusely used by the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Capitol. *Pius* 11.1; Lampr. *Heliog.* 10.3; 15.1; Alex. 23.8; 36.3; 67.2), in the specific sense of *'venditare vana circa caesarem dicta, promisa'*. There is a similar expression in Spanish, 'vender humos': 'aparentar valimiento y privanza con un poderoso para sacar utilidad de los pretendientes' (DRAE).

circa Palatia: cf. 1.70.5; 4.78.7; 7.28.5; 9.42.5; 9.91.3; 9.101.13; 12.21.3. *Palatia* alludes to the imperial residence on the Palatine, the centre of political, social, and cultural life (Jones, 1994: 229–330; RE s. *Palatium* (K. Ziegler), XVIII 3, 1949: 5–81, esp. 70–76). On the political role of Domitian's court, see Jones, 1994. As regards prosody, there is a certain amount of variation in the first syllable of *Palatia*: in the epigrams it is always long, but cf. *Pălatinus*: 4.45.1; 5.5.1; 8.60.1; 9.39.1.

8. plaudere nec Cano, plaudere nec Glaphyro: cf. 7.64.9 *vendere nec vocem Siculis plausumque theatris*. There had been professional claques (Aldrete, 1999: 135–138 and Funaioli RE *s. Recitationes* [I A I, 1914] 444–445) since the times of the Republic, not only at the spectacles (Pl. *Am.* 65–85; Cic. *Sest.* 115), but also in politics (Plin. *Ep.* 2.14.6–8): Nero himself established an imperial claque, the *Augustani* (Suet. *Nero* 20; Dio Cass. 62.20). Fabianus could indeed devote himself to this task as a professional (Pepe, 1950: 79), or as an amateur, that is, by praising fashionable musicians in order to receive their favours. He is a decent man, though: he cannot do that. In fact, show-business people, especially actors and musicians, traditionally had a bad reputation, above all because of their sexual freedom (Mart. 6.39.19; 11.75.3; 14.215; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.60), which turned some of them into sex symbols. Their humiliating position contrasts radically with the fame, wealth, and even political power some of them acquired: see, for instance, Phaed. 5.7; Sen. *Ep.* 76.4; Suet. *Galb.* 12.3; *Nero* 30.2; *Vesp.* 19.1; Baudot, 1973: 73–74. It was also possible for them to increase their fortunes by taking part in music contests: fashion-

able musicians could become very rich. Not without irony, Martial recommends the music profession as a profitable career: 5.56.9 *Fac discat citharoedus aut choraules* (Howell *ad loc.*; cf. 3.4.8).

The allusion to prestigious musicians at the end of the catalogue resumes all the previous elements: bad reputation (4), sexual dissoluteness (cf. *leno; nec potes uxori cari corrumpere amici; algentes arrigere ad vetulas*), and influence on the powerful (7). Canus and Glaphyrus are the total opposite to Fabianus, successful models of vice. On the status and reputation of musicians, see Wille, 1957: 332–338; Balsdon, 1969: 286–287; Baudot, 1973: 79–89; Bélis, 1999: 234–236; Péché, 2001: 88–92. For an introduction to Roman music, see Landels, 1991: 172–205. On the most renowned Roman musicians, see Baudot, 1973: 70–77.

Notice the *isocolon* (see Siedschlag, 1977: 111–112; cf. 2.7.6; 3.26.2; **4.20.4** n.; 11.73.2).

Cano: (Stein, RE III 2 [1899] *s.* Canus): cf. 10.3.8 *et concupiscat esse Canus ascaules?* He was a famous *tibicen*, highly regarded by the Emperor Galba, according to Suetonius (*Galb.* 12.3) and Plutarch (*Galb.* 16).

Glaphyro: another musician: cf. Juv. 6.77 (*loc. cit.*). His Greek name suggests elegance and gracefulness (γλαφυρός), unlike the rustic Fabianus. Various musicians bear this name in the *Palatine Anthology*: 9.118; 9.517 (Gow-Page, 1968 II: 24). Ferguson (1987: 103) points out that this was the name of several generations of musicians: there is an inscription on the tomb of a *choraules* called *Ti. Claudius Glaphyrus* (CIL VI 10120).

9. unde . . . vives?: cf. Petr. 140.15; Sen. *Con.* 1.7.6; Sen. *Ep.* 17.5.

'Homo certus, fidus amicus': the meaning of *certus* (TLL *s. v.* 923.28–924.56 [Elspereger]) is quite similar to *fidus*: Enn. *scen.* 210 *amicus certus in re incerta cernitur*; Pl. *Ps.* 390; *Trin.* 94; Cic. *Tul.* 5.11 *fidelem certumque amicum; Ver.* 2.2.92; *Att.* 5.21.6; Petr. 44.7; Mart. 5.61.8. *Fidus* (cf. TLL *s. v.* 704.36–73 [Bauer]) *amicus* is a common expression: Cic. *Amic.* 53; Catul. 102.1; Hor. *Ep.* 1.5.24. Both phrases resume the idea expressed in the first line by *vir bonus* (cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.33 *iustis . . . et fidis hominibus, id est, bonis viris*), but their triteness also contributes to the characterisation of Fabianus as a not very bright or eloquent man.

10. Philomelus: this character, not mentioned elsewhere, was extremely rich (3.31.6) and longevous (3.93.22). He may have been a freedman who had amassed a large fortune or thrived by devious means (Kuppe, 1972: 69).

6

An epigram on the 'appearance vs. reality' dichotomy: shameless Malisianus wants to appear as an innocent and decent man. As the comparisons in the first two lines are linked with coyness and chastity, it seems that he is being criticised for his sexual behaviour. His shamelessness has, however, a greater scope, for he is compared in the final lines to a self-confident *recitator* lacking a sense of *decorum*: a poet who recites his elegies in the presence of the greatest contemporary elegiac poet, according to Martial, L. Arruntius Stella. Consequently, the satiric mode turns into a compliment to Martial's patron, Stella (Zicàri, 1963: 354). Being one of the first poems of the collection, the allusion to a powerful poet has a secondary advertising function: by letting the reader know to whose literary circle he belongs, the poet is indirectly focusing on the quality of his epigrams (Pitcher, 1984: 416 n. 6).

The exact meaning of the final lines has been a matter of discussion: the obscene meaning inherent to *improbior* has led some scholars to think that the unnamed poet reads obscene poems, but, was Tibullus famous for writing such poetry? Both Friedländer and Izaac, for instance, believe so and point out that there are two poems in the *Priapea* under the name of Tibullus (82 and 83). Tibullus' metre was, however, the elegiac couplet: he was known as the greatest elegiac poet. Both Zicàri (1963: 352–4) and Shackleton Bailey (1978: 276) rightly conclude that Martial is not alluding to a recital of obscene poetry: 'Stella era grande poeta elegiaco. Solo un impudente poteva aver il coraggio di recitare in casa de un tal poeta elegie proprie'; 'Stella was an elegiac poet (Stat. *Silv.* 1.27) and to try to rival him in his own house would be the acme of impudence'.

Further reading: Zicàri, 1963: 354; Shackleton Bailey, 1978: 276; Lorenz, 2004: 262–263.

1–2. credi . . . cupis videri: cf. 1.9.1; 1.72.2 *putas cupisque credi?*; 2.88.1 *Nil recitas et vis, Mamerce, poeta videri*; 12.37.1 *Nasutus nimium cupis videri*; 12.61.3 *et dignus cupis hoc metu videri*. Everybody looks for a reputation in Rome, even though it might be a negative one:

12.61. The bug of keeping up appearances is so widespread that some Romans want to look like what they actually are: 8.19.1 *Pauper videri Cinna vult: et est pauper*; 12.41 *Non est, Tucca, satis, quod es gulosus:/Et dici cupis et cupis videri.*

1. castior: the adjective is not only applied to chastity or virginity (TLL *s. v.* 568.46–77 [Elsperger]; cf. *virgine . . . pudica*), but also, in general terms, to morality (TLL. *s. v.* 564.46–68) and decency (TLL *s. v.* 569.55f.).

2. frontis tenerae: *frons* (TLL *s. v.* 1357.83–1359.3 [Robbert]) described as *dura* or *tenera* denotes, respectively, shamelessness and decency: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 11.3 *(rubor) magis quidem in iuvenibus apparet, quibus et plus caloris est et tenera frons*; Plin. *Ep.* 6.29.6 *mollitia frontis*; Quint. *Inst.* 12.5.4.

3. improbior: this may have an obscene sense, reinforced by the previous lines (TLL *s. v.* 691.50–71 [O. Prinz]; cf. Mart. 2.61.2; 3.86.4; 9.67.5; see Travis, 1940: 580–581), but it can be understood in broader moral terms (TLL *s. v.* 691.6–50; cf. Cic. *Clu.* 39 *petulanti atque improbo*; *Ver.* 2.3.155; Hor. *S.* 2.5.84; Mart. 11.54.4).

Malisiane: the name is only attested in Martial (see Schulze, 1966: 188; 360). It could derive from the cognomen *Malus* (CIL VI 35726), with strong pejorative connotations. Some manuscripts read *Massiliane.* This is a wrong reading, unacceptable also for metrical reasons, but quite interesting in any case: it would relate to a gentilic adjective such as *Massiliensis*, inhabitant of *Massilia* (Marseilles), considered a den of dissoluteness in antiquity (cf. Athen. *Deipn.* 12.523c; Pl. *Cas.* 963).

4. Is this a real situation in Stella's house or an imaginary one? Is Martial also attacking a bad poet, an unnamed rival, thus contradicting his principle *parcere de personis*? On the epigrams dealing with literary controversy, see Citroni, 1968.

compositos metro Tibulli: elegiac couplets. Tibullus was considered the greatest of elegiac poets (Luck, 1959: 71): Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.93 *Elegia quoque Graecos provocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus.*

compositos: a technical term for poetic composition (TLL *s. compono* 2125.5–2125.21 [Hofmann]), though it is not a poetic word.

There may be an ironic undertone, for its etymology suggests artificiality, indirectly emphasising *ars* over *ingenium*. Perhaps the anonymous poet is not a genius (cf. 2.7.3 *Componis belle mimos, epigrammata belle*; Hor. *Ep*. 2.1.76–7 *crasse compositum; S.* 1.4.8).

metro: (Gr. μέτρον) another unpoetic literary term (poets prefer *versus* or *modus*). Martial, who often makes use of Greek words, uses *metrum* only here. This accumulation of technical words seems to have an ironic intention.

5. Stellae: Lucius Arruntius Stella. See OCD[3] *s. Arruntius* (176–177); RE II1 (1895) *s. Arruntius* 26; PIR[2] A 1151; White, 1972: 105–114; 1975: 267–272; Vessey, 1972: 178–183; Duret, 1986: 2237–2240; Verdière, 1988: 321–323; Castro-Maia, 1994: 90–92; Nauta, 2002: 155–159.

Stella was a prominent political and literary figure: born in Padua, he was *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* and organised the celebrations for Domitian's victory over the Dacians, in AD 89 (Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.177f.), and for his return from the campaign against the Sarmatians, in 93 (Mart. 8.78). He was suffect consul in 101 or 102 (cf. 12.2.[3].10; CIL VI 1492). He was a patron to both Martial and Statius (*Silv.* 1 *praef.*; 1.2). Martial mentions him in almost every book (except for *Xenia, Apophoreta, De Spectaculis*, and books II and III): 1.7; 1.44; 1.61; 4.6; 5.11; 5.12; 6.21; 6.47; 7.14.4; 7.36; 8.78.3; 9.42; 9.55.2; 9.89.2; 10.48.5; 11.52.15; 12.2.11–12. With the exception of 8.78 and 9.42, Martial does not focus on his policical career: rather he is interested in his poetic achievements (see especially 1.61 and 6.47). He wrote elegiac poetry: Martial mentions a poetic work, entitled *Columba*, which is compared to Catullus' *Passer* (cf. 1.7; Citroni *ad loc.*; 7.14.5; Galán *ad loc.*; see also Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.102; Plin. *Ep.* 9.25.3 and Buchheit, 1978). In Stat. *Silv.* 1.2, an *epithalamium* on his wedding, Elegy herself is invited to the ceremony (*Silv.* 1.2.7–10), for he is the equal of the classic love poets (1.2.97–102; 1.2.252–255). He is described by Martial as *disertus* (5.29.2), *facundus* (12.2.11) and *clarus* (12.2.12), and given the name *vates* (6.21). On Stella as a poet, see Duret, 1986, and Verdière, 1988: 321–323.

Martial calls him several times *meus Stella* (1.7.1; 1.7.4; 5.11.2; 5.12.7; 6.47.1; 7.14.5; cf. 12.2.10), which seems to denote an intimate bond of affection (see White 1975: 271–272).

recitat: recitals by inveterate poetasters are a dreadful menace at dinners and other social gatherings (1.38; 2.88; 3.18; 3.45; **4.41**;

8.76.3; 10.10.9; 12.40.1; 14.137). Sometimes it is the host himself who tortures his guests by endlessly reading his poems (3.45; 3.50; cf. 11.52.16 *Plus ego polliceor: nil recitabo tibi*). The *recitatio* could take place in a semi-private context, during or after dinner. According to Citroni (1990: 65), by Martial's time it had lost any value in the creative process and was merely an empty—sometimes excruciating—social act (cf. Pennacini, 1989: 263–265; cf. Mart. 10.70.10; Juv. 1.1ff.; Plin. *Ep.* 1.13; 6.17; Tac. *Dial.* 9.4). As regards Martial himself, and contrary to Citroni, Burnikel (1990) argues that the epigrams were composed for recitation (see also Nauta, 2002: 93–105). For more information about the *recitatio*, see Funaioli RE *s. Recitationes* [I A I, 1914] 435–446; Cavallo, 1989; Pennacini, 1989: 254–267; Fedeli, 1989: 349–352.

domo: the artistic world is evoked in these lines, with its literary gatherings, often in private houses such as Stella's (9.89; Henriksén *ad loc.*): Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.49–50 *vacat apta movere/colloquia, et docti norunt audire penates*. On the literary world in Martial's times, see Szelest, 1986: 2576–2581.

libellos: on the complex meaning of this term, see **4.10.1** (n). Here it clearly refers to booklets of poetry to be recited at social gatherings. The diminutive refers both to their length and to the nature of their compositions (minor poetry).

7

Puberty, with its physical changes, is a common topic in ancient homoerotic literature, for it signals the end of licit intercourse: in fact, both in Greece and Rome homosexual relations were allowed only between an adult and a child (a slave in Rome). On the first appearance of adult masculine features (εἰσί τρίχες) as an erotic motif, see Tarán, 1985, and Obermayer, 1998: 94–144.

The poem has a circular structure: it begins with the poet's complaint about his lover's unwillingness to have sexual intercourse. The central lines reconstruct the boy's reply indirectly: he claims to be old enough now to refuse. The poet does not credit this excuse and expresses his disbelief by resuming the interrogative mode of the first distich, with a slight *variatio*.

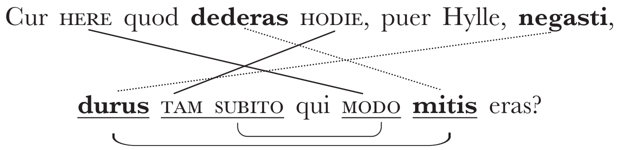
This poem bears striking resemblance to an epigram by Strato of Sardis (*A. P.* 12.191):

> Ὀυκ ἐχθὲς παῖς ἦσθα; καὶ οὐδ' ὄναρ οὗτος ὁ πώγων
>   ἤλυθε. Πῶς ἀνέβη τοῦτο τὸ δαιμόνιον
> καὶ τριχὶ πάντ' ἐκάλυψε τὰ πρὶν καλά; φεῦ, τί τὸ θαῦμα;
>   ἐχθὲς Τρωίλος ὤν πῶς ἐγένου Πρίαμος;

Both epigrams deal with the sudden change caused by puberty by means of questions, the contrast between the past and the present, along with a nonchalant parodic tone. The main difference is that Strato confirms the existence of secondary sexual features and is astonished at their rapid appearance, whereas Martial complains about the boy's unruliness and his made-up excuses. For the poet, he is still a *puer*. Notice the play between *puer* (1, 5), *senem* (4), and *vir* (6).

Further reading: Eyben, 1972; Siems, 1974: 81–82; Lausberg, 1982: 452; Sullivan, 1991: 90–91 (on the relationship between Martial and Strato, 90 n. 21; on Strato's dating, Clarke, 1984; González Rincón, 1996: 11–23); 206–209; González Rincón, 1996: 19–20; 187–189; Obermayer, 1998: 78–79 and n. 268; 110–112; 136–137. On homosexuality in Latin literature, see Lilja, 1983; Williams, 1995; 1999; Hubbard, 2003; specifically on Martial's epigrams, Obermayer, 1998. For a link with the previous epigram, see Lorenz, 2004: 262–263.

1–2. Notice the structural complexity of the apparently simple opening distich:



1. All of a sudden the boy refuses to have sexual intercourse with the poet: the contrast between *dederas* and *negasti* is reinforced by *here* and *hodie*, linked by alliteration.

dederas . . . negasti: *dare* (Fortuny, 1986: 82–84; Montero, 1991: 203–206) and *negare* (OLD *s. v.* 3c) are erotic terms inherited mainly from Ovid: *Ars* 1.345 *Quae dant quaeque negant, gaudent tamen esse rogatae*. Their subject is normally a woman or a boy: Mart. 2.25.1; 2.49.2; 3.90.1; **4.71.6**; 9.30.2; 10.75.14; 10.81.3; 12.55.1–3. They may be used elliptically in the sense of 'granting' or 'denying' sexual intercourse (**4.12.1** n.; **4.71.6** n.), but they usually carry an object: kisses (Ov. *Ars* 2.459; *Am.* 2.6.56; Mart. 3.65.9–10; 8.46.6; 9.93.7; 11.6.14; 11.23.9–10; 11.23.13; 11.26.3; 12.55.12), sexual favours, *gaudia* (Ov. *Am.* 2.9b.50; *Ars* 2.459; 3.88; 3.462), or an indefinite object, as in this case: Ov. *Am.* 1.4.64 *quod mihi das furtim; Ars* 3.476. Sometimes, the direct object is *pedicare*, implicitly or explicitly stated: 11.78.5 *pedicare semel cupido dabit illa marito*; 11.104.17 *Pedicare negas: dabat hoc Cornelia Graccho*; 12.96.7 *Hi* (*pueri*) *dant quod non vis uxor dare. 'Do tamen' inquis*. Lorenz argues that this line may allude to fellatio (2004: 266).

puer Hylle: there might be wordplay with *puerile*, just as in 2.60.1–2 *supplicium . . . puerile* (cf. 9.67.3 *illud puerile = pedicatio*). *Hyllus*, the name of the son of Hercules and Deianira (Ov. *Ep.* 9.44; 168), is also that of an attractive slave in Mart. 9.25, and of a *cinaedus* in 2.51.2 (see Williams *ad loc.*). *Puer* clarifies the boy's age, approaching adolescence, and it is a common term for sexual slavery (*pueri delicati*; Garrido-Hory, 1997: 313): it doubly refers to a position of dependency and submission.

2. The contrast between *durus* and *mitis* reinforces the idea of the first line; the swiftness of the change is further stressed by the adverbs *tam subito/modo*; cf. 3.43.2 *tam subito corvus, qui modo cycnus eras*.

durus: an epithet for reluctant lovers (TLL *s. v.* 2308.79–2309.7 [Bannier]): Mart. 8.46.6; 10.35.18; Verg. *Ecl.* 10.47; Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.32; 4.1.40; Tib. 1.8.50; 2.6.28; Prop. 1.17.16; 2.1.78; 2.22.43;

4.2.23 *non dura puella*; Ov. *Am.* 1.9.19; 2.4.23; *Rem.* 765; *Met.* 13.799; *Ars* 2.527; *Fast.* 6.120; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.200.

mitis: the opposite of *durus* in erotic contexts (TLL *s. v.* 1154.77–81 [R.]): Mart. 5.55.3; Tib. 1.4.53; Ov. *Ars* 2.178; 2.462.

3. Sed iam causaris barbamque annosque pilosque: the boy alleges that hairs have appeared: now he is a man and no longer desirable as a sexual partner. Obermayer (1998: 136) notes that the child, like a lawyer (*causaris*), tries to explain the objective reasons for his refusal. It is noticeable as well that the polysyndeton and the spondaic rhythm convey the boy's resistance and the adult's incredulity. *Iam* suggests that Hyllus has just made up the excuse.

causaris: to offer as an apology, a not very usual term in amatory contexts: cf. Prop. 4.4.23 *saepe illa inmeritae causata est omina lunae.*

barbam: the appearance of facial hair as a sign of early manhood is a common theme in homoerotic literature: see Eyben, 1972: 692–3; cf. Mart. 11.22.8 (Kay *ad loc.*); *A. P.* 12.12.1; 12.174.4; 12.176; 12.186.5; 12.191.1; 12.220; Hor. *Carm.* 4.10.2; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.62 *validae . . . signa iuventae.*

The term *barba* suits the apparently hyperbolic tone of the excuse (Obermayer, 1998: 137 n. 189), inasmuch as adolescent down is usually called *lanugo*, sometimes together with adjectives such as *prima, mollis, tenera, dubia, flava*, and the like (Eyben, 1972: 692): Mart. 1.31.5; 2.61.1 (Williams *ad loc.*); 9.36.5 (Henriksén *ad loc.*); 10.42.1; cf. Verg. *A.* 10.324 (Serv. *ad loc.*); Ov. *Ep.* 15.85; *Met.* 9.398 (Bömer *ad loc.*); 12.291; 13.754; Luc. 10.135; Sil. 2.319; 7.691; 16.468; Stat. *Theb.* 6.586; 7.655; 9.703; *Silv.* 3.4.65; *Ach.* 1.163; Apul. *Met.* 5.16. *Barba*, according to Eyben, only alludes to down when modified by similar adjectives: Lucr. 5.674 *mollem . . . barbam*; Ov. *Met.* 12.395 *barba erat incipiens*; Sen. *Phaed.* 648 *prima . . . barba*; Porph. *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 4.10.2.

annos: another hyperbole, for *anni* refers to old age metonymically (cf. line 5 *senem*): Pac. *trag.* 340 *annisque et aetate hoc corpus putret*; Pl. *Epid.* 544; Ter. *Ad.* 931; *Eu.* 236; Verg. *G.* 3.95; *A.* 9.246, cf. TLL *s. v.* 119.16–32 (Lehnert). However, it could have a plain meaning: Verg. *A.* 9.311 *ante annos animumque gerens.*

pilos: body hair is alluded to in the same contexts as down: Mart. 11.22.7 (see Kay *ad loc.*); Pers. 4.5 *ante pilos*; cf. *A. P.* 12.12.1; 12.176; 12.191.3; 12.195.8; 12.220; 12.30.

4. It could hardly be argued that Martial is seriously lamenting the rapid passing of time: he rather adopts a mock tragic and declamatory tone, in order to make fun of the boy's apologies.

O nox quam longa: the exclamation is evocative of the pompous style of oratory and tragedy: cf. Cic. *Flac.* 103; [Sen.] *Oct.* 18 *o nox semper funesta mihi.* The first part of the line arouses several expectations, due to its many literary echoes. *Nox* has strong erotic connotations, for it is the appropriate time for sexual encounters (OLD *s. v.* 3c; cf. Mart. 10.38.4–5; Prop. 2.15.1 *O me felicem! nox o mihi candida!*). *Nox longa* is a frequent expression in erotic poetry, especially when alluding to the slow passing of time on a lonely night: Prop. 1.12.13; Ov. *Am.* 1.2.3 *et vacuus somno noctem, quam longa, peregi* (McKeown *ad loc.*); *Ep.* 16.317; 17.181. Finally, the *carpe diem* motif is subtly present, for death is sometimes euphemistically referred to as *nox longa*: Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.28; Prop. 2.15.24 *nox tibi longa venit, nec reditura dies*; Ov. *Ep.* 10.112 (see Tarán, 1985, on the *carpe diem* motif related to the εἰσί τρίχες).

quae facis una senem: all the expectations mentioned above are thwarted here: the poet is not complaining about a lonely night, nor menacing the young man. He is rather showing his bewilderment at either the unstoppable physical change in the boy, emphasised by the juxtaposition of *una* and *senem*, or the incongruity of the excuse.

facis . . . senem: cf. 1.108.4 *Factus in hac ego sum iam regione senex*; 10.96.2 *Miraris, Latia factus in urbe senex*; cf. (Strato) *A. P.* 12.191 πῶς ἐγένου Πρίαμος;

una: in the sense of *sola*, cf. 9.32.4.

5. quid nos derides?: who is the addressee of this question, the night or the boy? Should it be the night, that is, time, *nos* would comprise both the master and the slave, who would like to go on having sex with him: cf. 1.31.7–8 *utque tuis longum dominusque puerque fruantur/muneribus, tonsum fac cito, sero virum.* Yet the poet seems to regard the appearance of sexual features as an excuse, rather than as a real fact. It would then be the boy who is trying to delude the adult lover (*nos; nobis*).

6. qua ratione: cf. Strat. *A. P.* 12.191.2; 4 Πῶς. *Qua ratione*, roughly equivalent to *quomodo*, is characteristic of prose (see Galán *ad* 7.30.7). Here, it adds a certain nuance of perplexity: cf. e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 670.

vir: the term relates both to age and sex (cf. 1.31.8; **4.42.14** n.). Homosexual relations between two adults (then called *cinaedi*) were intolerable in Rome: see Sullivan, 1991: 188–9; Obermayer, 1998: 111 n. 64; 232–254; see Mart. **4.43**.

8

Literary and dedicatory epigram: Martial reflects on the nature of his poetry and complimentarily offers it to the Emperor. The accomplished bipartite structure and the ring-composition (*prima atque altera . . . hora/matutinum . . . Iovem*) bring together two opposing realities: that of the poet and the other citizens, with their stressful way of life, and that of the Emperor, who is portrayed as a divine entity. By humbly presenting his work to Domitian, just after a description of Roman daily life, the poet is somehow depicting him as a guarantor of leisure and prosperity.

The first part of the poem (lines 1–6) consists of a description of Roman daily routine: the day starts off with the unpleasant *salutatio* (1), and goes on in the *forum* (2); after work (3) follows a brief siesta (4), and the customary leisure activities: sporting in the baths (5) and dining in company (6). The *cumulatio* and the asyndeton suggest the hustle of the common Roman's daily life: even apparently pleasant activities become tedious when they are compulsory (and they are for a poet who is in search of constant support). There is an implicit complaint on the part of Martial, who does not enjoy enough *otium* for his writings.

The second part begins at the tenth hour: the time for the *convivium*; night and wine are suitable for the relaxed tone of the epigrams. Euphemus, the overt addressee, acts as an intermediary between the poet and the Emperor: he is presented as a *tricliniarches*, a kind of maître (8–10), but his name also suggests that he has a pleasant voice, apt for reading poems. The trepidation of the first six lines disappears: whereas previous activities were described in single lines, now the poet slows down the pace to create a feeling of calm and tranquillity. The clock apparently stops, inasmuch as Domitian is portrayed as a god: every word tells of his divinity (*ambrosias, dapes, aetherio nectare, bonus, ingenti*). The poem culminates in the conjunction of the social and the literary: Martial's work, personified as Thalia, wants to comply with the *salutatio*, but a nocturnal one, because her wantonness clashes with serious concerns. There is a latent conflict between a need for protection and a craving for freedom.

Further reading: on this epigram, see Fröhner, 1912: 170; Friedrich, 1913: 257–278; Neumeister, 1991: 49–52; Lorenz, 2002: 121–125. On Domitian and literature, see Coleman, 1986, especially pages 3106–3111 on the Emperor as patron. More details in Nauta, 2002: 327–440. See also Thiele, 1916: 253; Hofmann, 1983: 241–242.

1–6. The wording of these lines strongly suggests that the poet is alluding to a common Roman's daily routine. However, according to Fröhner (1912: 170) and Friedrich (1913: 260–264), the first part of the epigram also pertains to the activities of Domitian, the implied recipient of the work of art (cf. Mart. 9.20). In that case, there would be a partial identification between the Emperor and his subjects (Lorenz, 2002: 125). The introduction of Domitian in line 7 would then have a surprising effect. Yet there are unquestionable echoes from other epigrams dealing with *clientela*. See also Juvenal's reworking of this topic in 1.95–194 and Colton, 1976.

1. The *salutatio* was a morning reception, usually depicted by Martial as a tiresome business: at daybreak the *clientes*, clad in the toga (**4.26.1** n.), greeted their social superiors. Later, they used to accompany them in their daily activities (Mart. 3.36; 3.46), to support them or just as a sign of their patrons' prestige (Mart. 2.57.5; Williams *ad loc.*; 2.74.1,6; 3.36; 3.46; 6.48.1). The *salutatio* is a recurrent theme in the epigrams: cf. 2.18; 3.58; 10.74.2; 12.68.1 *Matutine cliens, urbis mihi causa relictae*. Martial usually protests that this obligation is incompatible with his literary activity: 1.70.18 *Ista, salutator scribere non potuit*; 1.108.9 *Ipse salutabo decuma te saepius hora*.

On the *salutatio*, see OCD^3, p. 1350; RE *s. v.* (Hug.); D.-S. *s. v.*; Marquardt, 1892: 303–306 § 259–260; Mohler, 1931: 246–248; Friedländer, SG I 89–103; Balsdon, 1969: 21–24.

Prima . . . atque altera: cf. Sen. *Ben.* 6.33 *in primas et secundas admissiones digeruntur*. From around six to eight in the morning. Formally, the conjunction of two temporal references, and the placing of *atque altera* just after the caesura reinforces the strenuousness of the *salutatio*.

salutantes: the word is compressed between *prima* and *atque altera*, just as the clients are at the *salutatio*. Martial prefers the noun *salutator* (1.70.18; 3.58.33; 8.44.4; 10.10.2; 10.74.2), which has negative connotations (cf. 7.87.6; 14.74.1). He usually presents them as a dehumanised crowd: cf. 2.57.5 *grex togatus . . . et capillatus*; 2.74.6 *Hos . . . amicos et greges togatorum*; 6.48.1 *turba togata*.

conterit γ: **continet** β: cf. Mart. 10.58.6–7 *nunc nos maxima Roma terit./Hic mihi quando dies meus est?*. Whereas Friedländer and Friedrich

(1913: 260–1) prefer *continet*, most editors write *conterit*: cf. Mart. 7.65.1–2; Cic. *De orat.* 1.249 *cum in causis et in negotiis et in foro conteramur*; Plin. *Ep.* 3.1.11 *mille laboribus conteror*; see OLD *s. contero* 3; TLL *s. v.* 684.42–685.39 *de viribus consumendis et animis deprimendis* (Burger). See Lindsay, 1903: 30.

Additionally, one of the most habitual meanings of *contero* is 'to waste time': OLD *s. v.* 4a; TLL *s. v.* 685.40–53): Pl. *Cas.* 566 *contrivi diem, dum asto advocatus*; Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 41 *frustra tempus contero; Leg.* 1.53 *nollent aetatem in litibus conterere.* The semantic roles are inverted in this line, which contributes to the dehumanisation of the *salutatores*. Physical weariness and time-wasting are subtly combined. Besides, *tero* and *contero* are common verbs in this context, but with a different meaning: 8.44.4 *Sed omne limen conteris salutator*; 12.29.1 *Sexagena teras cum limina mane senator.*

Ker's comment on *conterit*, 'to make baseless promises of favour by the emperor' (cf. Erasm. *Adag. s. v.*), is not very convincing.

hora: the day was divided into twelve equal parts, varying in length with the season (Mart. 12.1.4), called *horae*. Time reckoning began at daybreak (*prima hora*) and ended at dusk (*duodecima*), though there are hardly any references to the time beyond the *hora decima* (see Balsdon, 1969: 17). The night was also divided into twelve parts. Although there were sun-dials and water-clocks, methods for measuring the time were far from exact in Rome.

2. Work would begin after the *salutatio*. This line focuses on the court, which Martial abhors: 12.68.3; 10.47.5. Freidrich (1913: 261), who thinks that the Emperor is present throughout the poem, states: 'Die Anwälten reden vor dem Kaiser' and adduces Suet. *Dom.* 8; Dio Cass. 67.17. For the Emperor's role in jurisdiction, see Millar, 1992: 528–537.

exercet: this has often been interpreted as a causative verb: Izaac: 'la troisième met à l'ouvrage les avocats enroués'; Ker: 'the third hour sets hoarse advocates to work'; Estefanía: 'la tercera pone en movimiento a los abogados roncos'. Shackleton Bailey offers a better interpretation: 'the third busies hoarse barristers'. *Exercere* has, in fact, various further connotations. It evokes oratorical training: Enn. *scen.* 304 *Exerce linguam ut argutarier possis*; Tac. *Dial.* 51.1 *ut . . . controversiis . . . vocem exercerent*; Ov. *Tr.* 3.14.35 (TLL *s. v.* 1372.80–1373.8 [Hey-M.]). Besides, like *conterit*, *exercere* means 'spend time' (TLL *s. v.* 1377.50–60; see above for the inversion of semantic roles).

Furthermore, it implies effort and suffering: Cic. *Arch.* 28 *Quid est quod . . . tantis nos in laboris exerceamus?* (OLD *s. v.* 2b: 'to worry, harrass, trouble'; TLL *s. v.* 1371.38–76). Finally, there might even be wordplay on the technical use of *exercere* in judiciary contexts: Plin. *Ep.* 1.10.10 *exercere iustitiam* (TLL *s. v.* 1376.26–78).

tertia: around seven (in summer) and nine (in winter).

raucos . . . causidicos: barristers are the target of social satire, mainly due to their inveterate loquaciousness (Paoli, 1963: 202–204). Consistent with this fact, they are usually named alongside auctioneers (*praecones*): Cic. *De orat.* 1.102; Juv. 6.439; Petr. 46.7. On the pejorative connotations of the term *causidicus*, see Quint. *Inst.* 12.1.25–26. Besides, Martial's aversion to the job should be remembered: 12.68.3 *non sum ego causidicus nec amaris litibus aptus*. The *causidici* are hoarse from shouting in court: Hor. *S.* 1.4.65–67 *Sulgius acer/ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis,/magnus uterque timor latronibus*; Porph. (*ad loc.*) *ideo rauci, quod in contentione iudiciorum clament*. According to Post (*ad loc.*), *raucos* is used proleptically here as a result of *exercet*. The adjective *raucus* is frequently associated in poetry with certain animals (Lucr. 6.751–2 *raucae cornices*; Verg. *Ecl.* 2.12–3 *raucis . . . cicadas*), thus contributing to the dehumanisation of the advocates. It also carries negative nuances, in opposition to the poetic *concinnitas* and the evocations of the name *Euphemus* (7).

3. Work would take place between *tertia* and *quinta* (Marquardt, 1892: 261). According to Friedrich (1913: 262), the Emperor's political activities are alluded to here. However, the analogy with 8.44.8 (*curris per omnes tertiasque quintasque*) evokes the bustle of the busy client.

in quintam: around eleven in the morning, the time for lunch (Marquardt, 1892: 266–267): cf. Mart. 8.67.9, whose protagonist is invited to dinner and comes at lunch-time. See also Plin. *Pan.* 49.6. The *prandium* was a small mid-day meal taken after work (Apul. *Met.* 10.5).

varios . . . labores: *labores* alludes to the many occupations of the Romans, often prohibiting thought and *studium*: Plin. *Ep.* 1.9.7 *tu quoque strepitum istum inanemque discursum et multum ineptos labores* (. . .) *relinque teque studiis vel otio trade*. In Martial's epigrams *labores* stands for the pains and efforts of the clients: 3.44.9 *Nam tantos, rogo, quis ferat labores?*; 5.22.9 *post mille labores*; 10.58.7–8 *iactamur in alto/Vrbis, et in sterili vita labore perit*; 10.82.7–8 *Parce, precor, fesso vanosque remitte labores,/qui tibi non prosunt et mihi, Galle, nocent.*

Apart from the notion of variety, *varius* suggests movement and confusion: 7.39.1 *Discursus varios vagumque mane*; Tac. *Hist.* 2.35 *variis trepidantium inclinationibus*. It also evokes a certain feeling of instability and precariousness.

Roma: *Roma* alludes both to the crowd of citizens and clients (8.65.6; 9.28.10), and to the oppressive superstructure above them: 10.58.6 *Nunc nos maxima Roma terit*; 10.74.1–2 *Iam parce lasso, Roma, gratulatori/lasso clienti*; 12.68.5–6 *Otia me somnusque iuvant, quae magna negavit/Roma mihi*.

4. At noon (*sexta hora*), the Romans had a little nap or siesta (<*sexta*), the *meridiatio* (Cic. *Div.* 2.142): Cels. 1.10.3 *somnus meridianus*; Plin. *Ep.* 7.4.4 *meridie . . . dormiturus*; 9.40.2 *meridianus somnus*; Var. *R.* 1.2.5. It consisted of a brief sleep after lunch: (Marquardt, 1892: 269): Catul. 32.10; Suet. *Aug.* 78 *post cibum meridianum paulisper conquiescebat*; Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.11 *deinde gustabat dormiebatque minimum*; Cels. 1.2.5; Sen. *Ep.* 83.6. See Marquardt, 1892: 264; Balsdon, 1969: 25. The briefness of this rest is conveyed by the structure of the line, each of whose hemistichs begins with a time expression (*sexta, septima*).

lassis: the client is *lassus* after his daily occupations: 3.7.1–2; 3.36.5; 5.22.10; 10.70.13; 10.74.1–2; cf. 10.82.7 *Parce, precor, fesso vanosque remitte labores*. Friedrich, however, interprets *lassis*, despite the plural form, as referring to the Emperor and adduces Prop. 4.9.34 *pandite defessis hospita fana viris*; Sen. *Her. F.* 925–6 *detur aliquando otium/quiesque fessis* (referring to Hercules). A comparison with *A. P.* 10.43 (*infra*), with the plural βροτοῖς, favours the first reading.

septima finis erit: the *hora septima* puts an end to the siesta, but also to the morning activities. A witty Greek epigram of the *Palatine Anthology*, also found on a clock in Herculaneum, illustrates this division of the day (see Page, 1981: 393–394; Marquardt, 1892: 263 n. 3):

> Ἓξ ὧραι μόχθοις ἱκανώταται· αἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὰς
> γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι "ζῆθι" λέγουσι βροτοῖς (*A. P.* 10.43).

Working mornings, and afternoon leisure, shaped the routine of the average Roman.

5. Time for bathing and exercise.

sufficit in nonam: the verb suggests that Martial was not very keen on exercising. One hour before dinner is more than enough.

nitidis . . . palaestris: the wrestling place is said to be shiny due to the oil with which wrestlers anointed themselves: (Mart. 3.58.25): Ov. *Ep.* 16.151 *more tuae gentis nitida dum nuda palaestra*; 19.11 *aut fora vos retinent aut unctae dona palaestrae*; *Met.* 6.241 *transierant ad opus nitidae iuvenale palaestrae*; *Fast.* 5.667 *laete lyrae pulsu, nitida quoque laete palaestra*; Theoc. 2.51 λιπαρᾶς . . . παλαίστρας; Call. *Fr.* 261; [Luc.] *Amor.* 3.10; 45.8. On the sports played at the *palaestra*, see **4.19.5–8** and Balsdon, 1969: 159–168.

octava: the baths (leisure resorts including sports facilities) opened at the *octava hora* and closed at dusk in Martial's time: 10.48.1; 11.52.3 *Octavam poteris servare; lavabimur una* (see Kay *ad loc.*); cf. 3.36.5; 10.70.13. On this matter, see Carcopino, 1939: 298–300; Busch, 1999: 400–427.

6. The *cena* usually started between *nona* and *decima* (Marquardt, 1892: 298): Cic. *Fam.* 9.26.1 *accubueram hora nona*; Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.71.

imperat: notice the semantic difference from other contexts in which the time recommends an activity: Verg. *A.* 2.9 *Suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*; Stat. *Theb.* 10.156 *non . . . eadem sopor otia Grais suadet*; *Theb.* 10.116 *primosque hortantia somnos . . . expirant lumina. Imperat* has a compelling force, in keeping with the tone of the epigram: human beings are not in control of their lives.

frangere . . . toros: 2.59.3 *Frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tinguere nardo*; Auson. *Ep.* 2.15 *gramineos nunc frange toros. Frangere toros* suggests wildness, but it is an idiom in which *frangere* has a weakened sense ('rumpling'; OLD *s. v.* 4a).

extructos γ: excelsos β (Isid. *Orig.* 20.2.13): Verg. *A.* 3.224 *exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis; A.* 11.66 *exstructosque toros*; cf. Pl. *Men.* 101 *mensas exstruit*; Tib. 2.5.99–100 *At sibi quisque dapes et festas exstruet alte/caespitibus mensas caespitibusque torum*; Sil. 11.271 *regifice extructis celebrant convivia mensis.*

7. After dinner, entertainment included conversation, music and poetry: Quint. *Inst.* 1.10.19; Plin. *Ep.* 9.36.4 (see Balsdon, 1969: 44–45).

hora . . . decima: cf. 1.108.9.

libellorum . . . meorum: on the many uses of the term *libellus*, see **4.10.1** (n.). Here it refers to booklets intended for recitation, as in **4.6.5** (n.). See Nauta, 2002: 9–105 and Burnikel, 1990, on the oral presentation of epigrams.

Eupheme: this character is only mentioned here. Friedländer points out that he is Domitian's *tricliniarches*. The wording of this passage places him on an equal setting with Ganymede (cf. 8.39.4; 9.36.9–10), thus adding to the depiction of Domitian as Jupiter. His name also suggests that he has a good voice, and for that reason he could be an ideal intermediary, who would receive and read Martial's poetry.

On imperial brokerage, see Nauta, 2002: 341–349. On the slave who acted as *lector* or ἀναγνώστης, see Nauta, 2002: 137; Starr, 1991: 338–343.

8–10. The imperial banquet is described in a conventional godlike manner, *nectar* and *ambrosia* being the drink and food of gods (cf. Varr. *Men.* 417; Cic. *Tusc.* 1.65; Ov. *Met.* 14.606; *Pont.* 1.10.11; cf. Mart. 11.57.3 *Iuppiter ambrosia satur est et nectare vivit*): Cic. *N. D.* 1.112 *ac poetae quidem nectar ambrosiam epulas conparant et aut Iuventatem aut Ganymedem pocula ministrantem.*

8. temperat: *temperare* is especially used for the mixing of wine and water: [Tib.] 3.6.58 *Temperet annosum Marcia lympha merum*; Hor. *Epod.* 17.80 *desiderique temperare pocula.* Its Greek equivalent is κεράννυμι: Hom. *Od.* 5.93 Κέρασσε δε νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν. Martial's innovation lies in its use with food, *dapes.*

Temperat refers to well-proportioned mixing, thus alluding to perfection and care (*tua cura*), but also to temperance and restraint (*pocula parca*): cf. Apul. *Met.* 1.18 *quod poculis vesperi minus temperavi*; Sen. *Ep.* 59.11 *In ebrietatibus ac libidinibus temperantissimum.*

ambrosias . . . dapes: ἀμβροσία originally meant immortality, but was always used for concrete realities related to the gods, such as food (*vid. supra*). In Silver poetry the use of the adjective *ambrosius*, following the Greek model ἀμβρόσιος, increases: Sil. 7.210; 12.245; 15.24 (cf. Verg. *A.* 1.403); Stat. *Theb.* 9.731. Martial writes *ambrosias . . . dapes* another three times: 8.39.2 (Schöffel *ad loc.*); 8.49.8 *et capit ambrosias cum duce Roma dapes*; 13.91.2 *Ambrosias ornent munera rara dapes. Dapes* means banquet, but originally it was a religious term, referring to sacrificial feasting: Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.17 *ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem.* It never completely lost its sacred value: Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.199 *assiduas libabo dapes et pocula sacris*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.633 *et libate dapes, ut, grati pignus honoris.*

tua cura: Euphemus' caring assistance. Besides, the term can be related to the quasi-religious context displayed in this passage, for *cura* may also mean devoutness: Cic. *Mil.* 85; Liv. 2.2.1; Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.108 *curaque sit superis caesaribusque tui*. It may also carry an erotic suggestion, for the term can refer to a *puer delicatus* (cf. 11.26.1), thus likening Euphemus to Ganymede even more closely: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.60–1 *Care puer superis, qui praelibare verendum/nectar et ingentem totiens contingere dextram*.

9. bonus: cf. 9.42.7 *bonus adnuatque Caesar* (Henriksén *ad loc.*). This is a common epithet for Jupiter and other deities: 8.49(50).3 *bonus accubuit genitor cum plebe deorum* (Schöffel *ad loc.*); Pers. 2.22–23; Sen. *Con.* 7.1.15; 9.2.9 *Pro bone Iuppiter*; Stat. *Theb.* 12.87 *bone Iuppiter*; 3.556 *bonus ille deum genitor*.

aetherio . . . nectare: cf. 8.39.3 *sacrum . . . nectar*; 11.57.3; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.11–12 *quos inter Augustus recumbens/purpureo bibet ore nectar*. *Aether* is the upper region of space and the ethereal material surrounding the gods. The epithet *aetherius* is traditionally used of Jupiter (9.35.10 *aetherius . . . pater*; 9.36.7 *pater aetherius*; Stat. *Ach.* 2.53; *Theb.* 11.207; *Silv.* 3.1.108; 3.1.186 *aetherii . . . patris*), but can be generally applied to anything divine: 9.3.3; 13.4.1. *Nectar* is the drink of the gods: Cic. *Tusc.* 1.65; Ov. *Pont.* 1.10.11; Plin. *Nat.* 11.37. In poetic language it is frequently applied to wine, and even honey (Verg. *G.* 4.164), although always retaining its link with divinity (Verg. *Ecl.* 5.71; Prop. 2.33.28; Ov. *Met.* 1.111; Mart. 3.82.24; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.99).

Caesar: the term is placed in a prominent position after an accumulation of godlike images.

10. In order to build up an ideal portrait of the Emperor, attitudes apparently inconsistent with the *symposium* (10.20.19 *cum furit Lyaeus*), that is, moderation and restraint, are further emphasised by means of the lexical component (*tenet; parca*) and the structure of the line (*ingenti . . . manu* enclosing *pocula parca*).

ingentique . . . manu: cf. **4.1.6** (n.) *perque manus tantas plurima quercus eat*; **4.30.4–5**; 6.1.5 *magnas Caesaris in manus*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.61 *ingentem totiens contingere dextram*. The hands of the emperors symbolise their absolute power, especially when they are said to have divine proportions. Jupiter's hand, usually brandishing the thunder-bolt (Ov. *Met.* 2.61; 2.311; 2.848 etc.), has a threatening force. This notion will emerge at the end of the epigram, though in a jocular way.

tenet: cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.8.22 *semper honorata sceptra tenere manu.*

pocula parca: the contrast between *ingenti* and *parca* stresses Domitian's purported temperance: Suet. *Dom.* 21 *modicam in ampulla potiunculam sumeret*; Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.121 *ipsa dapes modicas et sobria pocula tradit.* For the *poculum*, the drinking cup, see Calandra, 2003: 193 n. 6 (with bibliography).

11–12. The poet's Muse, a personification of his work, is afraid of approaching Domitian when he is not receptive. In fact, her nature is incompatible with serious attitudes. She wants to pay her respects to the Emperor, but in the evening: cf. 1.108.9 *Ipse salutabo decuma te saepius hora.* A similar idea is present in 10.20(19), dedicated to Pliny.

11. Tunc: *decima hora.* Late in the day is the appropriate time for the poet's epigrams: 10.20.18 *seras tutior ibis ad lucernas:/haec hora est tua.*

admitte: 5.6.7 *admittas timidam brevemque chartam*; 7.68.3 *Quod si lascivos admittit et ille libellos* (cf. 5.1.9 *Tu tantum accipias*).

It is highly significant that the *salutatio* was also called *admissio*: Plin. *Nat.* 33.41; Sen. *Ben.* 6.33.4; *Cl.* 1.10.1; Plin. *Pan.* 47; Suet. *Aug.* 53.2 *promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem; Ves.* 14.1; 21.1 *amicos admittebat, ac dum salutabatur*; Gel. 16.5.9 (TLL *s. admissio* 747.65–83; *s. admittere* 749.60–64 [Kempf]). One of the keys to the epigram is the work's personification as Thalia and the verb *admitte*: the work timidly approaches its powerful patron in a nocturnal '*salutatio*'.

In addition, *admittere* means the reception in oral communication (TLL *s. v.* 752.30–53), but it can also apply to erotic contexts (TLL *s. v.* 749.56–60): *iocos*, apart from denoting Martial's epigrams, has an erotic undertone (*vid. infra*). Subtly, Thalia will be presented as a charming entertainer, a lustful dancer (*gressu licenti*). On the erotic component of the epigrams, see **4.14.12–14** (n.).

iocos: jokes are inherent to the epigrammatic genre to such an extent that epigrams are often referred to as *ioci*, because of their playful and trivial tone: **4.10.8**; 5.15.1 *Quintus nostrorum liber est, Auguste, iocorum*; 6.82.5 *nequitias iocosque*; 6.85.10; 7.8.9 *Fas audire iocos levioraque carmina, Caesar*; 7.12.2 *excipiatque meos, qua solet aure, iocos*; 7.28.8; 7.80.4; 10.64.2 *non tetrica nostros excipe fronte iocos.* See more details in Swann, 1994: 51–52; 59–61, as well as in **4.14.12** (n.) and **4.49.2** (n.). *Iocus*

might also be an erotic term (cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.724; 3.796; Mart. 1.35 and Citroni *ad loc.*; TLL *s. v.* 289.37–45 [Hi.]), meaning both erotic play and risqué words (Adams, 1982: 161). Besides, jokes are to be found in the relaxed atmosphere of the *symposium*: 10.48.21 *Accedent sine felle ioci* (see Nauta, 2002: 167–168).

gressu timet ire: most manuscripts read *gressu* (or *gressum*) *metire*. Lindsay (1903: 261) proposed *Gressun metire licenti/ad matutinum, nostra Thalia, Iovem?* (cf. Luc. 5.556 *instabili gressu metitur litora cornix*). *Gressu timet ire* seems to be a humanist conjecture, but it has been almost unanimously accepted by editors (Lemaire, Friedländer, Lindsay, Giarratano, Ker, Heraeus, Shackleton Bailey), despite being the *lectio facilior*. In Martial's self-deprecating compositions his *oeuvre* is usually described as timorous and diffident: 5.6.7 *admittas timidam brevemque chartam*; 8.24.1 *timido gracilique libello*; 9.58.5 *excipe sollicitos placide, mea dona, libellos*; 12.11.7 *timidumque brevemque libellum*; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.1. The book is vulnerable and afraid of critical comments: 3.2.12; **4.86.7**; 9.26.8 *iudicium metuit nostra Thalia tuum*. This line is an elaborate reworking of the inferiority that is supposed to characterise the genre. Besides, the book's fear is a result of the recipient's power: 6.1.4–5 (*libellus*) *audebit minus anxius tremensque/magnas Caesaris in manus venire*; 1.70.13 *ne metuas fastus limenque superbum*.

gressu . . . licenti: Thalia's gait. If Thalia is a personification of the epigram, *gressus* might allude to the metrical foot: Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.250–1 *qui nobile gressu/extremo fraudatis opus*; 5.3.98–99 *et quis lasciva vires tenuare Thalia/dulce vel heroos gressu truncare tenores* (TLL *s. v.* 2327.39–44 [Knoche]). *Licens* can be applied to literary works: Plin. *Nat.* pr.1 *licentiore epistula*; Cic. *de Orat.* 3.185 *inde ille licentior et divitior fluxit dithyrambus*. There is a play on two senses of *licentia*: licentiousness (TLL *s. licentia* 1355.29–1356.2 [B.]) and verbal licence (TLL *s. v.* 1356.3–33), which deals with form (poetic licence; Cic. *De orat.* 3.153 *quae (verba) sunt poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae*), as well as tone and content (Mart. 8.pr.12 *mimicam verborum licentia*).

ire: cf. 1.70.1–2; 3.4.1; 10.20.18.

12. As usual, Martial combines the notions of humility and inferiority with an irrepressible sense of pride in his work. His poetry is afraid of coming close to the Emperor, but attempts to do so. The Emperor is deified, and so is Martial's book, personified as a divine entity: the Muse.

timet ire . . . ad matutinum . . . Iovem: on the one hand, this alludes to the irreverent nature of the epigram (cf. 10.20(19).21 *tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones*; 11.17.2 *Invenies et quod mane legas*; 13.2.10 *matutina . . . fronte*); on the other hand, it suggests the *salutatio*, picking up the idea of the first line (cf. Cic. *ad Brut.* 4.1 *ipsa in turba matutinae salutationis*; Mart. 1.55.6 *et matutinum portat ineptus Have*; 12.68.1 *Matutine cliens*).

Thalia: the Muse of epigram (**4.23.4**), comedy, and other minor poetic genres (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6.1–2; Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.98–99; Roscher, 1965 V: *s. v.* 450). The terms *Musa* and *Thalia* often denote poetry metonymically (cf. 2.22.2; 9.99.1). Elsewhere (7.17) Martial calls his work *lasciva Thalia*, as opposed to *carmina sanctiora*. In another epigram (3.68) Terpsichore, the lyric muse, is tipsy and cannot restrain herself: 5–6 *Hinc iam deposito post vina rosasque pudore/quid dicat nescit saucia Terpsichore*. Thalia is addressed in 10.20(19) and asked to visit Pliny late in the evening (lines 1–3 and 12–21). The excuse that the epigram is not apt for just any occasion is a sophisticated form of humbleness, but also of self-assertion (cf. 4.14). The possessive *nostra* subtly underlines the poet's pride in his work: Verg. *Ecl.* 6.1–2 *nostra Thalea*; Mart. 8.73.3; 9.26.8; 12.94.2; cf. 4.14.10 *Nostris . . . Camenis*.

Iovem: on the closing of the epigram with an assertion of Domitian's divinity, see **4.1.10** (n.).

9

Satiric epigram based on a wordplay, *Sotas*-ἀσώτως: *Labulla*, the daughter of a physician whose own name is related to his profession (*Sotas*, cf. σῴζειν), squanders her fortune on an adulterous lover. Her behaviour is seen as an incurable disease. The poem could be linked with **4.28**, which censures a similar attitude. It is the emancipation of women, with their relative economic and sexual freedom, that is frowned on. Prinz (1911) connects it with *A. P.* 9.367, whose protagonist spends his fortune and his wife's dowry; with 9.357 on a spendthrift, and with 6.216 (by Simonides), differing in subject-matter but involving a similar wordplay:

> Σῶσος καὶ Σωσώ, σῶτερ, σοὶ τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν·
> Σῶσος μὲν σωθείς, Σωσὼ δ', ὅτι Σῶσος ἐσώθη (ed. Waltz, 1960).

Further reading: On this epigram, see Prinz, 1911: 50–51; Joepgen, 1967: 116; Grewing, 1998: 342.

1. Sotae: see Renn, 1889: 46. This is a Greek name (*Sotas*) widely attested in Greek literature and inscriptions (*vid.* LGPN II: 420; IIIa: 417; IIIb: 397). Most of the physicians mentioned in epigram bear Greek names (Henriksén, 1999: 144, n. 1), since medicine was mainly practised by Greeks: Juv. 3.77–78 (see Huxley, 1957: 132–133).

Clinici: Gr. Κλινικός (Gal. 12.829; *A. P.* 11.113; Stephani, 1889: 11). The *clinicus* was a doctor who used to see his patients in bed: Mart. 1.30.2 (Citroni); 9.96.1 (Henriksén); Sidon. *Ep.* 12.34; CIL VI 2532 (11.5400) MEDICVS CLINICVS; Plin. *Nat.* 1.29 *clinice*; 29.4; 30.98 (cf. Lact. *Ins.* 3.8.10; Prud. *Apoth.* 205). Epigram 1.30 (Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*) was based on a wordplay between *clinicus* and one of the meanings of κλίνη, 'coffin'. Here there might be another subtle wordplay on κλίνη (Lat. *lectus*), as a symbol for marriage (cf. Verg. *A.* 4.496 *lectum . . . iugalem*; Ov. *Met.* 7.710 *deserti . . . foedera lecti*) and in relation with adultery. However, in Greek this notion is conveyed rather by the term θάλαμος.

The physician is a secondary character in this epigram, although he is always the butt of satirical attacks in ancient literature, especially in Greek (*A. P.* 11.15; 11.112–121; 11.124; 11.125; 11.127;

11.188; 11.257; 11.280; 11.333–334; 11.401; see Pertsch, 1911: 26–28; Autore, 1937: 95–96; Brecht, 1930: 45–51) and Latin epigram (Mart. 1.30; 1.47; 5.9; 6.31; 6.53; 6.86; 8.74; 10.77; 11.71; cf. Petr. 42.5; Juv. 10.221). On the roots of this invective, see Scarborough, 1969: 301. On epigrams about physicians see Peyer-Remund, 1928: 18–23; Spaeth, 1928–1929: 364–365; Dolderer, 1933; Spalicci, 1934; Hofmann, 1956–1957: 438; Howell, 1980: 169; Mans, 1994: 112–116; Sullivan, 1991: 166–168; Grewing, 1997: 230–232; Henriksén, 1999: 143–144; Moreno Soldevila, 2003a: 219–224.

Labulla: Bulla ***β***: Labulla ***γ***: *lemm.* ad Fabullam: Gilbert, 1884: 516–517. *Labulla*, the *lectio difficilior*, is to be preferred in this epigram, as in 12.93, on an adulteress (only Heraeus preferred *Fabulla* there). The masculine *Labullus* is also to be found in satiric epigrams: 11.24 (*var. lect.* Fabulle) and 12.36. On this name, see Schulze, 1966: 461 n. 1.

2. Cf. 1.62.5–6 *Incidit in flammas: iuvenemque secuta relicto/coniuge Penelope venit, abît Helene.*

deserto . . . marito: *desero* frequently means to 'abandon' a lover or a partner (TLL *s. v.* 670.71–671.27 [Vetter]): Pl. *Mos.* 196; 202; Ter. *An.* 270; Catul. 66.21; 68.6; Verg. *A.* 2.572; 4.677; Prop. 2.8.29; 2.17.3; Ov. *Met.* 7.710; Sen. *Med.* 208; Mart. 7.58.5 *deseris imbelles thalamos mollemque maritum*; 8.31.5 *longe deserta uxore*; 10.41.1–2 *veterem . . . maritum/deseris.* Marital unfaithfulness, a crime when practised by women, is often criticised in the epigrams: cf. 1.74; 1.90; 2.39; 2.47; 2.49; 2.56; 2.83; 3.26; 3.70; 3.85; 5.61; 6.2.5–6; 6.6; 6.31; 6.39; 6.45; 10.14; 10.40; 10.52; 10.95; 11.7; 12.38; 12.93; Hofmann, 1956–57: 449–450; Sullivan, 1991: 193, n. 9.

sequeris: in an erotic sense (see Forcellini *s. v.* 3): cf. Prop. 2.34.8; Ov. *Ep.* 5.77; 16.325; Mart. 1.62.5 (*supra*); Juv. 6.100 *quae moechum sequitur.*

Clytum: another Greek name (Κλυτός; LGPN II: 268; IIIa: 252), reinforcing the wordplay, not only by means of alliteration, but also paronomasia. *Clytus* reappears in 8.64: he celebrates his birthday eight times a year: 1–2 *Ut poscas, Clyte, munus exigasque,/uno nasceris octiens in anno.*

3. et donas et amas: role-reversal: in erotic literature it is usually the man who offers presents to his beloved (cf. 2.39.1; Hor. *Epod.* 12.2; Watson *ad loc.*). A similar attitude in **4.28.1** (n.).

ἔχεις ἀσώτως: wordplay on the name *Sotas*, a doctor unable to cure his daughter's illness, and on the verbs *donare* and *amare* (see Joepgen, 1967: 116; Weinreich, 1926: 161–162; 1928: 90–91; Dolderer, 1933: 25; Grewing, 1998: 342). Sotas' job consists in σῴζειν, saving patients, but his daughter behaves ἀσώτως (Shackleton Bailey, 1993: 'you act dissolutely'): there is a play on another sense of σῴζειν (to save money; LSJ *s. v.* 2).

The wordplay is complex. Greek ἀσωτέω means 'to live dissolutely' (DGE *s. v.*). The different meanings of ἀσωτία, ἄσωτος and ἀσώτως are all applicable to Labulla's way of living.

- First, they allude to intemperance and debauchery (DGE *s.* ἀσωτία 1; ἄσωτος 3; ἀσώτως 3); when applied to women, ἄσωτος alludes to sexual immorality (DGE *s. v.* 3, cf. e.g. Aristaenet. 2.2.19); in fact, ἀσωτία means 'lechery' in Judaeo-Christian literature (DGE *s. v.* 3).
- Second, they all refer to squandering and lavishness (DGE *s.* ἀσωτία 2; ἄσωτος 2; ἀσώτως 2; cf. e.g. Pl. *Lg.* 743b). Latin *asotia* and *asotus* suggest dissipation (Rut. Lup. 2.9) and excess (Cic. *Fin.* 2.22; 2.23; 2.30; 2.70; *N. D.* 3.77; Gel. 10.17; 19.9; cf. 6.11.2). The *adulescens* in the *comedia palliata* is said to be *asotus* (*Arg.2. Pl. Merc.*; Caecil. *Asotus*).
- Third, ἄσωτος (DGE *s. v.* 1) means 'hopeless' (Arist. *Pr.* 962b 5; Clem. Al. *Paed.* 2.17). Plutarch employs the expression ἀσώτως ἔχειν (2.918d) in this sense.
- Finally, it is used of a hopeless lover (X. Eph. 1.4.5 ἱκέτην ἔχεις ἄσωτον).

In short, Labulla is a hopeless case of indecency and wastefulness. On Martial's misogynist view of women, see bibliography in **4.4.11** (n.).

On similar play involving Greek words, see Pertsch, 1911: 46; Burnikel, 1980: 43–44, n. 94: Grewing, 1998: 340–343 and cf. 3.34.2; 3.67.10; 3.78.2; 14.154. Additionally, cf. 6.17; 8.58; 9.95; 12.39, which are based on wordplay with proper nouns.

10

The recently finished book is entrusted to a slave who is to deliver it urgently to Faustinus, a patron of the poet, as an exclusive advance copy. However, this is not the only present: a sponge, to wash out ink, should go with it. Ostensibly the poet modestly declares that the book is so bad that it is not even worth correcting: it is bound to disappear (cf. **4.86**). Originally, this epigram might have headed a collection of poems, sent to Faustinus for correction (see Nauta, 2002, 124–129), although it could also have been composed for the occasion (Citroni, 1988: 37–38), recreating a fictional story of the publishing process. In any case, its inclusion within this published collection and in the opening series endows it with new layers of meaning.

The first lines include an aesthetic manifesto, linked with the topos of the *labor limae*: the unfinished appearance of the work symbolises the poet's permanent dissatisfaction and his constant polishing of his poetry. The final distich encompasses a *captatio benevolentiae*: the book does not deserve to survive (cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.5.15–16 *Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno/me quoque, qui feci, iudice digna lini*). However, there is a syntactical ambiguity which may undermine the final statement; if *multae*, and not *possunt*, is considered to fall into the scope of the negative particle *non*, the meaning changes: *una litura* would refer to Faustinus, the only qualified person entitled to assess Martial's work. By complimenting Faustinus, he ingeniously invalidates any possible condemnation from 'unauthorised' critics and asks his addressee (and the reader) for benevolent appraisal.

Further reading: on this epigram, see Dams, 1970: 190–191; Muth, 1979: 218; Sullivan, 1991: 56–77; Opelt, 1994: 26; Lorenz, 2004: 264. On Catullan echoes in this poem, Offermann, 1980: 109–110; Swann, 1994: 50. On the publication of Martial's epigrams, Sage, 1919; Allen, 1970: 345–357; White, 1974; Citroni, 1988; Fowler, 1995; White, 1996; Nauta, 2002: 105–120. On patronage in Rome, Saller, 1982; 1989; White, 1978; especially in Martial's time, Saller, 1983; Sullivan, 1991: 116–130; Nauta, 2002.

1–4. There is a sense of urgency conveyed by the repetition of *dum* and the imperatives in line 3, and explained in the following line: Martial's friend must be the first to read the book.

1. novus: newly finished. The line echoes Catullus 1.1 *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?* The term suggests desire for the renovation of the genre, as well as the idea of refined and polished poetry, along with a certain challenging tone. Martial exhibits an irrepressible sense of pride under his humble façade. *Novus* also evokes youth and imperfection (see the second half of the line): the poet entrusts the book—his offspring—to Faustinus, so that he can also foster it (on the father-son relationship established between the author and his work, see Ruiz, 1980: 162–163). The appearance of the volume anticipates its fragility: in spite of the suggestion to delete his work, Faustinus will certainly be benevolent, moved by the book's vulnerability.

nec adhuc rasa mihi fronte: cf. Catul. 1.2 *arido modo pumice expolitum* (see Offermann, 1980: 109–110). According to Roman (2001: 122–123), Martial subverts here the image of 'Catullus' neat, trimmed and integral Callimachean *libellus*'.

rasa . . . fronte: *frons* (TLL *s. v.* 1362.84–1363.10 [Robbert]) denotes each of the flat ends of a papyrus roll, which had to be smoothed with pumice-stone (Birt 1882=1974: 67; 365; Ruiz, 1980: 151): 1.66.10 *pumicata fronte*; 1.117.16 *rasum pumice*; 8.72.1–2 *Nondum . . ./ morsu pumicis aridi politus*; Catul. 1.2; Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.11 *nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes*; 3.1.13. The book, as a physical entity, is unfinished: it is subtly suggested that the work of art can still be improved. It is worth remembering the meaning of *radere* related to the *labor limae*: 10.2.3 *Nota leges quaedam, sed lima rasa recenti* (cf. Ov. *Pont.* 2.4.17).

libellus: Birt, 1882 (=1974): 21–24. The diminutive of *liber* can refer to a small book written for publication (**4.29.9**), or to a prepublication booklet distributed among friends or patrons (see e.g. White, 1974; 1996). Martial uses the term *libellus* very frequently (117 times) and it is not always easy to discern its particular meaning. Citroni (1975: 7) points out that *libellus* is often the equivalent of terms such as *carmina, versus, epigrammata.* The diminutive, which is more frequent than the form *liber*, alludes partly to the brevity of the book of epigrams (10.1.1–2), but also has to do with the attitude of the poet towards his poetry: a *liber* contains long, serious literary works (5.56.5 *cum libris Ciceronis aut Maronis*). Martial likes calling

his book *libellus*, especially when addressing it, usually intensifying a tone of modesty (Adams, 1975: 15), essential to the *captatio benevolentiae* (see Grewing, 1997: 73–74). According to Ruiz (1980: 149), there are aesthetic and affective reasons for its use. This book is alluded to as *librum* in line 5, which proves that strictly speaking the two words mean the same (Ruiz, 1980: 149).

2. pagina: Birt, 1882 (=1974): 229; 255. Another technical term: *pagina* originally means a 'column of writing' (it could mean 'page', but only when there was just one column per page, as in the *codices pugillares*: 14.3; 14.5; 14.7; 14.184). In Martial's epigrams, it metonymically refers to a part of the book (3.69.4; 11.17.1) or to the work itself (cf. 1.4.8; 5.2.2; 10.4.10; Ruiz, 1980: 152–153).

non bene sicca: according to Lorenz, there is a metapoetic play here: 'the *pagina* might still be a little damp not because it is new, but because it has been using—above all in 4.3 and 4.4—a lot of watery vocabulary' (2004: 264).

timet: on the anxiety of the personified work, cf. **4.8.11** (n.).

3–5. i . . . perfer . . . curre: notice the eagerness of the poet to know the recipient's verdict. On the use of the imperative *i*, see Lease, 1898: 66.

3. puer: slaves could act as errand boys (cf. 1.117.2, 5; see Garrido-Hory, 1997: 310). On the term *puer* applied to slaves, see Dickey, 2002: 194–195.

caro . . . amico: his name is not mentioned until line 7. *Carus* implies a feeling of affection (1.88.7; 5.20.1; 6.1.2; 7.84.5 *caro . . . sodali* [Galán *ad loc.*]; cf. 14.11.1). *Amicus* is an ambiguous word: it can allude either to a relationship based on equal terms or one of dependence, meaning both 'patron' and 'client' (Nauta, 2002: 14–16). The expression *carus amicus*, going back to Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.51 and Ov. *Tr.* 3.6.7; *Pont.* 3.2.21, denotes a circle of friends (4.73.5 n.; 13.55.1) or just a friend (10.44.7), regardless of their relative social position, although it can be used ironically (4.5.5; Juv. 5.140). Notice that *leve munus* is enclosed within *caro . . . amico* and the prominent position of *amico*, stressing the poet's humbleness and his affection for his so-far unnamed friend.

perfer: 10.20.2–4 *libellum . . . perfer*; 10.93.3–4 *perfer Atestinae nondum vulgata Sabinae/carmina, purpurea sed modo culta toga.*

leve munus: 3.2.1 *Cuius vis fieri, libelle, munus?*

This could be a Saturnalian present (cf. **4.14**). *Munus* is a gift, but also a concept of social reciprocity. Martial usually describes his presents as simple and ordinary (cf. **4.19.3**), but in this case the adjective is pertinent to the purported inferiority of the epigrammatic genre (cf. 4). There might even be wordplay between *lĕvis* in this line and *lēvis*. The latter suggests formal perfection (1.3.9–11). Besides, as the book is frequently personified, *lēvis* would denote its juvenile aspect. On this kind of wordplay, see Sullivan, 1991: 246; Ahl, 1985; cf. **4.89.1** (n.).

4. qui meruit nugas primus habere meas: cf. Catul. 1.3–4 *namque tu solebas/meas esse aliquid putare nugas* (see Offermann, 1980: 109).

meruit . . . primus: *primus* stresses the urgency of the previous lines; in conjunction with *meruit* it turns into a word of praise, denoting excellence. Humility (*nugas*) and literary pride (*meruit*) blend. The recipient is consciously selected, even though the reasons are not openly explained.

nugas: a standard term for light poetry (Catul. 1.4; Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.42; *Ars* 322). Martial makes frequent use of this word (19 times), the meaning of which is similar to *lusus* or *nequitiae* (see Swann, 1994: 47–55). Following the Catullan model, *nugae* is often qualified by a possessive adjective in the first person (normally singular), which implies the poet's strong identification with his poetic work: 1.113.6 *per quem perire non licet meis nugis* (Citroni *ad loc.*); 2.1.6 *nec tantum nugis serviet ille meis* (Williams *ad loc.*); **4.82.4** *non tetrica nugas exigat aure meas*; 7.26.7 *quanto mearum, scis, amore nugarum*; 10.18.4 *et queritur nugas obticuisse meas*; 13.2.4 *non potes in nugas dicere plura meas*; 14.183.2 *et frontem nugis solvere disce meis*; cf. 5.80.3 *dum nostras legis exigisque nugas*; 7.51.1 *mercari nostras si te piget, Urbice, nugas*; 12.pr. It is a self-deprecating term, but in these contexts it stands for the poet's satisfaction with his poems: cf. 6.64.7–8 (Grewing *ad loc.*); 8.3.11 *dulcis . . . nugas*; 9.pr.v.5; Galán *ad* 7.11.4.

5–6. The haste goes on (*curre*), but the adversative conjunction *sed* introduces a new idea, already anticipated in the derogatory literary terms in the previous lines: the book cannot go alone; it has to be accompanied by a sponge.

5. Curre, sed instructus: echoes *vade, sed incultus* (Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.3). *Instructus* belongs to military language (TLL *s. v.* 2023.44–55 [v. Kamptz]) and is part of a wordplay with *punica* and *comitetur* (*vid. infra*); it also suggests culture and erudition (TLL *s. v.* 2023.81–2024.30).

comitetur: this recalls military language (OLD *s. v.* 1c); this is a risky, yet vivid, image: the poet imagines the slave boy and the presents marching to Faustinus' house.

5–6. Punica . . . spongea: a sponge could make a humble present (7.53.4; 14.144; Leary *ad loc.*). It was used for domestic cleaning, personal hygiene, and also to wash out ink: Var. *Men.* 305.2 *spongiam deletilem*; Suet. *Cal.* 20.1 *scripta sua spongia linguave delere iussos*. *Punica* may allude to the origins of this product: Pliny mentions a kind of sponge native to Africa (*Nat.* 9.149). Friedrich (1908: 623 = 1967: 634) points out that *Punicus* is equivalent to *puniceus* (*purpureus*) and that Martial is playing with another passage: 3.2.10 *et te purpura delicata velet*. According to him, this book would go with a purple sponge rather than a purple cover.

muneribus convenit illa meis: as a humble present, the sponge matches the book (*leve munus*) and will be functional. Besides, it has to be noted that *convenire* is a technical literary term pertaining to *decorum*: Ov. *Am.* 1.1.2; *Tr.* 3.1.10; 5.1.6. It is subtly implied that the nature of the epigrammatic genre demands a feeling—genuine or not—of humbleness.

7–8. Non possunt nostros multae . . . liturae/emendare iocos: active literary patronage is a traditional theme: a patron would not only commission a work of art, but also assess and correct it (Saller, 1983: 249; Starr, 1987: 213–215); so would a colleague: cf. Ov. *Pont.* 2.4.15–18 *Quod tu laudaras, populo placuisse putabam/—hoc pretium curae dulce recentis erat—/utque meus lima rasus liber esset amici,/non semel admonitu facta litura tuo est*; 4.12.25–26 *Saepe ego correxi sub te censore libellos,/saepe tibi admonitu facta litura meo est*. Derived from *lino*, *litura* is originally a stain or ink-blot (Ov. *Ep.* 3.3–4; 11.1; 15.98; *Tr.* 1.1.13; 3.1.15; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.18), but it also has a technical use related to the correction of a text (cf. *notare*, *emendare*; 1.3.9; Citroni *ad loc.*; 7.17.8; Galán *ad loc.*) by means of dots and other graphic signs (*multae liturae*). These, however, will not be able to improve the book, although Martial is still indirectly asking his friend to correct and assess his

work: Faustinus will not delete the writing as the poet suggests in the following line.

Faustine: the disclosure of the addressee's identity is delayed, as in 3.2. In that poem, dedicated to this same character, the book itself runs into his pocket and asks for his protection: 3.2.6 *Faustini fugis in sinum? Sapisti.* The name suggests both protection and good luck for the book. Martial addresses 18 epigrams to Faustinus (1.25; 1.114; 3.25; 3.39; 3.47; 3.58.1; 4.10; **4.57**; 5.32; 5.36; 5.71; 6.7; 6.53; 6.61; 7.12; 7.80; 8.41; 10.51), who could have been a poet himself (cf. 1.25; see Duret, 1986: 3226). In most of them, the poet simply shares a satirical comment with him (Cartault, 1903: 108–109), whereas in others he is presented as a patron (3.2) and as a promoter of Martial's work (7.80). Faustinus has been identified with *Cn. Minicius Faustinus* (PIR^2 M 609), suffect consul in AD 91 (Citroni, 1975: 85–86). See more details in **4.57.3** (n.). Notice the change of addressee and the fading of the exhortative tone.

emendare: *emendare* originally means 'to correct', 'to reform' in a moral sense, whereas in literary contexts it means to revise and correct a work before publication (cf. Cic. *Att.* 2.16.3; Plin. *Ep.* 1.2.1; 4.26.1; 5.12.2; Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.62; Mart. 6.64.6; Grewing *ad loc.*; 7.11.2; Galán *ad loc.*; TLL *s. v.* 462.11–463–26 [Krohn]). Sometimes both meanings merge (cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.7.40), as in this case: his poetry (*iocos*) is incorrigible, both in form and content.

iocos: a standard term for the poet's epigrams, stressing their light-hearted nature: see more details in **4.8.11** (n.); **4.14.12** (n.); Grewing, 1997: 529–530.

8. una litura: small corrections and annotations will not suffice to improve the book. The extra gift, the sponge, will do the job by washing out the whole book. The final *litura* returns to the original meaning of the term and wittily asserts that the only way to emend the work is by its total disappearance: cf. 1.5; 3.100; 9.58.7; Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.61–62 *multa quidem scripsi, sed, quae vitiosa putavi,/emendaturis ignibus ipse dedi*; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 85 *tragoediam magno impetu exorsus non succedente stilo, abolevit, quaerentibus amicis quidnam Aiax ageret, respondit Aiacem suum in spongiam incubuisse.*

11

At the very beginning of AD 89 (or late AD 88, see introduction), Lucius Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany, rose in revolt at *Moguntiacum* with legions XIV *Gemina* and XXI *Rapax*. When Domitian heard about it, he marched to Germania with the Praetorian guard and summoned Trajan from Hispania, in command of legion VII *Gemina*. In the meantime, the rebellion had been crushed by Aulus Buccius Lappius Maximus, who was in charge of Germania Inferior, and Norbanus (9.84.1–2; Henriksén *ad loc.*), procurator of Rhaetia. On this rebellion, see Suet. *Dom.* 6.2 (Jones *ad loc.*); Dio Cass. 67.11; Plu. *Aem.* 25.7. The motives are unknown: scholars have put forward personal and political reasons, but Jones (1992: 144–149) argues that it was a mutiny against Domitian's military policies, and not an uprising of the senatorial class (Jones, 1979: 35). Saturninus had a successful career and he would not have shared with the Senate their political aversion to the Emperor. This is supported by Murison (1985: 45–46), who surmises that perhaps Antonius was not the true instigator of the rebellion. On the possible causes of the revolt, see Syme, 1978: 20; Murison, 1985; Strobel, 1986: 204–205; Walser, 1968: 498. This epigram must have been written just after the news had reached Rome and Domitian had departed for Germania, and before the crushing of the rebellion was reported. Martial never proclaims Domitian's victory, although he foreshadows it. Neither Domitian nor those who defeated Saturninus are openly mentioned. Consequently, historians have not drawn on this poem as a source.

The structural motif of the poem is the analogy between Antonius Saturninus and Marcus Antonius, and between Domitian and Octavian. Martial sides with the Emperor and develops the depiction of him as a new Augustus. The tone of the epigram is that of historical epic. Lexical and conceptual echoes link this epigram with other poems in the collection: especially with **4.1**, due to the analogy between Domitian and Augustus; **4.2**, an apparently humorous epigram on political dissent; **4.3**, whose central lines focused on Domitian's northern military campaigns. Finally, the threatening waters of the *mare Actiacum* and the Rhine connect this poem with the cycle of 'aquatic deaths' in this book: **4.18**; **4.63**; cf. 4.60.

Saturninus, who was probably of provincial origin (Syme, 1978: 15), from the *provincia Tarraconensis*, according to Étienne (1994: 241), entered the Senatorial class under the reign of Vespasian, in the census of 73–74, (Ael. fr. 112 Herscher; Strobel, 1986: 205; Walser, 1968: 497 and n. 3) or 69 (Jones, 1992: 147). In 76–77 he was appointed proconsul of Macedonia and sent to Judea in 78–79 or 80–81. He was *consul suffectus* in 82 and governor of Germania Superior in 87–88. See Syme, 1978; Walser, 1968: 497–498; Strobel, 1986: 204–205, Murison, 1985: 45–46; Jones, 1992: 147; PIR[2] I 169; RE I 2 (1894) 2637–39.

Further reading: on Saturninus' revolt, see Gsell, 1894: 208–261; Walser, 1968; Winkler, 1972; Bergk, 1976; Syme, 1978; Jones, 1979: 30–35; 1992: 144–149; 1996: 58–61; Murison, 1985; Strobel, 1986; Southern, 1997: 101–109. Additional bibliography can be found in Jones, 1979: 30 n. 3; Strobel, 1986: 203 n. 4; Walser, 1968: 497 n. 2.

1–4. Analogy between Lucius Antonius Saturninus and Marcus Antonius. The former's defeat is anticipated not only by comparison with the latter, but also by means of the adjective *miser* and the negative connotations of his *cognomen*.

1. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.442 *at tu, qui tumidus spoliis et sanguine gaudes*. Saturninus' overconfidence is stressed by *nimium*, *tumefactus*, and *vano*. According to Martial, he is ridiculously proud of being Mark Antony's namesake.

nimium: cf. Catul. 51.14.

vano . . . nomine: *vanus* can refer to arrogance, especially if unfounded: Liv. 35.47.7; V. Max. 7.2.ext.11; Luc. 8.285 *multus . . . in pectore vano est Hannibal*. For the expression *vanum nomen*, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 4.130; *Met.* 15.154; Sen. *Ep.* 80.5.

tumefactus: 'swollen with pride': cf. Prop. 3.6.3; 4.1a.63 *tumefacta superbiat*. In similar epic or military contexts it is found from Seneca onwards: *Ag.* 958 *Animos viriles corde tumefacto geris*; Sil. 2.28; 7.14–15 *tumefactum . . . Poenum*; 8.232; Stat. *Theb.* 10.128 *eventu belli tumefactus*. *Tumidus* is also frequent in this context (OLD *s. v.* 5a).

2. Saturninum: why is this character ashamed of the name Saturninus? L. Apuleius Saturninus (RE III1 [1895] *s. Apuleius* 29 [P. v. Rhoden]) was a tribune (in 103, 100, and 99 BC) who instigated a revolt against the Senate in the time of Marius (cf. Tac.

Ann. 3.27 *Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis*). He was eventually defeated. The ominous mythical connotations of the name are also noteworthy. In previous epigrams (especially **4.8**) the Emperor has been portrayed as Jupiter's earthly alter ego: just as Jupiter vanquished Saturn, Domitian will defeat Saturninus.

3. impia . . . movisti . . . bella: the phrase *impium bellum* refers to civil wars or conflicts (TLL *s. impius* 624.30–34; 46ff. [Rehm]; *s. bellum* 1847.47–53 [Sinko]; cf. e.g. Cic. *Div. Caec.* 62; *Catil.* 1.33 *impium bellum ac nefarium*; Serv. *A.* 6.612 *ut 'arma impia' civilia dixerit bella*; *A.* 6.612; *Ecl.* 1.70; Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.30; Luc. 1.691). Suetonius calls this revolt *bellum civile* (*Dom.* 6.2) and Statius, *civile nefas* (*Silv.* 1.1.80). *Impius* implies, on the one hand, disloyalty to Rome and its head (TLL *s. impius* 622.3–17), and, on the other, a sacrilege (cf. 4.1; 4.2; 4.3; 4.8; TLL *s. v.* 622.18–41). *Bella*, as a poetic plural, is used very frequently (TLL *s. bellum* 1853.35). It can refer to a *proelium* metonymically (TLL *s. v.* 1824.69–1827.16), or even to a *tumultus* (TLL *s. v.* 1824.50–67). By using the term *bella* Martial may be magnifying the event to extol Domitian's prospective victory. For the expression *bellum movere*, cf. TLL *s. bellum* 1838.40–61.

Parrhasia . . . sub ursa: cf. 6.52.2 *horrida Parrhasio quem tegit ursa iugo* (Grewing *ad loc.*); 6.58.1 *Parrhasios . . . triones*. *Parrhasius* originally was a gentilic adjective for a region of Arcadia, of which Callisto was a native (Ov. *Met.* 2.460). In poetry it is a common epithet of the Great Bear, the constellation into which the Arcadian girl was transformed: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.152 *quaeque micat gelido Parrhasis ursa polo*; *Fast.* 4.577 *Parrhasides stellae*; *Tr.* 1.3.48 *Parrhasis Arctos*; 2.1.190 *Parrhasiae gelido virginis axe premor*; Sen. *Phaed.* 288 *Parrhasiae . . . ursae*; *Her. O.* 1281 *Parrhasio . . . axe*; Luc. 2.237; Stat. *Theb.* 8.370 *Parrhasis . . . astris*. As in **4.3**, the Great Bear stands for northern regions, especially in allusion to Germania (see Lorenz, 2004: 265).

4. When Octavian (Augustus) declared war against Egypt, Mark Antony sided with Cleopatra, with whom he had had a long-standing love relationship and three children. On the poetic treatment of this episode, cf. Verg. *A.* 8.675–719; Hor. *Carm.* 1.37; Prop. 3.11.

Phariae coniugis: cf. Verg. *A.* 8.688 *Aegyptia coniunx*. Pharos, an island near Alexandria, is a poetic metonym for Egypt: Luc. 8.564 *regna Phari*; 10.92; 10.356. Thus *Pharius* means Egyptian: 3.66.1 *Par scelus admisit Phariis Antonius armis*; 6.80.3 *Pharios . . . hortos*; 10.48.1

Phariae . . . iuvencae. On the use of the term *coniunx* in poetry, see Adams, 1972: 252–255; Watson, 1985: 431–432.

arma tulit: on the expression *arma ferre*, see TLL *s. arma* 596.44–597.26 (Bickel).

5–8. Antonius was overcome by Octavian, and so will Saturninus be. Here, the waters of the Nile and the Rhine symbolise both conflicts and are given (fatal) divine proportions. The questions endow the passage with epic overtones and foreshadow Saturninus' fall.

5. exciderat: with the same meaning, 'to forget', in 1.96.14.

fatum . . . nominis huius: *vid. supra* (**4.11.1** n.) *et infra* (**4.11.6** n.).

6. Actiaci: Actium was a promontory at the north of Acarnania, where Marcus Antonius was camped in 31 BC. *Actiacum* is the adjective given to the naval battle in which he was defeated and the sea where it took place: Prop. 2.15.44 *Actiacum . . . mare*; Petr. 121 *Actiacosque sinus*; Sidon. *Carm.* 5.457 *aquas*; Juv. 2.109 *carina*; Apul. *Met.* 7.7 *litus*; Plin. *Nat.* 14.148 *proelium Actiacum*; Vell. 2.86.3 *bellum . . . Actiacum*; 2.88.1; cf. TLL *s. Actiacus* 437.45–55 (Diehl).

gravis ira freti: *ira* can be used of natural forces (TLL *s. v.* 365.59–67 [Stiewe-Hi.]), especially the sea: Col. 1.pr.8; Ov. *Ep.* 18.203; *Met.* 1.330 *nec maris ira manet*; 12.36 *maris ira recessit*; *Tr.* 1.2.108 *ira maris*; V. Fl. 1.37: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.6 *iratum mare*; Petr. 81.3; 114.1. *Gravis ira* in poetry often denotes a passion pertaining to gods (Petr. 139.2; Ov. *Pont.* 1.4.44), especially Juno's bad temper (Verg. *A.* 5.781; Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.30–31), but it is also applied to nature: Germ. *fr.* 4.115 *ventorumque graves et dirae grandinis irae.* Ovid uses this phrase twice in relation to the Emperor (*Pont.* 1.4.44; 3.376; cf. Sen. *Med.* 494 *gravis ira regum est semper*). Thus, the sea, not only personified (cf. l. 7), but also deified, stands for the winner. For a similar ending in a pentameter, cf. 7.19.4 *Scythici tristior ira freti.*

Notice the verbal links with other poems in this book: **4.18.4** *praegravis unda*; **4.63.2** *insani crimine mersa freti.*

7–8. An tibi promisit Rhenus quon non dedit illi/Nilus: in Martial's epigrams the Rhine is often personified and usually stands for *Germania*, above all in relation with Domitian's and Trajan's campaigns in this region: 2.2.3 *domito . . . Rheno*; 7.7.3 (Galán); 8.11.1 (Schöffel); 9.1.3 (Henriksén); 9.5.1 *summe Rheni domitor*; 10.7 (Di Giovine,

2000). Being subjugated to the imperial power, this river would hardly be able to help the rebel. The Nile is also personified and used metonymically: cf. 1.61.5. Just as the Rhine is under Domitian's control, Augustus is seen as the conqueror of the Nile in Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.46; likewise, Propertius depicts it as cowardly (3.11.51). Nature is endowed with overwhelming power at the service of the Emperor (cf. **4.2**).

8. Cf. Sen. *Oed.* 606 *tepente Nilo pensat Arctoas nives.*

Arctois . . . aquis: notice the alliteration (cf. l. 6 *Actiaci*). *Arctous* (Gr. Ἀρκτῷος from Ἄρκτος, the Great Bear, *vid supra*) means northern, and is usually applied to constellations (cf. l. 3; TLL *s. v.* 472.19–28 [Dittman]), as well as to anything in the North (TLL *s. v.* 472.28–66), such as the Rhine and other rivers: Luc. 1.371 *Arctoo spumantem vertice Rhenum*; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.133 *Arctoosne amnes et Rheni fracta*; Auson. *Mos.* 453. It is a poetical term, not commonly used before Seneca. Martial has it five more times: cf. *Sp.* 15.4; 5.68.1; 8.65.3; 9.31.1; 10.6.2.

et . . . plus licuisset: Shackleton-Bailey (1978: 276) unnecessarily suggests that *ut* would be preferable to *et*, and that the passage could be understood as an indignant question, as in Cic. *Att.* 15.11.1 *egone ut beneficia accepissem contumeliam?* However, the subjunctive here simply represents an unreal fact.

9–10. Octavian (later to become Augustus) defeated the famous Antonius in AD 31; Domitian, his successor, will also overwhelm this Antonius. The pentameter invalidates the analogy between both of them (cf. line 1), because Marcus Antonius, unlike Antonius Saturninus, was a 'Caesar'.

9. Cf. 4.63.2; 6.68.3 *Inter Baianas raptus puer occidit undas.*

ille . . . Antonius: *ille* has two values: it has a deictic and contrastive quality, in order to differentiate both characters; on the other hand, it is emphatically used to refer to famous people: cf. e.g. Pl. *Aul.* 704 *ille rex Phillipus*; Cic. *Man.* 22 *Medea illa.* See Ernout-Thomas, 1964: 188 § 213; Hofmann-Szantyr: 185 § 105.

nostris . . . armis: the same phrase appears in Propertius' description of the conflict between Augustus and Cleopatra (3.11.29). The possessive *nostris*, contrasting with *perfide* (10), highlights ideas of patri-

otism and adherence to the established regime, setting up a line of continuity between Augustus and Domitian.

10. Marcus Antonius was a worthy opponent of Octavian, because until the conflict they both were part of the triumvirate: Saturninus is an insignificant rival.

perfide: cf. l. 3 *impia bella*. *Perfidus* is a traditional epithet for the enemies of Rome, mainly the Carthaginians (cf. **4.14.3** n.; TLL *s. v.* 1390.44–52 [Oshiba]), but also other barbaric peoples, such as the Germanic tribes (TLL *s. v.* 1390.52–59; cf. Ov. *Pont.* 3.4.97; Mart. 7.7.4). By calling him *perfide*, Martial is somehow depriving Saturninus of his Roman citizenship. On the vocative *perfide* in Latin literature, see Dickey, 2002: 349.

12

This is the first of a series of attacks against the *fellatrix* Thais (cf. **4.50**; **4.84**). This epigram in based on wordplay (*nulli negas/negare nihil*), and has a chiastic structure (*pudet istud/hoc saltem pudeat* placed between *nulli negas/negare nihil*).

Consistent with phallus-oriented and misogynist Roman ideas on sex, sexual practices were divided between active and passive. In the latter there was a degree of ignominy: passive anal (*pedicari*) and oral (*fellare, cunnum lingere*) sex was scandalous (cf. e.g. Parker, 1997: 47–65). Fellatio was considered a humiliating act, both for men (2.83.5; 2.89.6; 3.82.33; 7.10.1; 11.30.2; 11.66.3) and women (1.94; 2.50; 2.73; 3.87; 4.84; 6.69); *irrumatio* (oral penetration) was not shameful, though, for it was considered an active practice (**4.17** n.), and it became almost a fixed insult (cf. **4.50** n.; Richlin, 1981: 41–46). In Martial's epigrams, the *fellatrix* (Hofmann, 1956–57: 443) is usually an aged libidinous woman, normally a prostitute (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 8.20; Nicarch. *A.P.* 5.38.4; Richlin, 1983: 109–116; 244. n. 10; 246 n. 41; 1984; on satirical attacks against old women, see Bonvicini, 1999: 113–122). The *os impurum* is a stock theme in Martial as well as in Greek epigram (see Brecht, 1930: 53–55).

Further reading: on sexuality in Latin literature, see e.g. Kiefer, 1971; Richlin, 1983; 1992; Hallet-Skinner, 1997; Robert, 1999; Williams, 1999; and in Martial's epigrams, see Sullivan, 1979; 1991: 185–210; Galán Vioque, 1997. On humor and sexual invective, see Richlin, 1983. On fellatio, see Parker, 1997: 47–65; Richlin, 1981; Krenkel, 1980: 77–88; cf. Varone, 1994: 75–77.

1. Nulli . . . negas: Thais will have sex with anyone. *Negare* is a common verb in erotic contexts: cf. **4.7.1** (n.); **4.38.1** (n.); **4.71** (n.) and see Adams, 1981: 127. Martial is attacking female promiscuity and sexual freedom.

Thai: there was a famous Thais in Greece: Alexander the Great's *hetaira* (cf. e.g. Plu. *Alex.* 38; Curt. 5.7.3; RE VA1 (1934) *s. Thais* [Fiehn]; Ferguson, 1987: 224). Thais became a common nickname for courtesans (Luc. *DMeretr.* 1.1; 3.2; Alciphr. 4.6), especially in comedy (cf. e.g. Ter. *Eu. passim*; Juv. 3.93; 6.Ox.26). Menander wrote a play entitled *Thais* (cf. Mart. 14.187; Prop. 2.6.3; 4.5.43; Varr. *Men.*

302.1). Ovid mentions Thais as a paradigm of wantonness: *Ars* 3.604 *ut sis liberior Thaide, finge metus* (Gibson *ad loc.*); *Rem.* 383–386. In Martial's epigrams, Thais is consistently the name of a *fellatrix* (**4.50**; **4.84**; 6.93; Grewing *ad loc.*), who in some passages is described in the manner of a *vetula*, an old hag: one-eyed (3.8.1; 3.11; see Scherf, 2001: 41–42), skinny (11.101.1) and with black teeth (5.43.1).

pudet: a striking echo of **4.11.2** (Lorenz, 2004: 265).

2. Promiscuity was morally frowned upon, but it would be a minor fault if the protagonist did not indulge in oral sex.

negare nihil: (Adams, 1981: 127; 1982: 213) a euphemism for *fellare*: 12.79.4 *Quisquis nil negat, Atticilla, fellat*; cf. 11.49.12 *Nil tibi, Phylli, nego; nil mihi, Phylli, nega* (Kay *ad loc.*); 12.71 *Nil non, Lygde, mihi negas roganti:/At quondam mihi, Lygde, nil negabas.*

13

Wedding-song dedicated to Claudia Peregrina and Pudens, a friend of Martial's. This poem broadly belongs to the epithalamium genre, with which it shares some motifs, such as an invocation to love and marriage gods (*Hymenaeus, Concordia, Venus*), wedding symbolism (*taedis, iugo*, *lecto*), and wishes for happiness, stability, and reciprocity (Men. Rh. 2.402.15–20). Some other typical elements are absent, such as allusions to children, but, as Wheeler remarks, this is a highly versatile genre (1930: 206).

The poem is finely composed: the first line introduces the protagonists, the couple and their friends (represented by the poet and his addressee, *Rufus*); then the poet invokes *Hymenaeus*, in a solemn and archaic style, out of joy and as an expression of good wishes; the following lines constitute a catalogue of similes which represent the affinity between Pudens and Claudia, all taken from the natural world and carrying meaningful symbolic connotations: lines 3–4 compare them with exquisite substances, stressing the sensuality and spirituality of their union; lines 5–6 emphasise harmony and concord: the vine married to the elm tree is a traditional metaphor for marriage, not lacking in erotic connotations; the lotus and the myrtle, always in need of water, symbolise love and fertility, as well as Venus herself. Union and harmony are further stressed by a juxtaposition of matching elements: 3 *cinnama nardo*; 4 *vina favis*; 5 *vitibus ulmi*; 6 *lotos aquas*; *litora myrtus* (cf. 1 *Peregrina Pudenti*). Next comes the invocation to Concordia and Venus, that is, spiritual agreement and sexual love, also represented by means of the yoke and the bed. The final distich aptly rounds off these wishes for a lasting union: when they are old, they will still like and love each other.

Like the love it describes, this epigram is a rarity: Martial seldom idealises love in such a way. The delicacy of its images strongly contrasts with the crudeness of the previous composition (**4.12**). Within this book, this poem could be linked with **4.75**, on a well-matched *matrona* and her husband.

Further reading: on Roman marriage ideals, see Williams, 1958, and Treggiari, 1991; on the epithalamium, see Wheeler, 1930. See Bonvicini (1999: 122–123) for the Catullan echoes in this poem.

1. Claudia . . . Peregrina: *Peregrina* prompts the identification with Claudia Rufina (11.53), from *Britannia*. In that poem, Martial wishes lasting conjugal happiness for her and her husband (11.53.7–8), *sancto . . . marito*. However, Claudia was a common name in Rome (Kay *ad loc.*): it is likely that they were two different ladies. Pierce (1931–1932) linked these same Claudia and Pudens with two characters mentioned in Saint Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy (4.21). Nevertheless, the evidence for this identification is not strong enough.

Rufe: *Rufus* is a common name in Martial's epigrams, both belonging to fictional characters (1.68; 1.106; 3.94; 8.52.7; 9.88) and to real people, such as the poet Canius Rufus (1.61; 1.69; 3.20.1; 3.64; 7.69; 7.87; 10.48.5); Camonius Rufus (6.85; 9.74; 9.76); Instantius Rufus, proconsul of Baetica (7.68; 8.50; 12.95; 12.98 and, perhaps, 9.93.3, Henriksén *ad loc.*); Safronius Rufus (**4.71** and, possibly, 11.103; Kay *ad loc.*); Julius Rufus, satirical poet (10.99.2), and finally, Rufus, husband of Caesonia (9.39) and another Rufus, husband of Sempronia (12.52).

Apart from all these occurrences, the vocative *Rufe* is widely used in all kinds of epigrams (2.11; 2.29; 2.48; 2.84; 3.82.33; 3.97; 3.100; 4.82; 5.51; 5.72; 6.82). Nauta calls it the 'isolated vocative' (2002: 42–43; 45–47): 'The addressee of the "isolated vocative" is not satirised himself, and therefore need not be fictional'.

Traditionally, the Rufus in this epigram has been identified with Canius Rufus (e.g. Cartault, 1903: 111); however, Safronius Rufus, renowned for his modesty (11.103) could be an appropriate addressee for an epigram about marriage, though this is only a conjecture.

nubit γ: **nupsit** β: editors unanimously print *nubit*, in the present tense, which adds immediacy to the poem. For *nubere*, pertaining only to the bride, see Martín Rodríguez, 1987; López Gregoris, 1998 (cf. 8.12.2, a witty exception).

Pudenti: Aulus Pudens (7.97.3), an old friend of Martial's, who is mentioned by the poet in almost all his books, sometimes calling him Aulus, his *praenomen* (5.28; 6.54; 6.78; 7.14; 8.63; 9.81; 11.38; 12.51; see Cartault, 1903: 109), sometimes Pudens, his *cognomen* (1.31.3; 4.29.1; 5.48.3; 7.11.2; 13.69.2); it seems most likely that all these refer to the same person (Citroni, 1975: 101–102; 1982; PIR[1] P 794). He was of Umbrian origin (7.97; cf. 13.69), was in love with a young slave, Encolpus (1.31; Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*; 5.48.3), and was very fond of poetry (**4.29**; 7.11; Galán *ad loc.*; 7.14; 9.81.1; Henriksén *ad loc.*; cf. 8.63, about boys and literature). There was a close bond

of friendship between the poet and Pudens (cf. 6.58), further stressed here by the possessive *meo* (cf. 7.97.3). For an more detailed account, see Citroni, 1982. For an intriguing interpretation, see Lorenz, 2004: 267–268.

2. macte esto taedis, o Hymenaee, tuis: cf. Catul. 64.25 *eximie taedis felicibus aucte*. This line has a solemn, religious flavour, with laudatory and propitiatory intentions.

macte esto: see Ernout-Meillet *s. mactus, macte*. In archaic Latin *macte esto* was a ritual formula employed in sacrifices, the ablative denoting the offering (Cato *Agr.* 132.1; 132.2; 134.3; 139.1; 141.3; 141.4). Besides, the expression *macte!*, roughly meaning 'Bravo!', could be interpreted as a vocative (Cic. *Att.* 15.29.3; Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.14 *macte, o iuvenis*; 4.8.25; V. Fl. 6.547 *'macte' ait 'o nostrum genus et iam certa propago'*). The most frequent expression with *macte* is the formula *macte virtute* (*esto*): Pac. *trag.* 146; Turp. *com.* 7; Cic. *Tusc.* 1.40; *Att.* 12.6a.1; Liv. 4.14.7; 7.10.4; 10.40.11; 22.49.9; 23.15.14; Verg. *A.* 9.641; Hor. *S.* 1.2.31; Lucil. 5.225; Petr. 94.1; Sen. *Ep.* 66.50; Sil. 10.277; Calp. *Decl.* 3. *Macte* seems to be a fixed, fossilised form (cf. Liv. 2.12.14 *iuberem macte virtute . . . esse*; 7.36.5; Curt. 4.1.18). There are many other instances in which other ablatives substitute for *virtute*: Acc. *Trag.* 473 *macte his armis, macte virtutei patris*; Plin. *Nat.* 2.54; Sil. 4.475; Plin. *Pan.* 46.5; 89.3; Stat. *Theb.* 7.280; *Silv.* 1.2.201 *Macte toris*; 1.5.63–64; 2.2.95; 3.1.166; 3.3.31; 5.2.97. The ablative is sometimes replaced by a genitive: Mart. 12.3.7; Sil. 12.257; 15.274–275 *Macte, o venerande, pudici,/ductor, macte animi*; Stat. *Theb.* 2.495; *Silv.* 1.3.106; 5.1.37. The morphosyntactic nature of *macte* has long been discussed: Allen, 1880; Fay, 1894: 418; Birt, 1928; Lease, 1929; Skutsch-Rose, 1938. Ancient etymologies point out that it comes from *magis auctus*: Porph. *ad* Hor. *S.* 1.2.31 *Macte autem 'magis aucte, id est cumulate' significat*; Serv. *A.* 9.641. It is now accepted that it is a fixed participle of **magere* (from the stem **mag*, from which *magnus* derives; cf. Gr. μέγας), and the root for *mactare*. For other hypotheses, see Palmer, 1938; 1941; refuted by Skutsch-Rose (1938; 1942). On its use, see also Birt, 1928; Dickey, 2002: 338.

o Hymenaee: this comes originally from a refrain sung at Greek weddings: *hymen hymenaee!* (Pl. *Cas.* 800; 808; Catul. 61.4 *et passim*; 62.5 *et passim*; Ov. *Ep.* 12.143; 14.27). *Hymenaeus* is a nuptial song (OLD *s. v.* 1 a: e.g. Pl. *Cas.* 799; Ter. *Ad.* 905; Catul. 62.4), some-

times personified and deified, his attributes being the wedding torches: Ov. *Ep.* 11.101; *Fast.* 2.561 *conde tuas, Hymenaee, faces; Met.* 4.758–759 *taedas Hymenaeus Amorque/praecutiunt; Tetr. Aen.* 15 *et taedas, Hymenaee, tuas ad funera vertit*; Hyg. *Fab.* 273.1. *O Hymenaee* has a strong Catullan flavour: 61.4; 61.39; 61.49; 61.59; 62.5 *et passim.*

taedis: wedding torches were used at the *deductio* (Treggiari, 1991a: 166). In poetry they are carried by Hymenaeus himself (cf. *tuis*): Catul. 61.15 *pineam quate taedam* (cf. 61.77–78; 94–95; 114); Ov. *Met.* 4.758–759 (*supra*); *Pont.* 1.2.131; Sen. *Tro.* 899; Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.70; Apul. *Met.* 4.19; 4.26. The torches metonymically stand for the ceremony and are symbols of marriage: e.g. Catul. 64.302; 66.79; Verg. *A.* 4.339; Ov. *Ep.* 6.134; 8.35; *Met.* 1.483; 4.60; 4.326; *Pont.* 3.2.55; *Tr.* 4.5.33; Mart. 3.93.26; 6.2.1; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.240.

3–6. In the first pair of similes the couple is compared to a combination of perfumes and the blend of wine and honey, both with erotic and symbolic evocations. They remind the reader of a festive wedding atmosphere. Besides, as they are goods of high quality, they indirectly contribute to the praise of Pudens and Claudia. Wine (l. 4) brings up an agricultural image (l. 5), thus implying that marriage is an essential element in the civilised world, deeply rooted in the natural order. The union is made under the auspices of Venus (l. 6). It is typical of the epithalamium to allude to similar matches in the natural world and compare the bride with flowers (Wheeler, 1930: 212).

3. Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo: this alludes to the blend of fragrances in a perfume or balm (Lilja, 1972: 81). The simile is quite pertinent: on the one hand, aromatic herbs were burnt on the wedding day (Ov. *Met.* 4.759; Bömer *ad loc.*), houses were decorated, and brides adorned with flowers (Marquardt, 1892: 46; Catul. 61.6–7; Ov. *Met.* 4.760); cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.19–23 *Nec blandus Amor nec Gratia cessat/amplexum niveos optatae coniugis artus/floribus innumeris et olenti spargere nimbo./Tu modo fronte rosas, violis modo lilia mixta/excipis et dominae niveis a vultibus obstas.* Perfumes played an important role in the process of seduction: in this sense, the simile has erotic nuances. On the other hand, these fragrances are related to the life-and-death cycle and eternity, for they both appear in the nest of the Phoenix (Ov. *Met.* 15.398–400; cf. Mart. 6.55; Lilja, 1972: 56, 156). The

implication is that theirs will be an eternal bond. For perfumes in antiquity, see Forbes, 1965: 26–50; Faure, 1987.

suo . . . nardo: Schmieder's conjecture *Syro*, instead of *suo*, is based on passages such as [Tib.] 3.6.63 (*infra*). There was, in fact, a Syrian variety of nard: e.g. Cels. 5.23 *nardi Syri*; Larg. 110; 126 *nardi Syriaci*; Plin. *Nat.* 14.107 *nardo Syriaco*; see **4.46.9** for the use of *Syrus*. *Suo*, however, is consistently present in the manuscripts and emphasises the link between *cinnama* and *nardo*, suggesting the exclusive nature of this love relationship (see Shackleton Bailey, 1993 *ad loc.*): cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.5.37 *quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae*. *Nardum* (or *nardus*) denotes several types of valerianaceous plants (André, 1956: 217; 1985: 170). Here it could refer to the flower itself (Luc. 10.164; Mart. 13.51.1) or the perfume extracted from it (Faure, 1987: 296–297). Nard was a fragrance for men and it is usually alluded to in relation with the symposium: Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.16; 4.12.16–17; *Epod.* 5.59; 13.9; Tib. 2.2.7; [Tib.] 3.6.63; Ov. *Ars* 3.443; Petr. 78.3; Mart. 2.59.3 (Williams *ad loc.*); 3.65.8.

rara . . . cinnama: cinnamon was highly appreciated in antiquity due to its aromatic properties: it was sometimes made into wreaths (Plin. *Nat.* 12.94), burnt (Ov. *Fast.* 3.731; *Ep.* 15.339), and used to make unguents and perfumes (Mart. 3.55.2; 3.63.4; 6.55.1). It was imported from Arabia (Prop. 3.13.8; Sen. *Oed.* 117; Stat. *Silv.* 4.5.32; 5.3.42), or India (Ov. *Met.* 10.307–309; Apul. *Fl.* 6), and was very expensive (Plin. *Nat.* 37.204). See Miller, 1969: 74–77. The plural *cinnama* is frequent in poetry (TLL *s. v.* 1076.39–40 [Stadler]), whereas the phrase *rara cinnama* is seldom attested (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.5.31; 5.3.42). *Rara* may allude to the exotic nature of the cinnamon as well as to the rarity of true love.

Whereas nard was a typically masculine fragrance, it seems that cinnamon was favoured by women (Mart. 3.55; Apul. *Met.* 2.8; 2.10)—or effeminate men (3.63; 6.55). Petronius uses cinnamon as a metaphor for a woman: Petr. 93.2.8–9.

miscentur: besides the blending of perfumes (Verg. *Ecl.* 2.55; Plin. *Nat.* 13.1), this verb evokes the marriage agreement (Verg. *A.* 4.112; Tac. *Ger.* 20.3), as well as sexual intercourse (TLL *s. v.* 1081.1–10; 1087.43–68 [Pfigersdorffer]): cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.866; V. Fl. 3.310; Apul. *Met.* 9.24; cf. μείγνυμι: e.g. Hom. *Il.* 9.275; 21.143; see Adams, 1982: 180–181. The verb anticipates the following simile, as it is frequently used for the mixing of wine (cf. Mart. 1.18.1; 3.49.1;

5.4.3; 6.78.6; 8.6.11; 8.50.19; 9.36.12; 11.6.9, 11; 11.56.11; 11.104.19; 13.108.2; 14.112.1; *vid.* TLL *s. v.* 1086.61–1087.14; 1093.10–23).

4. Wine is related to love and wisdom, and honey is a symbol of the erotic (Robert-Tornow, 1893: 72–74) and of eternity. The mixture of wine and honey was called *mulsum* (see Leary *ad* 13.108) and here it symbolises a perfect match: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 14.53. Purportedly, it had aphrodisiac properties: Plin. *Nat.* 22.71–72; Mart. 13.108. The ingredients are excellent (*vid. infra*), as was the case in the previous line. Paley (1888) and Bridge (1908) suggest that by means of this simile, the combination of national and foreign produces, Martial is alluding to the union of a Roman and a foreign woman (cf. *Peregrina*). Plutarch (*Mor.* 142F–143A) describes marriage metaphorically as a mixture of liquids (ἀναμειχθῆναι).

Massica: Mons Massicus, in Campania, was renowned for its vines: Flor. *Epit.* 1.11; Verg. *A.* 7.726 (Serv. *ad loc.*); Plin. *Nat.* 3.60; Sil. 7.207–208; 7.263; Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.64. The *Massicum* was a highly appreciated wine: Col. 3.8.5; Verg. *G.* 2.143; 3.526–27; Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.19; 2.7.21; 3.21.5; *S.* 2.4.51; Mart. 1.26.8; 3.26.3; 3.49.1; **4.69.1**; 13.111.1 (Leary *ad loc.*); see La Penna, 1999: 170; Leary, 1999: 36–37.

Theseis . . . favis: Attic honey was also very famous: Plin. *Nat.* 21.57; cf. Mart. 13.104; Leary *ad loc.* The most frequent epithets for Attic honey were *Atticum* and *Cecropium*. *Theseus*, related to the Attic hero, is very seldom used in the sense of 'Attic' (only here and in 13.104). For the metonymic use of *favus* instead of *mel*, cf. 1.43.4 and Verg. *G.* 1.344.

5. nec melius teneris iunguntur vitibus ulmi: this is a long-established agricultural simile. According to Wheeler (1930: 212), it might be a Roman innovation, although the general idea is Greek. The phrasing recalls Virgil (*Ecl.* 2.70; 5.3; 10.67; *G.* 1.2; 2.221; 2.361; 2.367; 2.446), but in this context the image has a strongly Catullan flavour: 61.102–105 *lenta sed velut assitas/vitis implicat arbores,/implicabitur in tuum/complexum* (cf. Sapph. 115.1–2; see Thomsen, 1992: 108–112). It evokes the erotic component of a relationship as well as the unifying force of marriage (ivy is also frequent in this context: Catul. 61.34–35; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 15.5–6). Just as in the natural world the vine must be 'wedded' to the elm tree in order to bear

fruit, men and women must join in matrimony (Catul. 62.49–56). Ovid deploys the same image for the unbreakable bond between lovers (*Am.* 2.16.41 *ulmus amat vitem, vitis non deserit ulmum*), for their embrace (*Ep.* 5.47 *non sic adpositis vincitur vitibus ulmus/ut tua sunt collo bracchia nexa meo*), and for the bond of marriage (*Met.* 14.661–669). It is a realistic, natural image evoking union, mutual support, and fertility. See a more intricate treatment of this motif in Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.48–50.

iunguntur: this verb has a technical use in agriculture: 'to join' vines to trees grown to support them (Col. 4.16.4; 4.17.1; 4.24.14; *Arb.* 16.4.3; Plin. *Nat.* 17.164ff.; Var. *R.* 1.8.1; *vid.* D.-S. *s. v.* 918): cf. Mart. 10.93.2 *Pictaque pampineis videris arva iugis. Iungere* can be applied to personal relationships, as in Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.43–44 *Nec mirum, si vos collato pectore mixtos/iunxit inabrupta Concordia longa catena.* It may refer to marriage (Verg. *A.* 1.73; 4.126) or to sexual relations (Adams, 1982: 179; see TLL *s. v.* 658.60–659.10 [V. Kamptz]), thus reinforcing the erotic nuances of this simile.

teneris . . . vitibus: *tener* is aptly applied to the vine due to its flexibility and fragility (Tib. 1.1.7; 1.7.33; Plin. *Nat.* 17.195). As the simile evokes the lovers' embrace, the vine could be said to stand for the woman (cf. Catul. 62.51 *tenerum . . . corpus*), whose body is traditionally *tener* in Latin poetry: cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.13.5; *Ars* 1.231; *Fast.* 4.774 *teneras . . . manus. Tener* may also allude to youth: Catul. 61.3–4 *qui rapis teneram ad virum/virginem, o Hymenaee Hymen*; Mart. 3.65.1 *quod spirat tenera malum mordente puella.* Finally, it should be borne in mind that *tener* is a common amatory term: **4.14.13** (n.); 7.14.3; Catul. 35.1; Hor. *Ars* 246; Ov. *Am.* 2.14.37; 3.15.1; *Ars* 1.7; 2.273; 3.333; *Tr.* 2.361; 3.3.73.

6. Two further stylised images taken from the natural world.

lotos aquas: the pond covered with lotuses is a typical element in the description of a *locus amoenus*: [Ov.] *Ep.* 15.157–159; Ov. *Met.* 9.340–341; 10.96. *Lotos* (Gr. λωτός) is the name of several plants (OLD *s. v.* 2–3; TLL *s. v.* 1683.79–1684.53; 1684.73–1685.10; see André, 1985: 147–148). As in this passage, it can allude to a waterlily: Plin. *Nat.* 13.110. However, it has further mythic connotations: according to one tale, the nymph Lotis was transformed into one of them while fleeing from Priapus (Ov. *Met.* 9.346–348; *Fast.* 1.415–440; Serv. *G.* 2.84); it is also the fabulous plant in the Lotus-eaters tale (Hom. *Od.* 11.83–104; *Culex* 124; [Tib.] 3.7.55; Prop. 3.12.27; Ov.

Tr. 4.1.31; Sil. 3.311; Hyg. *Fab.* 152.2). For the Greek nominative, cf. 8.50.14 (Schöffel); [Ov.] *Ep.* 15.159; *Met.* 9.341; 10.96; *Tr.* 4.1.31; *Pont.* 4.10.18. In Greek art the lotus is an erotic symbol: see Koch-Harrack, 1989: 72–89.

litora myrtus amat: cf. Verg. *G.* 4.124 *amantis litora myrtos*. Myrtle growing in a watery environment is a *locus communis* in classical poetry (Verg. *G.* 2.112 *litora myrtetis laetissima*; Ov. *Am.* 1.1.29 *litorea . . . myrto*). This image has a further symbolic implication: *myrtus* is Venus' plant (cf. Pl. *Vid.* 17; Catul. 61.18; Verg. *Ecl.* 7.62; *A.* 5.72; Ov. *Am.* 1.2.23; *Fast.* 4.15; Plin. *Nat.* 12.3; 15.121; 15.125; Phaed. 3.17.3; Grat. 129; Serv. *A.* 5.72). The goddess, who will be named in the following distich, is already present in every word of this hemistich: *litora*, evoking her birth, *myrtus*, and *amat.* The myrtle and its aromatic properties (Mart. 3.65.5) echo the images in line 3 and the beauty of the bride: Catul. 61.22 (cf. 64.89).

amat: the verb stresses the erotic nuances of previous lines (cf. *miscentur; iunguntur*), although it also has a technical use in botany: TLL *s. v.* 1956.3–19 (Otto).

7–8. By invoking Concordia and Venus the poet wishes both spiritual and physical harmony, essential for the perpetuation of the marriage bond. Notice the exchange of their attributes (*Concordia . . . lecto; Venus . . . iugo*), which implies the intimate association between body and mind; alliteration gives the prayer a solemn tone (***c**andida . . . **C**oncordia; **s**emper **s**it*). The epithets attributed to the goddesses suggest happiness and stability, whereas those given to the symbols of marriage evoke balance and durability.

7. Candida . . . Concordia: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.637–639; Catul. 68.70 *candida diva*.

Candida: with abstract nouns, *candidus* evokes happiness and prosperity (Tib. 1.7.64; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.149–150; TLL *s. v.* 248.23–43 [Goetz]). As an epithet, it is frequently given to deities (cf. Catul. 68.133–134 *Cupido . . . candidus*). *Candidus* also has a secondary moral meaning, related to purity and good intentions (TLL *s. v.* 244.43–80). The poet wishes the couple a happy union based on positive feelings.

Concordia: this is an abstraction of spiritual harmony (*concordia*), an essential element in any well-matched marriage (Treggiari, 1991: 197–9; 245; 251–3; Rawson, 1991: 107–8): Pl. *Am.* 475; 962; Catul. 64.336; 66.87–88; Cic. *Clu.* 12; Quint. *Decl.* 338.28; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.240;

5.1.43–44; Plin. *Ep.* 3.16.10; 4.19.5; V. Max. 2.1.6; Juv. 6.231; Tac. *Ann.* 3.33; Apul. *Apol.* 92; *Laudatio Turiae* CIL IV 1527.3.34. Concord between lovers is a widespread ideal, necessary for the continuation of love (Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.17–20), thus constituting a typical wish at weddings: Quint. *Decl.* 291.5 *optavi longam concordiam.* The invocation to Concordia and the epithet *perpetuo* suggest the ideal of love in old age (cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.708–709). La Penna (1992: 317) remarks that Concordia is the central motif of this poem, as represented in lines 3–6.

perpetuo . . . lecto: cf. Ov. *Ib.* 15 *Perpetuoque mihi sociatam foedere lecti. Lectus* symbolises love and marital union (Treggiari, 1991: 415–6; TLL *s. v.* 1097.42–82 [Steinmann]). The ideal that the marriage bond should be eternal is a genuinely Roman concept (Williams, 1958: 25; Treggiari, 1991: 229–261): cf. Verg. *A.* 4.18–19. Catullus and the elegiac poets make extensive use of this feature of the *amor coniugalis*, inasmuch as they yearn for perpetual love: Catul. 109.1–2 *amorem . . . perpetuum*; 109.6 *aeternum . . . foedus*; Prop. 2.15.31–36; 2.20.15–20.

reside: Concordia must dwell in Pudens and Claudia's home: cf. Catul. 66.87–88.

8. pari . . . iugo: the yoke (*iugum*, ζυγόν) is a traditional symbol of love and marriage. La Penna (1951: 206) points out that the image of the lover submitting to the yoke of his beloved, or of the gods of love, is frequent in poetry (Pl. *Cur.* 50; Catul. 68.118; Tib. 1.4.16; Prop. 2.5.14; 3.11.4; Hor. *Carm.* 3.9.17–18; Ov. *Ep.* 6.97; 9.6; 9.12; *Rem.* 90; *Tr.* 5.2.40; Sen. *Phaed.* 135; *Ag.* 134; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.78; 1.2.165; Juv. 6.208; TLL *s. v.* 641.26–43 [Baer]). Lovers are compared to oxen in Prop. 2.3.47–55. The motif of the *servitium amoris* is present to some extent in the passages quoted. However, the *iugum* is indisputably related to the marriage contract: see Von Salis, 1937: 163–4; TLL *s. v.* 642.8–28; cf. e.g. E. *Med.* 242; Theoc. 30.28; Catul. 64.21; Hor. *Carm.* 2.5.1 (Nisbet-Hubbard); Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.68; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.138. Notice the etymological link between *iugum*, *coniungere*, and *coniunx*: cf. Isid. *Etym.* 9.7.9; cf. *iunguntur* (l. 5), and Greek ζεύγνυμι: e.g. Soph. *OT.* 826; *Tr.* 536; E. *Alc.* 994; *IA.* 907; *El.* 99.

Par iugum means an evenly balanced relationship in social terms, that is, marriage between social equals. The simile is agricultural: Ov. *Ep.* 9.29–30 *quam male inaequales veniunt ad aratra iuvenci,/tam pre-*

mitur magno coniuge nupta minor; Calp. *Decl.* 29 *pauper et dives: iniquum est matrimonium, ne pecora quidem iugum nisi paria succedunt*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.33.10–11; Prop. 3.25.8 *bene conveniens . . . iugum*; V. Max. 2.1.6 *in pari iugo caritatis*. Similarity in lineage, fortune, and disposition between husband and wife is a traditional ideal in ancient literature: *Schol. ad* Aesch. *Pr.* 906; Call. *Epigr.* 1; Ov. *Ep.* 9.32 *siqua voles apte nubere, nube pari*; Catul. 62.57 *par conubium*; Ov. *Tr.* 4.5.27 *sic aequet tua nupta virum probitate perenni* (cf. Tosi, 2000: 651–652 § 1442). On socio-economic differences as an obstacle to marriage, see e.g. Ov. *Met.* 9.491; 14.698–699 and Treggiari, 1991: 89–90. *Pari iugo* also implies mutual love: Prop. 1.1.32 *sitis et in tuto semper amore pares*; 2.5.14; 3.25.8; Hor. *Carm.* 1.33.10–12. For the expression in different contexts, see Theoc. 12.15 (Gow *ad loc.*); Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.28 *ferre iugum pariter*; Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.159; Plin. *Ep.* 3.9.8.

Alliteration and parallelism between *perpetuo* (l. 7) and *pari* reinforce the correlation between a well-matched couple and the duration of their love relationship.

Venus aequa: cf. Catul. 61.44 *bonae Veneris*; 195–196 *bona te Venus/iuverit*. *Aequa* reinforces the notion that they are well-matched partners (*pari . . . iugo*), while additionally suggesting the idea of reciprocal love: Tib. 3.11.13–14 *Nec tu sis iniusta, Venus: vel serviat aeque/vinctus uterque tibi, vel mea vincla leva*. *Aequus*, when applied to someone's will (TLL *s. v.* 1034.41–1035.57 [Hey]), especially a god's (1035.22–41), means 'favourable', 'benevolent': cf. Ov. *Ep.* 1.23 *Sed bene consuluit casto deus aequus amori*.

9–10. True love must last until the end of life (*semper; quondam; tum*). Although old age was not considered an appropriate time for love and sex, a stable relationship until death is a desired ideal (Sullivan, 1979: 296–297; cf. Tib. 1.1.59–60; 2.2.17–20; [Tib.] 3.3.7–8; Ov. *Tr.* 4.8.11–12)—especially at a time when divorce was easy and relatively frequent—but probably based on reality (Parkin, 2003: 201 and n. 30). As in Statius' *epithalamium* (*Silv.* 1.2), the final lines are dedicated to the passing of time, but Martial does not wish the bride imperishable beauty (Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.276–277 *longe virides sic flore iuventae/perdurent vultus, tardeque haec forma senescat*) but perpetual love beyond the prime of life: cf. Catul. 61.154–156.

9. diligat illa: cf. Catul. 76.23; Prop. 2.25.29.

10. cum fuerit: interpreted by Lease (1898a: 30) as a concessive clause; it can simply be understood as a time clause: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.4.48.

non videatur anus: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 1.115–116 *Certe ego, quae fueram te discedente puella,/protinus ut venias, facta videbor anus*. These words are uttered by Penelope, a paradigm of loyalty and constancy (cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.15 *pia Penelope*; cf. Prop. 3.13.24; Ov. *Tr.* 1.6.22; *Pont.* 3.1.107; see Thornton, 1997: 184–187; for Penelope in Martial's epigrams, see Cristóbal, 1994: 67–68). The Ovidian reminiscences somehow encourage Claudia to be as truthful as Odysseus' wife. The use of mythological *exempla* was a traditional motif in the *epithalamium* (Wheeler, 1930: 212). This allusion is, in any case, indirect and subtle, in keeping with the elegance of the whole poem. Odysseus and Penelope were a model of perfect marriage: cf. Plu. *Mor.* 140f–141a.

There is another Ovidian echo, a passage where he commends the allure of the mature woman, which somehow undermines this ideal vision of love, or at least adds a humorous nuance:

> Adde, quod est illis operum prudentia maior,
> solus et artifices qui facit, usus adest:
> Illae munditiis annorum damna rependunt,
> et faciunt cura, ne videantur anus (*Ars* 2.675–678).

14

Addressed to Silius Italicus, this poem explores the relationship between epigram and other major genres, such as epic. Familiar aspects of his favourite form—its playful tone, which requires a relaxed reader, and its brevity—are knit together by Martial. By creating a remarkable metaliterary game, he combines modesty and self-deprecation with praise for the addressee and pride in his own work.

In the first part of the poem (1–5) Martial vividly displays an imaginary scene from Silius' *Punica* (notice the enjambment creating a sense of movement). Italicus seems to play a double role as a writer and also as a general commanding the Roman forces (*ore, premis, cogis*). *Seposita severitate* (6) serves as a transition between the battlefield (epic) and the Saturnalia (suitable for epigram): in December, soldiers usually rest, and Rome celebrates the Saturnalia, when gambling and drinking are the order of the day. It is time to relax and read a little book of epigrams, sent over as a Saturnalian gift (10–12). Humbleness and timidity are conveyed by almost every single word in line 13 (*sic; forsan; tener; ausus est*): however, the final emergence of Catullus, with whom Martial compares himself, dissipates them. The last line is devoted to Silius, openly compared with Virgil. In offering his work, Martial expresses his admiration and subtly seeks for protection by defending his poetry's worth.

The opposing attitudes of humbleness and pride are replaced by an ideal of mutual respect and appreciation. At the beginning Silius is called *Castalidum decus sororum*, whereas Martial's poems are said to be *nostris Camenis*. At the end, both Catullus and Virgil occupy the same position in their lines. Epic and epigram differ in subject-matter and tone (*tener, magno*), but can be written with similar artistry: not only need the epigrammatist not feel inferior, but he can exploit the peculiar tone of his writings. In fact, the epic parody of the first lines is superseded by a playful game with erotic innuendos (cf. 11.16; see Hallet, 1996; Williams, 2002), which culminates in the ambiguous *Passerem*, sent to an unprejudiced recipient.

Further reading: Buchwald, 1886: 9; Bickel, 1911: 509–511; Dams, 1970: 191–192; Pitcher, 1982: 197–198; Nadeau, 1984; Swann, 1994: 26. On Silius Italicus, see PIR[1] C 474; RE IIIA1 (1927) *s.* Silius 17 (Klotz); OCD[3], 1047; Ahl-Davis-Pomeroy, 1986; Von Albrecht, 1986. On Martial's relationship with Silius Italicus, see Szelest, 1959; 1986: 2578; Vessey, 1974; White, 1972: 95–101; Sullivan, 1990, 33–34; Nauta, 2002: 63–64; 149–150.

1. Sili, Castalidum decus sororum: this long apostrophe is solemnly constructed: the proper noun is followed by a lengthy, sonorous apposition and several relative clauses explaining Silius' achievements (cf. **4.55.1**; and 2.91; 5.5; 6.25; 7.29; 7.47; 7.50; 9.72; 10.7; 10.24; 10.33; 10.92; 12.44; 12.49; 12.62). On Martial's use of apostrophe, see Siedschlag, 1977: 14–16.

Sili: Silius Italicus (AD 26–101, consul in 68), writer of a long epic poem on the Second Punic War, is first mentioned by Martial here. Martial had probably met him at the Bay of Naples (Friedländer *ad loc.*), where he possibly spent the summer of 88, invited by one of his protectors (D'Arms, 1970: 212–213). By that time, the ageing Silius had retired to that place (D'Arms, 1970: 207–208), which enjoyed a fruitful cultural atmosphere (142–152; 166–167), and had begun writing his poem. Although still unpublished, some drafts were recited to friends for appraisal (Plin. *Ep.* 3.7.5; Bickel, 1911: 509; Wistrand, 1956: 3–4). Buchwald (1886: 9) rightly suggests that Martial may have known part of the poem and that the phrasing of this epigram evokes Silius' style.

Martial enjoyed his patronage until his return to Spain: his *Punica* were further acclaimed in 6.64.10 (Grewing) and 7.63.1 (Galán); 8.66 (Schöffel) celebrates his eldest son's consulship, whereas 9.86 (Henriksén) laments the death of his youngest son. Epigrams 11.48 and 11.50 (Kay) deal with his veneration of Virgil's tomb (cf. 12.67).

Castalidum . . . sororum: the Muses (cf. 7.12.10 *Castalium . . . gregem*; Galán *ad loc.*). Castalia was a spring under Mount Parnassus linked with the Muses and Apollo, and a frequent metaphor for inspiration. The Muses are often called 'the sisters' (1.70.15; 2.22.1 *novem*; 1.76.3; 5.6.18; 8.3.9; 9.42.3 *doctae sorores*). The spring of Castalia is alluded to in **4.31.4**; 12.2.13, and especially in 8.66, addressed to Silius Italicus: 5 (*iubet*) *vatis Castaliam domum sonare. Castalis* (Gr. Κασταλίς, Theoc. 7.148) is only used by Martial (cf. 9.18.8; Henriksén), *Castalius* being the most frequent adjective (7.12.10; 7.22.4; 12.2.13).

decus: the noun refers to honour and dignity: *decus* (TLL *s. v.* 243.6–244.54 *res ornans* [Leissner]: cf. 9.28.1; 10.103.4; 11.13.5) may

be applied to people as a laudatory epithet (see Dickey, 2002: 319) with patriotic connotations in certain contexts: Cic. *Flac.* 75 *decus patriae; Phil.* 2.54 *imperii populi romani decus*; Lucr. 3.3. *Graiae gentis decus.* It is also a part of military language, thus anticipating the metaliterary double role of Silius as writer and commander (cf. 1.55.2; 14.32.1 *militiae decus*; V. Max. 1.6.11), but its basic meaning here is very close to 9.28.1 *Dulce decus scaenae, ludorum fama, Latinus*; 11.13.5 *Romani decus et dolor theatri*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.27 *Dauniae defende decus Camenae*; Auson. *prof.* 2.7 *palmae forensis et Camenarum decus.*

Both Virgil and Horace used this term to refer to their patron Maecenas: Verg. *G.* 2.40 *o decus* (Mynors *ad loc.*); Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.2 *et praesidium et dulce decus meum*; 2.17.4 (Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.*).

2–5. Martial draws on the traditional portrait of the Carthaginians (bellicose, conceited, revengeful, perfidious). In lines 2–3 the martial tone of Silius' epic is conveyed by means of an effective alliteration of /p/.

2. periuria barbari furoris: cf. 6.19.6 *periuria Punici furoris* (Grewing), in which the phrase applies to hollow rhetoric. Martial has been criticised precisely for eulogising such a weak work as the *Punica* (e.g. Carrington, 1972: 265). He disliked mythological epic (**4.49** n.), not historical (Szelest, 1956: 78–80).

periuria: Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.77–8; Sil. 16.148. *Periurium* and *perfidia* (*vid. infra*) are often combined in literature; their similar beginning and sense reinforce the idea of falsity: Ov. *Met.* 11.206; *Fast.* 3.473; Liv. 3.2.4; Plin. *Ep.* 2.20.5.

barbari: usually applied to Carthaginians in Silius' work (5.415; 10.146 11.196; 15.281; 16.20; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.106; V. Max. 9.2.ext.1).

furoris: *furor* is the madness which causes and supports war (TLL *s. v.* 1631.32–73 [Rubenbauer]: cf. Verg. *A.* 1.150; 7.406; Ov. *Met.* 11.30; Luc. 1.669; 1.681; 3.671; Stat. *Theb.* 7.20; Serv. *A.* 10.905 *furorem: inimicorum iram*), but it may also mean an 'attack' (Sil. 4.75). Silius uses this term profusely: e.g. 1.70–71; 1.79; 1.683; 2.528.

3. ingenti . . . ore: *ingens* has heroic connotations and is very appropriate to describe epic diction. *Ore*, the poet's mouth, represents his poetry and style metonymically (TLL *s. v.* 1081.54–1082.26 [Teßmer]): Verg. *G.* 3.294 *magno . . . ore*; Hor. *Ars* 323 *ore rotundo*; Prop. 2.10.12; Ov. *Ars* 1.206; *Fast.* 2.124.

Os also means 'voice' (TLL *s. v.* 1082.27–48), so powerful as to repress the enemies' wiles: it is Silius himself who takes part in the action he is writing about. *Ingenti ore*, as stated above, suggests the thunderous voice of a general (cf. Verg. *A.* 12.692; *Ilias* 817 *magnoque hunc increpat ore*), but also of an orator: cf. 9.86.2 *Sili, Ausonio non semel ore potens* (Henriksén).

premis: poets sometimes present themselves as taking part in their narratives: Prop. 2.1.18 *ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus*; Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.439 *is quoque, Phasiacas Argon qui duxit in undas*. *Premis* has several meanings here: on the one hand, in military contexts it means to 'attack' (OLD *s. v.* 7a); on the other, it means to 'silence' someone (OLD *s. v.* 21). There might also be wordplay with *exprimere*, in the sense of 'writing', 'describing'.

perfidos: perfidy is the most typical feature of the Carthaginians, according to the Romans (see Otto, 1971: 291): Flor. *Epit.* 1.18 *perfidiae Punicae*; Liv. 21.4.9 *perfidia plus quam Punica*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.49 *perfidus Hannibal*; Ov. *Fast.* 3.148 *perfide Poene*; *Fast.* 6.242; Sal. *Jug.* 108.3 *Punica fide*. Consequently, it is widely used in Silius' poem: 1.5–6 *perfida . . . gens . . . Cadmea*; 2.655 *ruit inter perfida gentis/Sidoniae tela*; 16.148 *perfidiam fugio et periuram ab origine gentem*.

4. astus: cf. *perfidos*; Liv. 35.14.12 *Punico astu* (cf. V. Max. 5.1.ext.6). This unique appearance of the word in the epigrams suggests that Martial is imitating Silius' style: cf. Sil. 7.744 *tuque dolos, Poene, atque astus tandem exue notos*; 14.291 *astus . . . Tyrios*; 16.638. *Fastus*, also present as a manuscript variant, is more frequently used by Martial and is also indirectly suitable for describing overconfident Carthaginians, but it is the *lectio facilior*.

levis: *parum fidos* (Ov. *Am.* 2.9.49; [Sen.] Oct. 198), but also 'cowardly' (TLL *s. v.* 1205.68–72; 1209.24–47 [Koster]).

5. Africanis: Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (RE IV1 [1900] *s. Cornelius* 336 [Henze]; OCD^3, 398), 236–183 BC, defeated the Carthaginians at Zama. His adoptive grandson, Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (RE IV1 [1900] *s. Cornelius* 335 [Münzer]; OCD^3, 397), the eventual destroyer of Carthage, was also known as Africanus. Inasmuch as the *Punica* only deals with the Second Punic War, it has traditionally been accepted that here Martial is referring only to the former. Bickel (1911) suggests that Silius' project may have been more ambitious and that Martial must have known this. The allu-

sion to more than one Africanus may be due to this or even to the fact that Martial could have read or heard part of the poem, unaware of its intended scope. This might also be a plural for singular, a common use in historical *exempla*: cf. 4.40.1–2 (n.); 4.78.8 (n.).

6. seposita severitate: cf. 1.35.12 *deposita severitate*; cf. 11.16.6. *Severitas* is grave demeanour, an attitude incompatible with epigram: cf. Catul. 14b.3a–3b *omnem ponite nunc severitatem:/nam versus veniunt proterviores*. It also means military discipline (Tac. *Ger.* 25.2 *disciplina et severitate*), thus mollifying the transition from epic to epigram. In winter comes the unrestrained festival of Saturn and also a halt to military activities. Silius can then stop writing his serious epic and devote some time to reading epigrams.

7–9. Theoretically, gambling was permitted only during the Saturnalia in December (11.6.2; 13.1; 14.1; cf. Juv. 1.93; Cic. *Phil.* 2.56; Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.58; Ov. *Tr.* 2.472; *A. L.* (Riese) 117.23–24; see Balsdon, 1969: 154–157; Carcopino, 1939: 292–293; *Dig.* 11.5.2). A permissive period such as this is ideal for reading unrestrained epigrams: 7.28; see Citroni, 1989.

blanda . . . alea: Ov. *Pont.* 1.5.46 *nec tenet incertas alea blanda manus*; Mart. 4.66.15 *subposita est blando numquam tibi tessera talo*; 5.84.3 *et blando male proditus fritillo*. *Alea* (Gr. ἠλεός) means gambling (e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.58 *vetita legibus alea*), bets (Mart. 4.66.16; 14.15.2), and, metonymically, the die (Petr. 122). *Blandus* means 'seductive' and usually appears in erotic contexts (cf. 6.23.3; 11.104.9; 12.44.6; 12.97.8). Gaming and sex seem to be equally alluring.

vagus: *otiosus, quia in otio homines vagantur incerti quid agant* (Forcellini *s. v.*); cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.2. A personified December is on holiday, like any Roman citizen. In context (*alea, fritillis*), *vagus* also suggests the mutability of Fortune: e.g. Cic. *Mil.* 69. According to Post (*ad loc.*), the adjective alludes to the lack of restraint during the Saturnalia.

sonat hinc et hinc: cf. 14.1.3 *moto . . . fritillo* (Leary); Sen. *Apoc.* 15.1.1 *resonante fritillo*; 12.3.33–4 *concusso . . . fritillo* (Simmons, 1991: 32); 14.4.5 *pertuso fritillo*; Sidon. *Ep.* 2.9 *crepitantium fritillorum tesserarumque strepitus*. *Hinc et hinc* suggests the movement of the shaker, but also the idea that the game is played all over Rome. For the expression *hinc et hinc*, cf. 1.54.2 (Citroni); 7.95.3 (Galán); 10.83.1.

incertis . . . fritillis: a *fritillus* is a 'shaker'; Porph. *S.* 2.7.17 *Fimum: quod nos fritillum dicimus, in quo coniectae tesserae agitataeque mittuntur*; Schol.

ad Juv. 14.5 *Fritillo pyxide cornea, qui* φιμός *dicitur graece . . . Apud antiquos in cornu mittebant tesseras moventesque fundebant* (Marquardt, 1893: 522, n. 9); Mart. 5.84.3; 11.6.2; 13.1.7; 14.1.3; Juv. 14.5. *Incertus* means 'unpredictable' (Pl. *Capt.* 245; Sen. *Con.* 1.1.10; Sen. *Ben.* 3.11.1; *Nat.* 5.18.6).

9. ludit: there is a slight double entendre, for *ludere* has erotic overtones (TLL *s. v.* 1773.81–1774.26 [Plepelits]; Adams, 1982: 162). The closeness between playing and loving (*vid. supra*) is further reinforced by *nequiore*.

tropa: this is a conjecture by Brodaeus, unanimously accepted by critics; manuscripts have either *popa* or *rota*. *Rota* might allude to the wheel of Fortune (cf. *Epic. Drusi* 51–52; Tib. 1.5.70). Schrevelius explained *rota* as *aleatorum, credo, circumstatium corona*. *Tropa* seems correct (Gr. τρόπα): this game was played with ἀστράγαλοι (Lat. *tali*): Poll. 9.103; Cratin. 170. Ker (1968: 234, n. 1) explains that it consisted of throwing the jacks into a jar (Marquardt, 1893: 514, n. 5; Balsdon, 1969: 156).

nequiore talo: 4.66.15 *blando . . . talo*; 13.1.5 *magnanimo . . . talo* (Leary). The *tali* or ἀστράγαλοι were anklebones used in children's pastimes (Marquardt, 1893: 524) and in games of chance (Marquardt, 1893: 525–528; cf. Cic. *De orat.* 3.58; 3.88; Mart. 14.14.1; Lafaye, D.-S. *s. v.* V 28–31). *Nequiore* might allude to this second use in more difficult and risky games (Norcio *ad loc.*). *Nequam* ('naughty', 'mischievous') has erotic connotations (3.69.5; cf. 1.106.6; 9.67.2): it is also possible that the game was popular and far from elegant. Post, however, suggests that *nequam* means a cheat. In any case, *nequam* is intimately connected to the Saturnalian mood: 11.15.4.

10. nostris . . . Camenis: the Camenae, water nymphs, had a shrine near the Porta Capena in Rome. These deities were identified with the Muses from the very beginnings of Latin literature: Livius Andronicus (Gel. 18.9.5); Naevius (Gel. 1.24.2); Ennius (Var. *L.* 7.25). the etymology of the term is dubious (cf. Ernout-Meillet: 89; Waszink, 1956: 139–148) and its use almost exclusively poetic. In Martial's epigrams, the *Camenae* are the Muses (6.47.4 *Camenarum de grege nona*; 8.66.2 *pro vestro date Silio, Camenae*) and, just like them (4.8.12 n.), they also allude metonymically to writing and poetry (2.6.16; 7.68.1–2). Notice the alliteration ***C**amenis*/***C**astalidum sororum*, two denominations alluding indirectly to water, a symbolic source of inspiration. Notice

also the prominent position of *nostris*, placing the epigrammatic work on the same level as other (major) genres.

otia commoda: cf. **4.82.2** (n.); 7.28.7 (Galán); 12.1.3.

11. nec torva lege fronte, sed remissa: 10.64.2 *Non tetrica nostros excipe fronte iocos*; 7.12.1 *Sic me fronte legat dominus, Faustine, serena*; cf. 7.28.7–8. The reader's attitude must be as relaxed as the mood of the book and the Saturnalia.

torva . . . fronte: the forehead is said to reflect the reader's attitude and opinion: cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.11.17 *aspicias . . . frontem . . . legentis. Torva fronte* is a traditionally epic expression, pertaining to fierce warriors: Verg. *A.* 3.636; Sil. 3.76; Stat. *Theb.* 1.186; Sen. *Tro.* 467; cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 723 *dira maiestas deo, frons torva* (alluding to Hades: cf. Mart. 10.64.2 *tetrica . . . fronte*). Therefore, it is all the more pertinent here, inasmuch as Silius' epic poem was the focus of the first lines. Personified tragedy is also described in this way (Ov. *Am.* 3.1.12). The expression evokes the drawing together of the eyebrows, a widespread feature in sculpture depictions of intellectuals in antiquity: it suggests 'intelligence and thoughtfulness', as well as 'concentration' (see Zankler, 1995: 67–74; 85–88; 96; 414).

fronte . . . remissa: cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.5.5; Sen. *Ep.* 23.3 *Ceterae hilaritates non implent pectus; frontem remittunt*; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.pr. *stilo remissiore. Frons* in Martial's epigrams also refers to sternness (OLD *s. v.* 2c: cf. 11.39.13) or even modesty (11.27.7; Kay *ad loc.*). *Frontem contrahere* is an appropriate attitude for other genres (Pl. *Am.* 53): epigram requires a carefree attitude: 14.183.2 *et frontem nugis solvere disce meis.*

12. lascivis madidos iocis libellos: is Martial sending more than one book? Nauta (2002: 110) suggests that *iocis* means poems, so that *libellos* must be taken as books, rather than poems (cf. Ker 'poems steeped in wanton quips'): see **4.10.1** (n.) and **4.8.7** (n.) for the different uses of the term. Moreover, in **4.82** (n.) Martial says he is sending more than one book to the addressee, but in this poem the plural might convey a general sense, as in **4.8.7**.

lascivis . . . iocis: cf. Macr. 2.6.1. *Lascivus* (TLL 985.74–986.22 [Ravenna]) is an appropriate epithet for amatory poets and their works: Hor. *Ars* 107; Prop. 2.34.87 *lascivi . . . scripta Catulli*; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.427 *lascivo . . . Catullo*; 5.1.15 *lasciva . . . carmina*; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.88 *lascivus . . . Ovidius*; 10.1.93. The epigram can be defined in erotic terms, both in content and tone: 1.pr. *lascivam verborum veritatem*;

1.4.8 *lasciva . . . pagina*; 7.17.4 *lascivae . . . Thaliae* (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.116); 7.51.2 *lasciva . . . carmina*; 9.26.10 *lascivum . . . opus*; 3.86.1 *lascivi . . . libelli*; 5.2.5; 7.68.3; 10.64.5 *lascivo . . . versu*; 11.16.3 *iam mea Lampsacio lascivit pagina versu*.

Iocus, a frequent term in Martial's poetry, also belongs to the erotic field (cf. 4.8.11 n.; TLL *s. v.* 289.37–45 [Hi.]), especially in conjunction with *lascivis*: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8.144; Mart. 1.35.10–11. *Ioci* refers to Martial's epigrams, with special emphasis on their jocular nature (1.pr.7; 1.35.13; **4.8.11** n.; **4.10.8** n.; **4.49.2** n.; 5.15.1; 6.82.5; 6.85.10; 7.8.9 *iocos levioraque carmina*; 7.12.2; 7.28.8; 7.80.4; 10.18.3; 10.64.2), but it can be applied to minor poetic genres in general, particularly if they have a comic component (TLL *s. v.* 288.47–65; *Culex* 6; Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.37; *Ars* 222; Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.238; Pers. 6.5; Sidon. *Ep.* 9.16.3.v.33; *Carm.* 9.212; 23.302). Jokes (*ioci*) were an essential part of the Saturnalia (10.87.7; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.4–7; 4.9.1 [Coleman]) and the symposium (*vid. infra*; cf. 10.48.21; 4.8.10; Nauta, 2002: 167–168).

madidos: *madidus* is very close to *imbutus* (Citroni, 1975: 126; Mart. 1.39.3; 7.69.2; cf. 7.51.5 *iure madens*), that is, the book is 'steeped' in jokes; but it also means 'tipsy' (1.70.9; 6.89.2; 9.22.11; 9.73.5; 11.15.5 (*libellus*) *qui vino madeat*; cf. 11.16): 14.1.9 *Sed quid agam potius madidis, Saturne, diebus*. Wine facilitates a perfect reception for epigrammatic work (cf. 4.8; **4.82**). *Madidus* may also allude to perfumes, appropriate in a festive context (3.65.8; 5.64.3), but it might also have an erotic undertone (cf. *Priap.* 48.1), like *udus* (Mart. 11.16.8). See also Lorenz, 2004: 264.

13–14. The literary and erotic double entendre *Passerem*, together with the connotations of *tener* and *magno* create, according to Nadeau, 'a double-edged compliment to Silius. Martial's *passer* might be slight compared with Silius', but it is more lively' (1984: 862). Catullus and Virgil are also compared in 14.195.

13. tener . . . Catullus: Martial firmly identifies with Catullus, whom he admires (1.pr.; 2.71; 5.5.6; 7.99; 8.73.8; 10.78.16 *uno sed tibi sim minor Catullo*; 10.103.5; 12.44.5; cf. 6.34.7–8; 7.14.3–4). On Catullus' influence on the epigrams, see Paukstadt, 1876; Ferguson, 1963; Offermann, 1980; Swann, 1994; 1998.

Tener is traditionally applied to love poetry and its poets (Catul. 35.1; Hor. *Ars* 246; Ov. *Am.* 2.1.4; *Fast.* 4.196; *Tr.* 2.1.361; 3.3.73;

4.10.1), as it is a ubiquitous epithet for love (Ov. *Am.* 1.6.11; 2.18.4; 2.18.19; 3.15.1; *Ars* 1.7). Thus, *tener*, just like *lascivis* in the previous line, qualifies Martial's poetry as having a strong erotic component (Nadeau, 1984: 862; see also Hallet, 1996). *Tener* also conveys an aesthetic sense: the poetry of Martial and Catullus does not deal with epic deeds, nor is its style elevated (*ingenti . . . ore*), but it is, nonetheless, elaborate and polished. On the other hand, contrary to *magno, tener* denotes inferiority and frailty: Martial's poetry needs protection; *tener* also suggests Martial's youth with respect to the older Italicus (which is not the case with Catullus and Virgil—the latter was an adolescent when the former died).

Martial calls Catullus *tener* elsewhere: 7.14.3 (Galán).

14. magno . . . Marone: cf. 11.48.1; 12.67.5; 12.3.1 *summus*; 14.186 *inmensus*. *Magnus* alludes to the preeminence, excellence, and reputation of Virgil's work. Unlike *tener*, it is a suitable epithet for epic poets: cf. Hor. *S.* 1.10.52; Ov. *Am.* 1.8.61; *Rem.* 365; *Tr.* 2.1.379; *Pont.* 3.9.24; Juv. 10.246. Silius was a staunch enthusiast of Virgil: 7.63.5 (Galán); 11.48; 11.50 (Kay); Sil. 8.593–4; Plin. *Ep.* 3.7.8 *Multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo, verum etiam venerabatur, Vergili ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monimentum eius adire ut templum solebat.* By comparing him with Virgil, Martial is paying Silius a very pleasing compliment.

On the presence of Virgil in Martial's epigrams, see Spaeth, 1930; Corsaro, 1973: 176–177, and Muñoz Jiménez, 1994.

mittere: the verb is often related to the sending of presents (TLL *s. v.* 1178.49–1179.10 (Fleischer); Mart. 2.39.2; 2.85.3–4; 4.19.4; 4.56.1; 5.59.1; 6.63.5; 6.82.12; 7.46.6; 7.53.1; 8.33.24; 9.54.11; 9.55.6; 9.88.1; 10.15.7; 10.19.1; 10.24.3; 10.29.1; 13.69.2; 14.126.2), especially in the case of literary works: 1.29.3; 3.1.1; 3.100.4; 5.1.1–7; 5.30.6 *carmina, mittuntur quae tibi mense suo*; 6.1.1; 7.3.1–2; 7.80.3–4; 7.97.13; 9.26.1.

Passerem: cf. 11.6.16 *donabo tibi Passerem Catulli.* It seems that Catullus' second and third poems on Lesbia's sparrow gave the name to a *libellus*: '*Passerem* presumably refers to a collection of an unknown number of Catullus' poems' (Swann, 1994: 26). Basically, Martial is comparing his work with Catullus'. *Passer* came to denote a book of minor poetry: Plin. *Ep.* 9.25.3 *Tu passerculis et columbulis nostris inter aquilas vestras dabis pennas, si tamen et tibi placebunt* (see Buchheit, 1978).

Martial mentions Catullus' *passer* in another four epigrams:

- 1.7, in which he compares Stella's booklet entitled *Columba* with Catullus' *Passer*. Nadeau (1984: 862) states that only a saucy interpretation of the final lines would conform a true epigram: 4–5 *Tanto Stella meus tuo Catullo/quanto passere maior est columba*.
- 1.109.1: *Issa est passere nequior Catulli* (on the erotic connotations of *nequam*, *vid. supra*).
- 7.14 (Galán), referring to Lesbia's pet, clearly with an erotic undertone.
- 11.6.16 *donabo tibi passerem Catulli*. Kay explains this in three ways: it might be interpreted as a love token, as an amatory poetic collection, or erotically (*passer* = *mentula*).

An erotic interpretation of Catullus' poems 2 and 3 has, in fact, been proposed by many (see Genovese, 1974; Giangrande, 1975), but also refuted with strong arguments (Jocelyn, 1980). *Passer*, like other animal names, may have been used in Latin as a metaphor for the male sexual organ (Adams, 1982: 32–33; Montero, 1991: 88), but exaggerating this erotic connotation would distort the subtlety of the final lines of the present poem (Pitcher, 1982: 98): Martial was decorously addressing a senior. However, this particular poem recurrently draws on the erotic (*vid. supra*) as a way of defining epigram as a distinct genre. Moreover, the Saturnalian mood does not preclude a multiplicity of meanings of *Passer*: it is an epigrammatic work, lighter than epic, but the subtle erotic implication defines it as a light-hearted Saturnalian product, calling for an uninhibited reader, *seposita severitate* (cf. Kay *ad* 11.6.16).

On the sense of *Passer* in Martial's work, see Pitcher, 1982; Nadeau, 1984; Salanitro, 2002: 571–573. Williams (2002, especially 166–167) focuses on the phallic component in literary epigrams.

15

Martial refuses to lend Caecilianus a thousand sesterces (*non habeo*), but the latter is unwilling to accept a negative response: he interprets that the poet is short of cash, and tries a different tack (3–4), incurring Martial's accusation of stupidity and brashness (5–6). Here Martial appears to adopt the persona of the ungenerous friend, the butt of social criticism in many epigrams (2.30; 2.44; 4.67; 4.76; 5.82; 6.5; 6.20; 7.92; 9.46; 10.15; 11.68), but in fact he has a reason for his lack of generosity: the man is an inveterate defaulter and swindler. A comparable refusal in 3.61.

Further reading: Moreno Soldevila, 2004.

1–3. cf. 9.46.5–6 ***Oranti*** *nummos ut dicere possit amico/unum illud verbum Gellius 'Aedifico'*; 12.25.1–2 *Cum* ***rogo*** *te nummos sine pignore,* ***'non habeo'*** *inquis;/Idem, si pro me spondet agellus, habes.*

1. Mille tibi nummos . . . roganti: the same amount is asked for in 8.17.2 and 10.75.6. The expression *nummos rogare* can be found in 12.25.1 (*supra*), 14.9.2 (cf. 6.5.2, 4). *Nummus*, especially in combination with *mille* o *milia*, means sesterce.

Roganti always appears at the end of the line (hexameters or hendecasyllables) in Martial's epigrams: *Sp.* 29.3; 2.25.1; 2.92.1; 4.42.1; 10.24.6; 11.40.4; 11.63.44; 11.73.1; 12.71.1.

hesterna luce: cf. 1.68.5; Ov. *Am.* 2.2.3; *Priap.* 12.8; Mart. 1.27.1 *hesterna nocte.*

2. in sex aut septem . . . dies: cf. 7.58.1 *Iam sex aut septem nupsisti, Galla, cinaedis*; Lucr. 4.577. The figure *sex aut septem* is quite vague and suggests that Caecilianus would not give it back to him soon.

Caeciliane: Shackleton Bailey preferred *Maeciliane*, based on the reading of the third family of manuscripts. *Caecilianus* is the *lectio facilior*, for it frequently appears in the epigrams: 1.20; 1.65 (*var. lect.* Laetiliane); 1.73 (*var. lect.* Maeciliane); 2.37; 2.71; 2.78; 4.51; 6.5; 6.35; 6.88 (*var. lect.* Sosibiane); 7.59; 8.67; 9.70 (*var. lect.* Maeciliane); 11.42. For the name *Caecilianus*, derived from *Caecilius*, see Kajanto,

1982: 142. For the other option, *Maecilianus*, valid in 1.73 (and 9.70, according to Shackleton Bailey), see Kajanto (*op. cit.*: 149) and Postgate, 1908. Caecilianus, who also appears in **4.51**, is consistently portrayed throughout the epigrams as a mean, selfish fellow, unable to comply with the rules of reciprocity inherent to the Roman social system (Spisak, 1998: 243–255): 1.20; 2.37; 2.78; 6.5; 8.67. This would explain Martial's apparently selfish attitude in this poem. See more details in Moreno Soldevila, 2004.

3. Non habeo: cf. **4.72.2**; 12.25.1 (*supra*); Pl. *Men.* 547; cf. Mart. 11.66.4. This is a polite, yet open, refusal, which Caecilianus interprets in a literal sense.

3–4. causatus amici/adventum: a visiting friend should be invited to a lavish dinner (cf. e.g. Apul. *Met.* 1.26).

4. lancem paucaque vasa rogas: thinking that Martial is out of cash, Caecilianus makes up an excuse to borrow a dinner service. The present tense *rogas*, in contrast with *negavi* and *hesterna luce*, underlines Caecilianus' obstinacy and tactlessness.

The *lanx* (2.43.12; 7.48.3; 11.31.19) was a large plate, habitually round, used for serving food. It could be a costly piece of tableware, especially when made of embossed silver (see Pottier, D.-S. *s. v.*; Strong, 1966: 148–152; Micheli, 1991: 111–124). Therefore, it could be a valuable present: *Sp.* 27.6; 7.72.4; 10.29.1; 14.97.1 (Leary *ad loc.*). *Vas* (13.28; 13.29; 14.98.1), on the other hand, is a common unpoetic term, standing for any type of receptacle (OLD *s. v.* 1). Notice the mitigating value of *pauca* (6.10.1; 11.108.2): here Martial seems to recreate Caecilianus' ingratiating tone.

5–6. Cf. **4.72.4** *'Non' inquis 'faciam tam fatue'. Nec ego.* Martial obviously distrusts Caecilianus, who, under the façade of simpleness, is anything but innocent (2.71).

Stultus es?: cf. 2.71.1 *Candidius nihil est te, Caeciliane.*

stultum me credis?: cf. Gel. 6.2.7 *quam stultum esse me credit.*

amice: clearly ironic, cf. **4.80.2**; 5.53.1.

negavi: the verb is frequent in money contexts: 2.44.11; 3.61.2; 5.42.3; 7.43.3–4; 10.11.8; 11.49.12; 11.58.2.

6. milia quinque: the price of a silver pound in 3.62.4 (*libra quod argenti milia quinque rapit*). Calliodorus, accused of avarice in 10.11.5, protests that he has given a friend this amount: *'Donavi tamen' inquis 'amico milia quinque'*. Sextus, the usurer, refuses to make a loan to Martial, on the pretext of having lent seven, four, and eleven thousand sesterces to other characters (2.44.7–8). In **4.76** (n.) Martial is given six thousand, even though he asked for twelve. Six thousand is the life annuity Bythinicus, a legacy-hunter, donated to the elderly Fabius (and what was bequeathed to him). In short, five or six thousand sesterces was neither an exorbitant amount for a loan, nor a fortune (cf. **4.51**). Donations could be larger, especially when aimed at the social promotion of a client (cf. **4.67.1**).

16

To the Roman mind, the definition of incest, that is, marriage or sexual relationships between very close family members (those having a bond of *affinitas*: Iust. *Dig.* 38.10.4.7–10), included not just those related by birth, but also by adoption or marriage (Buckland, 1975: 166; Gardner, 1986: 36–37; 125–127; Treggiari, 1991b: 37–38; cf. e.g. Iust. *Dig.* 48.5.39pr.1–2). The protagonist of the epigram, Gallus, is accused of having sexual relations with his widowed mother-in-law, which constituted *stuprum* (cf. V. Max. 5.9.1; Quint. *Inst.* 4.2.98) and incest: Calp. *Decl.* 22; Apul. *Met.* 10.5; 10.6. If, as the poet suggests, this situation went back to his father's lifetime, they are also guilty of adultery (Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.42). Other incest-related epigrams are; 2.4; **4.70**; 12.20. See more details in Moreau, 2002: 233–240.

In this poem the repetition of *pater* (2, 4, 8) and *noverca* (1, 4, 8), together with the terms *genitor* (3) and *coniunx* (2), reinforces the idea of kinship and the depravity of Gallus' offence. The style is redolent of forensic language: noteworthy is the use of technical terms such as *probari, revocetur, defendat, absolvi*; the allusion to renowned advocates, Cicero and Regulus; and, especially, its structure, based on logical argumentation:

1–2. As in other passages, *rumor*, gossip, is used to introduce abnormal sexual activities. At the same time, it creates a feeling of suspense, based on paradox and indirectness: Gallus was said not to be his stepmother's stepson, although she was married to his father. The nuance is that they maintained an incestuous relationship when the father was still alive.

3–4. As the father was alive, it was not unnatural that Gallus and his lover should have lived under the same roof: the true nature of their relationship was difficult to prove. Now, the father is dead and they still live together, which corroborates that the *rumor* was trustworthy.

5–6. Now, he could not successfully be defended even by the most prestigious advocates, either living or dead.

7–8. Verdict: their present cohabitation demonstrates that, before his father's death, they had committed incest and adultery. They seem not to care about their reputation.

Further reading: Sullivan, 1989: 190; Watson, 1995: 138–139. On incest, see Guarino, 1943; Moreau, 2002.

1. The epigram begins with a puzzling paradox: Gallus was not his stepmother's stepson.

Privignum: *Dig.* 38.10.4.6 *privignus est uxoris meae filius ex alio viro natus . . . et in contrarium uxor mea liberis, quos ex alia uxore habeo, noverca dicitur, liberi mei illi privigni.* Unlike the term *noverca (vid. infra), privignus* is a neutral denomination without negative implications. In poetical contexts, it evokes the stepson par excellence, Hippolytus, with whom his stepmother, Phaedra, was passionately in love. The echoes of Ov. *Ep.* 4.129 (*quia privigno videar coitura noverca*); 140 (*dicar privigno fida noverca meo*), and Prop. 2.1.51–52 suggest an answer to the riddle.

Galle: Gallus is a frequent name in Martial's satirical epigrams. He is a ruthless patron or mean friend in 1.108; 3.27; 10.56; 10.82. His sexual habits are censured in 2.47; 2.56; 3.73. See also 7.55; 8.75 and 12.47. In Catullus' poem 78, Gallus was a promoter of adulterous and incestuous affairs.

tuae . . . novercae: the term for stepmother never had positive connotations (notice that it derives from *novus*, which stresses the alienating element of the relationship): in ancient literature, stepmothers were traditionally cruel and wicked (see Dixon, 1988: 155–159; Graw-Fow, 1998; Noy, 1991, and the comprehensive study by Watson, 1995). Unsurprisingly, the poet wonders about the unusually good relationship between Gallus and his stepmother. Together with Juno, Phaedra was the *noverca* par excellence in Latin literature. Her falling in love with her husband's son embodies the real-life problem derived from the early marrying age of girls: if their husbands were previously married, they could be closer in age to, and feel more attraction for, their stepsons (Noy, 1991: 347): cf. Verg. *A.* 7.765; Ov. *Ep.* 4.129; 140; *Tr.* 2.1.383; Sen. *Phaed. passim.*

2. rumor erat: see Greenwood, 1998a: 300; 310–11. Making use of *rumor* with a view to denouncing vices serves a double satirical function: it exempts the poet from responsibility in the spreading of the news, while endowing it with a social dimension: 2.72.6 *tota rumor in urbe sonat*; 3.87.1 *Narrat te, Chione, rumor numquam esse fututam.* Rumours counterbalance outward appearances and reveal what is meant to be hidden, hence their common combination with adversative syntax: cf. 3.73.5 *Sed rumor negat esse te cinaedum*; 3.80.2 *Rumor ait linguae te tamen esse malae*; **4.69.2** *sed rumor tam bona vina negat.*

coniunx dum fuit illa patris: the precise definition of *noverca*: *Dig.* 23.2.14 *novercam per se patris uxorem . . . intellegunt.* For the use of *coniunx* in poetry, see Adams, 1972: 252–255.

3. probari: notice the use of forensic language (Cic. *De orat.* 2.293). *Probari* means 'to prove' (OLD *s. v.* 7), but it might have a slight moral nuance, 'to approve' (OLD *s. v.* 4; 6).

4. Iam nusquam . . . est: a euphemistic expression: cf. Hor. *S.* 2.5.102; Ov. *Met.* 1.587. There is also wordplay with *domi est* and *numquam* (8).

domi est: the honest wife must be 'at home' (cf. e.g. Pl. *Mos.* 281; Ter. *Hec.* 678; Prop. 3.12.37; Ann. Fl. *A. L.* 251 (Riese); Quint. *Decl.* 347.7), but not at 'her lover's'. On the expression *domi esse*, see TLL *s. v.* 1958.61–68 (Hofmann).

5. Neither Cicero nor Regulus, paradigms of past and present eloquence, could act as defense lawyers of such a flagrant offence.

Magnus . . . Tullius: M. Tullius Cicero is presented as a model eloquent lawyer in 3.38.3 *'Causas' inquis 'agam Cicerone disertior ipso'.* Martial prefers to name him by the cognomen *Cicero*, especially at the end of the pentameter (2.89.4; 5.69.2; 7.63.6; 11.48.2; 14.188.2), but the name *Tullius* is also used (3.20.17; 5.51.5; 9.70 *in eadem metri sede*). For the epithet *magnus*, cf. 7.63.6; 1.8.1 *magni Thraseae*; 1.78.9 *magni . . . Catonis*; 4.14.14 n. *magno . . . Maroni*; 11.48.1.

infernis . . . umbris: 1.36.5 *infernas . . . ad umbras* (1.101.5 *ad Stygias . . . umbras*; 1.114.5; 9.51.3; 11.84.1; 12.90.3); 11.69.11 *infernas . . . sub umbras*: cf. Verg. *A.* 7.770–771 (*A.* 7.325 *infernis . . . tenebris*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.25); Sil. 15.665; Sen. *Her. F.* 1338.

revocetur: cf. 10.5.13 *ipse quoque infernis revocatus Ditis ab umbris.* There is wordplay with the forensic meaning of *revocare* (OLD *s. v.* 1c: 'to summon back (a defendant) to court'; cf. (*in ius*) *vocare*, OLD *s. v.* 4c) and the sense of 'resurrecting' (OLD *s. v.* 11): Verg. *A.* 7.769 *Hippolytum . . . paeoniis revocatum herbis*; Serv. *ad loc.; ad. G.* 3.7.

6. et te defendat Regulus ipse licet: M. Aquilius Regulus was a renowned lawyer, Martial's patron at least until the publication of book VII (6.38; Grewing *ad loc.*; 7.16; Galán *ad loc.*; 7.31; see Nauta, 2002: 62–64; 150–155). He is first mentioned in book I, in two epi-

grams celebrating his escape from an accidental death (1.12; 1.82, see Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*). His facet as a successful eloquent advocate is praised in 2.74.2 (Williams *ad loc.*); 5.28.6; 6.38; 6.64.11. Martial presents him as an ingenious (5.63.4), intelligent man (1.111), well-disposed towards his poetry (1.111; 2.93), with whom he shares his reflections on literary fame (5.10) and other witty remarks (5.21; 7.31.7). Martial's depiction of Regulus is quite positive (1.111; 7.16), which strongly contrasts with other sources, especially with Pliny's portrait: *Ep.* 1.5; 1.20.14; 2.11.22; 2.20; 4.2; 4.7; 6.2; see also Tac. *Hist.* 4.42.

Regulus belonged to a noble family, though one fallen on hard times due to his father's banishment. He soon regained his lost fortune by dubious means. Under Nero, he contrived to get three consulars sentenced to death (Plin. *Ep.* 1.5.3; Tac. *Hist.* 4.42), thus obtaining seven million sesterces and a pontificate. Under Domitian, he took part in important trials, from which he earned large profits. See RE *s. Aquilius* (34) (P. v. Rohden); OCD[3] *s. v.*; Syme, 1979: 254–255. The allusion to Regulus in this epigram stresses his worth as a skilful lawyer, but it subtly implies that he would be willing to defend anything, regardless of its illegality.

licet: for Martial's use of the concessive *licet*, see Lease, 1898a: 30.

7–8. Cf. 1.74.1–2 *Moechus erat: poteras tamen hoc tu, Paula, negare./Ecce vir est: numquid, Paula, negare potes?* The riddle is solved: after his father's death, Gallus is still living with his stepmother, which proves that, when his father was alive, she was Gallus' lover (*moecha*). Apart from incest, Gallus has committed *stuprum* (Treggiari, 1991a: 181) and adultery, betraying his own father (*Dig.* 48.5.39). For adultery in the epigrams, see **4.9** (n.). In epigram 2.4, about an incestuous couple—mother and son—, language cannot conceal the true nature of their relationship. On incest, see also 12.20.2. A similar treatment on a different theme can be found in 1.81.

7. non potes absolvi: an expression suitable for judicial contexts: Cic. *S. Rosc.* 56; *Ver.* 2.2.180; Quint. *Decl.* 287.3; 305.16; [Quint.] *Decl.* 7.12; 9.19.

non desinit esse: according to Watson (1995: 139 n. 3), these words are not to be interpreted literally. In fact, a woman did not

cease to be a stepmother after her husband's death: it was still forbidden for a man to marry his father's widow. *Non desinit esse* means that she has not left their marital home and has not stopped behaving in a very 'familiar' way with him. By putting an end to that relationship, she would have silenced the rumour which had already spread during her husband's life.

17

Paulus wants Martial to write an epigram on Lycisca, exposing her sexual behaviour; Martial apparently refuses to do so, adducing Paulus' ulterior motives: he would thus make Martial incur the prostitute's wrath and would be the only one to enjoy her favours. The poem is based on a *praeteritio*: by jokingly accusing Paulus of malice, Martial, in fact, denounces Lycisca's debased sexual conduct. See **4.12** (n.).

Despite its brevity, the poem explores several recurrent topics in Martial's poetry: the function of the epigrams and their social repercussions, the limits of literary patronage, and the breach between appearance and reality. On the social impact of erotic epigrams, there is a diptych in this same book (see **4.71** and **4.81**). The situation is comparable to **3.87** and **3.97** (see also **3.83**): Chione has been accused of being a *fellatrix*, and the poet humorously expresses his fears that she might take revenge. They are all literary games based on apparently fictitious situations, for Martial claims that he never criticises real people: 5.15.2 *et queritur laesus carmine nemo meo*; 7.12.3–4 *ut mea nec, iuste quos odit, pagina laesit,/et mihi de nullo fama rubore placet*. The addressee is also rebuked: on the one hand, the poet asserts his creative independence, as he does not slavishly have to follow the commands of others; on the other hand, Paulus' hypocritical attitude is exposed, inasmuch as he seemingly wants to denounce sexual depravity, not, however, on moral but on selfish grounds.

This apparently simple epigram is intricately elaborate and has been subject to scholarly debate: both Housman (1931) and Shackleton Bailey (1978) rejected its literal interpretation, that is, Paulus' willingness to get rid of a rival. The former offered a complex explanation based on the use of *irrumare* as an insult: Paulus wanted to ridicule the poet, because trying to make her blush was an impossible task due to her shamelessness. Shackleton Bailey (1978: 277) refutes this reading and explains the epigram by emending the text: he suggests *irrumaberis* instead of *irrumare vis*. According to him, Martial would never present himself as an *irrumator*. This argument, however, is clearly faulty: Martial sometimes does present himself as a

potential *irrumator* (cf. 3.82.33; 3.96.3; **4.50** n.; 9.67.5), for it is *fellatio* and not *irrumatio* that was considered degrading. He further explains *irrumaberis* as follows: 'Paulus craftily hopes to escape exposure by urging the poet to attack his partner, but no: he will be lampooned, Lycisca will go free'. The emendation and its gloss are ingenious but unnecessary, as the poem can be understood without changing the text. Besides, Lycisca, with the connotations of that name, could never escape the poet's attacks. As Richlin (1981) states, it is impossible to detach the meaning of *irrumare* as an insult from its literal sexual sense. Richlin recovers the traditional interpretation, adding a further nuance to Martial's attack against Paulus: *irrumatio* was often related to old age and impotence (**4.50.1** n.). The most recent account of this epigram is the one by Cameron (1983), who revisits the aforementioned interpretations and offers a new one based on the meaning of *malus es*: Paulus evil intentions are twofold, as he is trying to get rid of the poet as a rival and damage Lycisca's reputation. Martial writes an epigram that would expose her deeds and deprive Paulus of his sexual pleasures: 'Lycisca would naturally "flush" to be exposed as a *fellatrix*. But what would really "make her angry" was the discovery that it was Paulus, for his own callous ends, who was the cause of her exposure' (Cameron, 1983: 46).

Further reading: Forberg *De figuris Veneris*, chapter III *De irrumando*; Housman, 1931: 407–410; Shackleton Bailey, 1978: 277; Krenkel, 1980; Richlin, 1981; Adams, 1983; Cameron, 1983.

1. Facere . . . versus: *facere* is frequently used in the sense of 'writing' or 'composing' (OLD *s. v.* 5a). For the expression *versus facere*, see Catul. 22.3; Cic. *Orat.* 152; *Div.* 2.116; Hor. *S.* 1.10.25; 1.10.70; 2.7.117; *Ep.* 2.2.52; Ov. *Tr.* 1.11.7; Petr. 93.3; Sal. *Cat.* 25.5. In the epigrams it denotes carelessness and poetic incompetence (5.56.7; 8.20.1): Paulus is not interested in the quality of the result, but in the effects of the attack.

Lyciscam: derived from the Greek λύκος (cf. Lat. *lupa*), the name suggests that its bearer is a prostitute (see Giegengack, 1969: 91). This was the *nom de guerre* adopted by Messalina: Juv. 6.122 *nuda papillis/prostitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae*. The name was not exclusive to prostitutes (see Ferguson, 1987: 142): it is attested in CIL VI 28228; Verg. *Ecl.* 3.18; Hyg. *Fab.* 191.3; Ov. *Met.* 3.220 *Lycisce*; and as a male name in Hor. *Epod.* 11.24 (Watson, 2003: 379–380). For

the formation of proper names by means of the suffix -ίσκος, see Locker, 1934: 48–56.

Paule: in his *index nominum* Shackleton Bailey (1993 vol. III: 374) singles out at least three characters with this name: in 7.72 Paulus is a lawyer, probably identifiable with the witty Paulus of 5.28.6. In the rest of the epigrams, mostly satirical, Paulus is a fictitious character, generally portrayed as a mean patron. Galán (*ad* 7.72) suggests that the Paulus of 5.22, 8.33, 9.85, and 10.10 could be the same as the one in 7.72. Nevertheless, this *cognomen* was very widespread and the protagonist of this epigram need not be a real character (see Kajanto, 1982: 243). Jones (1981) suggests that Paulus in epigram 8.33 and 10.10 is a real character, whom he tries to identify.

It is quite interesting that in other passages Paulus is unable to compose poetry (2.20), or that he claims to be a connoisseur (12.69), even if his works of art seem to be as fake as his friends. If Martial is thinking of the same (fictitious) character, his portrait is quite consistent. It is noteworthy that in this poem he asks Martial to write an epigram, although he is not interested in poetry at all.

iubes: an appropriate verb for a patron (2.55.2; 3.36.2; 8.14.7; 9.100.2; 10.56.1; 12.60.14). In the context of literary patronage, it is used in 2.6.1, 17; 11.42.3.

versus: a poem (see Forcellini *s. v.* 6; cf. e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.52; Verg. *Ecl.* 5.2).

2. quibus illa lectis: 3.97.1 *Ne legat hunc Chione, mando tibi, Rufe, libellum*; **4.81.1** *Epigramma nostrum cum Fabulla legisset.*

rubeat: out of shame and anger (see André, 1949: 77; cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1.51; Prop. 3.14.20; Sen. *Ep.* 11.3). Martial often relates *rubor* with shame, especially as the result of reading an epigram: 6.60.3 *Ecce rubet quidam, pallet, stupet, oscitat, odit*; 7.12.4 *Et mihi de nullo fama rubore placet.* It is also referred to in erotic contexts: 9.67.5 *Improbius quiddam ridensque rubensque rogavi.*

et sit irata: this suggests that *rubeat* may refer exclusively to shame.

3. irrumare: see Adams, 1982: 125–130; Richlin, 1981; Fortuny, 1986: 88–89. It is first used as an obscene term by Catullus (16.1; 16.14; 21.13; 28.10; 37.8; 74.5), along with *irrumator* (10.12) and *irrumatio* (21.8); it also appears in the *Priapea* (35.2; 35.5; 44.4; 56.6; 70.13) and in Martial's epigrams: 2.47.4; 2.70.3; 2.83.5; **4.50.2** (n.).

See also CIL IV 8790; 100030; 10197; 10232 (cf. IV 1931; 1529). *Irrumare* and *fellare* denote the same act from different points of view: to the Roman mind, *irrumatio*, regarded as an active sexual practice, was not frowned upon as fellatio was (see **4.12** with bibliography).

solus: without a rival, as in 11.40.2.

18

Martial laments the death of a child, killed by a falling icicle while walking under a porch. Accidental deaths are very frequently described in Greek funerary epigrams (especially in book IX of the *Palatine Anthology*; see e.g. 9.56), and are the theme of other epigrams by Martial (2.75; 3.19; 4.63; 11.41). Watson-Watson (2003: 329–330) explore the links of the poem with similar Greek epigrams, mainly fictional, but consider the possibility that Martial is writing about a real-life event. It should be remembered that the book opened with a reference to extremely cold weather (**4.2**; **4.3**). Seneca, when cataloguing unusual forms of death (*Nat.* 6.2.5), mentions *stillicidium*, the fall of an icicle: *Quam stultum est mare horrere, cum scias stillicidio perire te posse!*

Death has a prominent place in book IV: she will approach anyone unexpectedly (**4.63**; **4.54**), even when the circumstances are most favourable (**4.60**). Death is symbolically reflected upon in epigrams **4.32**, **4.44**, and **4.59**. Death and winter were also linked in epigram **4.3**, in which Domitian's dead son played with snow.

Structurally, the poem begins in a somewhat sensationalist way, with a delay in the presentation of the fatal weapon (line 4); the poem is pervaded with the sentimental mood and the pathetic tone of epitaphs.

Further reading: Szelest, 1976; Greenwood, 1998; Watson-Watson, 2003: 329–332; Lorenz, 2004: 268; Moreno Soldevila, 2004c.

1–2. The exact location of this *porta* is subject to discussion, although it is undoubtedly an arch under an aqueduct: taking into account the expression *Vipsanis columnis*, Ker and Shackleton Bailey identify it with the *Porticus Vipsania* in the *Campus Agrippae*, erected by Vipsania Polla (PIR[1] V 464), Agrippa's sister. Coarelli (LTVR vol. V *s. v.*, 151–153) argues that the *Porticus Vipsania* was attached to the *Aqua Virgo* and suggests the possible identification with a portico of Corinthian pillars discovered in 1885. Prior (1996: 127) points out that in the southeast of the *Campus Agrippae* the *Aqua Virgo* passed over the Arch of Claudius, to which the poet might be referring by means of the

term *porta*: the *Porticus Vipsania* would stretch to the east, not far from this arch (cf. *vicina*). This is the opinion of Peter Howell, who has widely studied triumphal arches (personal communication): this arch, celebrating his victories in Britannia, was probably the place where the *Aqua Virgo* crossed the *via Lata*.

Less persuasive hypotheses are those of Castagnoli (1950: 72), who denies the identification with the Arch of Claudius, and Richardson (1992), who argues that Martial might be referring to the *Porta Quirinalis* or the *Porta Salutaris*, both in the Servian Walls. Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*) tentatively adhere to this idea.

1. Cf. 3.47.1 *Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta*. For *Vipsanis* instead of *Vipsaniis*, see Citroni *ad* 1.108.3 *at mea Vipsanas spectant cenacula laurus*. *Pluit* refers to the dripping of an aqueduct, as in 3.47.1. Noteworthy is the sound effect produced by the repetition of /k/, /u/ and /p/, which seems to evoke the sound of dripping water: *qua **v**i**c**ina **p**l**u**it **V**i**p**sanis **p**orta **c**ol**u**mnis.*

2. The dampness of the place is stressed by *madet, lubricus, imbre*. The various evocations of these words, together with the term *lapis*, anticipate a mournful situation.

madet: evokes a symbolic mourning context, in that it usually applies to something soaked with tears: 10.14.8 *madet . . . lacrimis*; cf. Catul. 68b.56 *tristique imbre madere genae*; Tib. 1.8.54 (cf. 2.6.32); Ov. *Am.* 3.6.57; *Ep.* 5.72; 12.190; *Ars* 1.660; *Met.* 11.418; 14.708 *madidas lacrimarum rore; Tr.* 3.5.12; 5.4.6; *Ib.* 100; Stat. *Theb.* 11.417. Noticeable are the Catullan (*vid. supra*) and Ovidian echoes in *madet . . . imbre*: Ov. *Ep.* 18.104; *Ars* 3.224; *Pont.* 4.1.30.

adsiduo . . . imbre: the place is always damp. The expression *adsiduus imber* is relatively common (cf. Lucr. 5.341; Caes. *Gal.* 7.24; Cic. *Att.* 13.16.1; Sen. *Nat.* 3.28.2; Plin. *Ep.* 8.17.5; Stat. *Ach.* 2.144). *Imber* sometimes refers to water in general, not necessarily rainwater (TLL *s. v.* 423.1–18 [Ehlers]: Verg. *G.* 4.115; Ov. *Ars* 3.224). When Martial asks the Emperor for running water from the *Aqua Marcia*, he uses the term *imber*: 9.18.8 *Castalis haec nobis aut Iovis imber erit.*

Rain is also a widespread metaphor for crying (TLL *s. imber* 423.19–29): Catul. 68b.56 (*supra*); Ov. *Am.* 3.6.68; *Ars* 1.532; *Tr.* 1.3.18; 3.2.19; 4.1.98; Stat. *Theb.* 5.270; *Silv.* 5.1.31–32 *gravibusque oculis uxorius instat/imber*; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 10.138 *tunicas lacrimis sicut ab imbre gravis*.

lubricus: the adjective refers to the wet and slippery stone (TLL *s. v.* 1686.41–66 [Heus]; cf. Prop. 4.4.49). Apart from this literal meaning, the poetic echoes of the term already evoke a gruesome death: Curt. 4.6.25 *lubricis armis . . . sanguine*; Stat. *Theb.* 7.765–766 *lubrica tabo/frena*; 9.73–74 *lubrica tabo/. . . lacrimis*; 10.846; 12.283–284; Sil. 10.461–462 *lubrica . . . cruore*; 14.433 *per lubrica sanguine transtra*; 17.468 *lubrica qua tellus lapsantis sanguine fratris*.

lapis: although strictly referring to the stones forming the arch, it also suggests a tombstone, especially in association with the tear images discussed above: cf. 10.61.6 *flebilis . . . lapis* (see TLL *s. v.* 950.55–73 [Lumpe]).

3. in iugulum pueri: isolated before the caesura, this expression has a shocking effect, inasmuch as it alludes to a violent death. It has epic undertones, already present in *lubricus* (see above): TLL *s. iugulum* 637.69–638.27 [Teßmer]): cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 10.414–415; 10.907; 12.358; Hor. *S.* 2.3.136; Ov. *Met.* 1.227. Post (*ad loc.*) explains: 'The boy apparently kept looking up at the icicles as he approached, thus exposing his throat'. However, this does not necessarily mean that the icicle literally pierced his throat.

roscida: dew is another poetic metaphor for tears, especially in funerary compositions: 1.88.6 *Quaeque virent lacrimis roscida prata meis*; cf. Lucr. 2.977; 3.469; Ov. *Ep.* 15.97; *Met.* 13.622.

tecta subibat: cf. 2.53.8; 6.47.2.

4. The icicle, the technical Latin term for which is *stiria*, is described in a roundabout way. This pleonastic quality is similar to poem **4.3**, with three periphrastic expressions alluding to snow (1 *tacitarum vellus aquarum*; 4 *concretas . . . aquas*; 7 *siccis . . . aquis*).

hiberno . . . gelu: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 34.124 *e lateribus destillantes hiberno gelu stirias stalagmian vocant.* Notice the oxymoron in *gelu* and *unda*, the former suggesting solidity and rigidity, the latter liquidness and movement. Yet *gelu* may be simply taken as *frigus, algor* (TLL *s. v.* 1732.47–1733.45 [Geissler]). In this same book, *gelu* is further associated with death: **4.59.4** (n.).

praegravis: this is more frequent in prose (Liv. 44.4.10; Curt. 3.3.27; 4.11.8; 8.10.32; 8.14.19; 9.10.26; Mela 3.98; Cels. 6.6.29; Plin. *Nat.* 7.46; 7.148; 8.77; 9.186; 10.103; Plin. *Pan.* 57.4; Tac. *Hist.* 1.21; 2.21; *Ann.* 4.71; 11.19; 14.3; 16.1) than in poetry: Ov. *Ep.* 9.98; Mart. 5.51.1.

unda gelu: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.196.

5–6. Death is visualised as a process, symbolically conveyed by the transformation of ice into water: cf. 4.59.3–4 (with a solidification process). In both poems, death is caused by a stunning natural element.

5. peregisset miseri crudelia fata: every single word contributes to the pathetic tone of this line.

peregisset: frequent when talking about death and its inexorable nature (TLL *s. v.* 1179.39–57 [Peri]): Sen. *Herc. O.* 769–770 *Clotho manu proiecit et fata Herculis/timet peragere*; Sil. 4.164 *letum peragit*; 9.321 *nec morte peracta*; 13.685–686 *peracta est/illa suprema dies*; cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 1472 *peractum est, fata se nostra explicant*; cf. CLE 172.4 FATIS PERACTIS; 394.1 PERACTO TEMPORE VITAE; 493.8 DVRA PEREGISTIS CRVDELIA PENSA SORORES.

miseri: a common epithet in relation to the topos of *mors inmatura*, applied to surviving parents and deceased children: CLE 1148.1; 1156.1; 2130.2.

crudelia fata: cf. Verg. *G.* 4.495; *A.* 1.221; *Ciris* 199 *crudeli fatorum lege*; Ov. *Met.* 9.359; Sen. *Dial.* 12.15.3. The expression is frequent in sepulchral inscriptions, especially when related to the topos of *mors inmatura*: CLE 1169.3; 1171.7; 1279.5; 1484.1; 1537a.5; cf. 995b.1; 1204.1; 1549.1.

6. tabuit: the verb refers to ice melting (Andr. *Trag.* 17; Lucr. 6.964; Pl. *St.* 648; Cic. *N. D.* 2.26; Sen. *Med.* 590) and alliterates with *tener*.

calido vulnere: *calidus* refers to recent wounds (Curt. 4.15.17), especially those inflicted by weapons (Ov. *Met.* 5.137 *torquet in hunc hastam calido de vulnere raptam*; 12.119 *extrahit illud idem calido de vulnere telum*). In poetry, it is also transferred to the weapons themselves: Verg. *A.* 10.486 *rapit calidum . . . de vulnere telum*; Ov. *Met.* 8.443–4; Luc. 4.511; Sil. 4.182 *tepido . . . telo*. In this poem, the warm wound literally melts the weapon, which adds a further gory and pathetic note.

mucro tener: the icicle is compared with a sword. *Mucro* is frequently used instead of *gladius* or *ferrum* (TLL *s. v.* 1156.34–54 [van der Hout-B.]), but this metaphoric use for icicle seems to be original. Notice the oxymoron in *mucro* and *tener*, which stresses the paradox of dying stabbed by water (cf. line 8).

7. Cf. Prop. 1.6.25 *quem semper voluit Fortuna iacere.*

quid . . . licere?: lamentation for premature death (*mors inmatura*, see Esteve-Forriol, 1962: 138–140) often comes in the shape of an indignant reproach against its agents, especially the Fates, or, as in this case, Fortune (see Lattimore 1962: 183). This line is similar to **4.44.8** *Nec superi vellent hoc licuisse sibi.*

saeva . . . Fortuna: CLE 980.2–3 IMMATVRA IACENT OSSA RELATA MEA. SAEVA PARENTIBVS ERIPVIT M[EIS] ME. See Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*) and cf. Sen. *Oed.* 786. In similar contexts Fortune is said to be cruel and pitiless: *Ciris* 313–314 *tene etiam fortuna mihi crudelis ademit,/tene, o sola meae vivendi causa senectae?*; Calp. *Decl.* 44 *fortuna crudelis! abstulisti mihi filium: relinque vel filiam*; Petr. 114.8 *sed non crudelis fortuna concedit*; CLE 404.3–4 FELIX, SI LONGIOR AETAS/MANSISSET, QUAM DVRA SIBI FORTUNA NEGAVIT.

8. aut ubi mors non est: Sen. *Phoen.* 151 *ubique mors est*; *Ep.* 49.11 *Non ubique se mors tam prope ostendit: ubique tam prope est*; 30.16 *quod tunc trepidamus cum prope a nobis esse credimus mortem: a quo enim non prope est, parata omnibus locis omnibusque momentis?*; cf. Mart. **4.60.5–6** (n.); Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.13–14 *quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis/cautum est in horas* (Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.*).

si iugulatis, aquae: *iugulare* strictly means 'to slit a throat' (*iugulum*) with a sharp object (TLL *s. v.* 6434.83–635.54 Tessmer). Paradoxically, water, in its solid state, is the personified killer. Waters, the symbol of life, can also be the agent of death (**4.60.4**; **4.63.4**; 6.68.3).

For this remarkable address to water, see Greenwood, 1998, and compare with **4.22.8** and **4.63.4**, as well as *Sp.* 25b.4; 14.181.

19

This poem purportedly accompanies the gift of a garment, an *endromis*, which was a kind of sweater useful after exercise. References to bad weather make it clear that the gift is sent at the Saturnalia, celebrated around 17th December. Structurally, this epigram displays some of the features characteristic of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, especially the description of the object in a witty, humorous way. Yet it differs from them, mainly in its length.

1–4. The garment is presented in a riddle-like way: its name is put off in order to increase suspense.

5–8. It is a humble gift, but one very suitable for after exercise: the poet catalogues a series of games and sports, not without a certain touch of irony.

9–12. Martial rounds off his poem by exaggerating the qualities of his gift: further references to meteorological conditions complete a circular structure, with subtle, albeit perceivable, symbolic undertones.

Winter links this poem with the preceding one (**4.18**), as well as with **4.2** and **4.3** (*vid. infra* 11 n.). It may also be related to **4.14**, also accompanying a present, and **4.46** and **4.88**, on the Saturnalia.

Further reading: on the games described in this poem, see McDaniel, 1906; Gardiner, 1930: 230–238; Delande, 1940: 409–410; Balsdon, 1969: 160–168; Harris, 1972: 44–111; Lafaye, D.-S., *s. pila*; on the features of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, also present in this poem, see Barbieri, 1953; Hofmann, 1956–7: 467; Muñoz Jiménez, 1996.

1–4. Hanc tibi . . . mittimus endromida: cf. 14.126.2 *Hanc tibi pro laena mittimus endromida*. Notice the split between the determiner and the noun, typical of epigrams accompanying a gift (cf. e.g. 13.101; 13.104). The distance is far longer in this poem, thus verging on comicity and even parody. For the use of the demonstrative in this kind of epigram, see Siedschlag, 1977: 6.

These lines have a riddle-like quality, as they provide paradoxical clues to the object described.

1. Hanc tibi: the juxtaposition of these two elements is characteristic of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*: e.g. 13.16.1 *Haec tibi brumali gaudentia frigore rapa/quae damus*; cf. 13.28.1; 13.31.2; 13.101; 13.104; 13.106; 14.106.1; 14.114.1; 14.126; 14.127.1; 14.150.1. The addressee is anonymous, as is usually the case in books XIII and XIV (see Socas, 2004: 236–237).

Sequanicae . . . textricis: the gentilic adjective *Sequanicus* (relating to the river Seine or to the tribe of the *Sequani*) is not very frequent, *Sequanus* being the most usual form (*vid.* Stephani, 1889: 61). The *Sequani* were a tribe living in the east of Gaul. Gallic woollen garments were very famous for their thickness, which made them especially useful in winter (see Kroll *s. lana* RE XXII (1924), 612–614, and Plin. *Nat.* 8.191).

pinguem . . . alumnam: *pinguis* alludes to the thickness of textiles: 14.143.2 *pingues tunicas*; Juv. 9.28 *pingues . . . lacernas*; Suet. *Aug.* 82.1 *pingui toga* (*vid.* Forcellini *s. v.* 20 *pingui toga, crasso filo contexta et densa*). It is usually applied to Gallic clothes (*vid. supra*): Enn. *Ann.* 508; Hor. *Carm.* 3.16.35–36 *pinguia . . . vellera*; Mart. 6.11.7 *me pinguis Gallia vestit* (Grewing).

Pinguem alumnam is a witty wordplay: *alumna* alludes to children's upbringing, and *pinguis* can refer to robustness (Ov. *Pont.* 1.4.51; Mart. 8.55.17 *pinguis Galatea*; Juv. 8.147), although it may carry pejorative undertones (cf. Verg. *Cat.* 9.64). The personified image *pinguem alumnam* then has a double meaning: it refers to a useful, albeit not very elegant, piece of clothing: cf. 3 *sordida sed gelido non aspernanda Decembri.* The use of *alumna* for inanimate objects is very rare and poetic (TLL *s. v.* 1798.11–17 [Otto]) and usually appears with a place expression (TLL *s. v.* 1798.17–28; see also TLL *s. v.* 1797.55–62; 1797.62–66).

2. quae Lacedaemonium barbara nomen habet: juxtaposed *Lacedaemonium* and *barbara* are opposite terms: the object, despite being Gallic, has a Greek name. Many *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* are also based on the arbitrariness of language: cf. 14.101; 14.121. *Barbarus* is aptly applied to anything which is not Roman or Greek (TLL *s. v.* 1735.69–1738.63 [Mürsher]); it also carries negative connotations (OLD *s. v.* 2b): cf. 3 *sordida.*

Lacedaemonium . . . nomen: *Lacedaemonium* is opposed to *barbara* and *Cecropius*, this being more closely related to artistic intelligence.

Lacedaemonius, i.e. Spartan, is further used in the context of Greek gymnastics: 11.47.5 *Lacedaemonio . . . ceromate corpus*; cf. 4.55.7 *Ledaeas Lacedaemonos palaestras*.

3–4. sordida . . . dona: *sordidus* means unsophisticated (cf. *pinguem*; *barbara*; 1.55.4: 10.96.4 *sordida rura*) and inexpensive: cf. 14.126.1 *pauperis est munus*. Martial uses similar belittling expressions for other humble gifts: **4.10.3** *leve munus*; **4.88.1** *parvo pro munere*; 7.49.1; 7.80.5 *parva . . . munuscula*; 9.54; cf. *A. P.* 6.227.5; 6.229.5 by Crinagoras. The accomplishment lies in writing such an ingenious poem on a down-to-earth item.

3. sed: despite being cheap, it is a handy present: cf. 14.126.1 *sed non est pauperis usus*. Humble gifts are usually the most valuable: cf. 5.59; 7.84.5.

gelido non aspernanda Decembri: cf. 5.30.5–6 *sed lege fumoso non aspernanda Decembri/carmina*; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.11.3. December is the time of the Saturnalia (cf. 4.14.7; 7.72.1 *gratus . . . December*); the gift is doubly apt, as this is a cold month: 10.87.7 *gelidi . . . Decembris*; 7.36.5; 7.95.1 *horridus . . . December*; 7.37.6 *December atrox*; cf. 1.49.19 *December canus*.

4. peregrinam: 'foreign' (TLL *s. v.* 1309.46–73 [Schwind]), sometimes used with pejorative undertones (cf. Juv. 6.298). It is usually applied to inanimate objects (TLL *s. v.* 1310.52–1311.7; cf. **4.66.8**).

mittimus: see **4.14.4** (n.), on the use of *mittere* with presents. The verb is most appropriate for imported goods: TLL *s. v.* 1186.48–52; 53–72; 73–81; 1186.82–1187.5 (Fleischer).

endromida: a warm robe, worn after physical exercise (see Paoli, 1963: 103). The term (Stephani, 1889: 19) is used again by Martial (14.126; see Leary *ad loc.*) and twice by Juvenal (3.103; 6.246; see Colton, 1971: 55–56; 1976a: 13). According to Leary (1996: 191), the adjective *Lacedaemonium* and its rare occurrence 'might suggest that the word had not been long in use in Latin'. In addition, it was not fixed morphologically: Martial uses the Greek declension (*endromis, endromidos*), and Juvenal the Latin (*endromis, endromidis*). It is also recorded by Tertullian (*Pall.* 4 p. 937) and Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 2.2.2 *endromidatus*).

In Greek it had a different meaning: it could originally have derived from the verb ἐνδρομέω, thus being connected with athletics. It denotes

a kind of shoe (RE *s. v.* [Blummer]; TLL *s. v.*), although it can also refer to a kind of robe (Herod. *Med.ap.Orib.* 10.37.5, 38.1), but not in the sense in which Martial and Juvenal use it (TLL *s. v.* 561.30–55 [K.-M.]).

This is the first of a series of Hellenisms (cf. *Lacedaemonium nomen*): *ceroma, trigona, harpasta, sindone*. It must be borne in mind that, according to Adamik (1975: 175), 'the greater part of Greek words occurs in satirical epigrams, with the intention of satirizing extreme luxury, avarice, immorality and effeminacy' (*vid. infra*).

5–8. Having described it as an ordinary present, the poet now has to focus on its advantages. Lines 5–8 catalogue the exercises after which it might be worn: wrestling, ball games, races. Each is described in a humorous, almost ironic, way: *cumulatio*, ellipsis, parody, word-play (*harpasta . . . rapis; plumea pondera*), or the selection of adjectives contribute to the creation of a snide tone. In fact, traditional Roman morality always disapproved of athletics and gymnastics: Cic. *Rep.* 4.4; *Tusc.* 4.70; Tac. *Ann.* 14.20; Sen. *Ep.* 88.18–19; *Dial.* 10.12.2; Luc. 7.270–272; Plin. *Nat.* 15.19. They were frowned upon as immoral foreign fads: Plin. *Ep.* 10.40 *Gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi*; Juv. 3.115. In spite of criticism, the Romans often played these sports in their leisure time (Crowther, 1980–81: 123).

5. lentum ceroma: cf. 4.4.10 n.; Reinmuth, 1967; Colton, 1983: 256; Courtney *ad* Juv. 6.246. According to Reinmuth, *ceroma* refers to the wrestling ring, which was covered in mud, the term having a satirical intention: 'What Juvenal and Martial are ridiculing is the fad introduced by the Greeks, of exercising in a mud bath in imitation of athletes, for its putative value in physical culture by the would-be sophisticates among the Romans, who are in this, as in so much else, aping the effete Greeks' (p. 195). It was previously thought to refer to the oil with which the athletes anointed themselves before wrestling. The expression *lentum ceroma* also appears in 7.32.9 *nec in lento ceromate bracchia tendis* (*vid.* Galán *ad loc.*). *Lentum* (TLL *s. v.* 1162.71–1163.8) refers to viscosity or muddiness: cf. 11.47.5 *luteum ceromate corpus*; 14.50.1 *Ne lutet inmundum nitidos ceroma capillos.*

teris: to smooth or wear down by means of frequent use (OLD *s. v.* 4a): 2.11.2; 2.29.1; 8.3.4 (cf. 11.3.4); 9.22.7; 10.10.2 (cf. 12.29.1). Taking into account its primary meaning, 'to rub' (OLD *s. v.* 1), it could be argued that *ceroma* alludes to some kind of ointment, but

notice that *tepidum trigona* (*infra*) is also the object of *teris*. It has generally been interpreted that *tepidum . . . trigona* is the object of *rapis* (e.g. Shackleton Baily 'or catch the warm trigon'), but the sequence *seu -ve* (see Hofmann-Szantyr: 670–671) makes it clear that the objects of *teris* are both *ceroma* and *trigon*: cf. 2.44.1–2. The meaning of *teris* is by no means incompatible with that of *trigon*: 'to handle (an article) constantly (so as to wear it out)'; OLD *s. v.* 5a; cf. Mart. 8.3.4; 9.22.7; 11.11.3. The idea is that the addressee of the poem plays these games very often.

tepidum . . . trigona: see Radke, RE VII A1 *s. v.*; McDaniel, 1906: 124–131; Gardiner, 1930: 231; Balsdon, 1969: 165; Galán (*ad* 7.72.9); Leary (*ad* 14.46). *Trigon* was a ball game which required three players (cf. Isid. *Orig.* 18.69.2 *trigonaria est quia inter tres luditur*), forming a triangle. Each player would throw the ball to one of the others at random, trying to delude them. The players should then be prepared to catch the ball with either hand (12.82.3 *captabit tepidum dextra laevaque trigonem*; 14.46; Leary *ad loc.*), not letting it fall on the ground (Sen. *Ben.* 2.17.3; Petr. 27.3–4). See also Hor. *S.* 1.6.126 *fugio campum lusumque trigonem*; Lucil. 1134. The adjective *tepidum* is transferred to objects heated by contact with the human body: Petr. 132.15.6 *tepido . . . toro*; Mart. 12.82.3 *tepidum . . . trigonem*. The *pila trigonalis* was small and hard (*vid.* Leary *ad* 14.46), so *tepidum* may also describe the warmth in the hand caused by the impact.

6. harpasta . . . pulverulenta rapis: RE VII2 (1912) *s. v.* (Schneider); Stephani, 1889: 21; Marindin, 1890: 145–149; Gardiner, 1930: 232–3; Moore, 1932; Balsdon, 1969: 164; Leary, 1996: 103–104 (*ad* 14.48); cf. 7.32.10 (Galán *ad loc.*); 7.67.4. *Harpastum* refers both to a game and to the ball used in it: it is a Greek loanword, derived from ἁρπάζω (= *rapio*). The air-filled ball was small, and the game quick (cf. 7.32.10 *vagus*; 14.48.1 *velox*) and seemingly exhausting (cf. Athen. *Deipn.* 1.26). Drawing on Athenaeus, Gardiner tried to reconstruct the rules of *harpastum*: several players tried to pass the ball to one another, without letting the player in the middle intercept it. Epictetus (25.15) and Galenus (*Parv.pil.*) also describe this game, φαινίνδα in Greek. See also *Dig.* 9.2.52.4, and Sidon. *Ep.* 2.2; 2.9, probably referring to it. For the etymological wordplay *harpasta-rapis* (ἁρπάζειν), see Grewing, 1998: 345.

pulverulenta: 7.32.10 (Galán *ad loc.*); 7.67.5 *flavescit*; 14.48.1 *in pulvere*. Marindin (1890: 147) explains that, contrary to the rules of *trigon*, the *harpastum* could touch the ground at least once.

7. partiris: *scil. iaciens in alios ludentes* (TLL *s. v.* 523.59–60 [van Leijenhorst]). The alliteration of /p/ seems to suggest the noise resulting from slapping the ball.

plumea . . . laxi . . . pondera follis: TLL *s. follis* 1017.3–8 (Vollmer); Mau, *RE* VI2 (1909) *s. v.* 2; Leary *ad* 14.47. The *follis* was a big, light ball, probably the largest one (7.32.7; Galán *ad loc.*; 12.82.5 *laxum*; 14.45.2), suitable for children and the elderly alike: 14.47 {*Follis*}: *Ite procul, iuvenes: mitis mihi convenit aetas:/folle decet pueros ludere, folle senes*. It might be similar to the *folliculum* (Suet. *Aug.* 83.1 *ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit*; Athen. *Deipn.* 1.25.16), probably differing in size (*vid.* Lafaye). Mau thinks the *follis* was filled with feathers, but *plumbea pondera* may simply refer to its light weight. In fact, *plumeus* can allude to the material used (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.46 *culcita plumea*; Var. *Men.* 1271.29; Apul. *Met.* 10.34 *lectus . . . plumea congerie tumidus*), but it could also be used in a figurative sense (Forcellini, *s. v.* 2 *translate: levia, nam follis erat vento repletus*; cf. Arnob. 2.p.84 *nives plumeae*; Pl. *Men.* 488 *levior quam pluma; Poen.* 812 *levior pluma*). Leary (*loc. cit.*) asserts that, unlike the *pila paganica* (14.45), filled with feathers, the *follis* was filled with air. There might even be an incongruous matching between *partiris* and *plumea pondera*, and wordplay with *plumbea* (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.2.42 *ponderibus plumbeis*; Prop. 4.3.65), by no means foreign to the prevailing satirical tone. For a similar wordplay, cf. Apul. *Apol.* 58 *cur illae plumae quasi plumbeae tam diu adventum Crassi manserunt?*

8. levem . . . Athan: an unknown runner, only mentioned here (for the name, see Solin, 1982: 954). The name evokes *athleta* and *athlum*. *Levis* denotes speed: TLL *s. v.* 1203.56–1204.24 (Koster).

cursu vincere: cf. Verg. *Catal.* 9.26; Ov. *Met.* 8.311; 10.570; *Tr.* 1.10.5; Sen. *Apoc.* 12.3.9–10.

9–12. These final couplets have a subtly ironic tone, based on hyperbole and parody: much of their vocabulary is taken from heroic and epic language (*penetrabile, gravis, premat, tectus*). Nonetheless, other

symbolic interpretations may be put forward, mainly veiled political warnings and the rejection of wealth and power. Bad weather links this poem with **4.2**, a symbolic warning against political dissent; the expression *gravis Iris* is reminiscent of epigram **4.11**, roughly on the same topic; moreover, purple is the ubiquitous symbol of power: Martial seems to suggest that a careless life is far less dangerous than involvement in politics.

On the other hand, the lexical echoes of the previous composition (**4.18**) are conspicuous, despite the fact that they differ radically in tone and subject-matter: *gelido . . . Decembri* (4.19.3) evokes *hiberno gelu* (4.18.4); *penetrabile frigus* (4.19.9) is reminiscent of *mucro tener* (4.18.6); *madidos* echoes *madet* (4.18.2) and *imbris* (4.19.11), *imbre* (4.18.2); line 4.19.10 *neve* ***gravis*** *subita te premat Iris* ***aqua*** resembles 4.18.4 *decidit hiberno* ***praegravis unda*** *gelu*; *aqua* appears in 4.18.8 *aquae*; and even *tectus* (4.19.11) echoes 4.18.3 *tecta. Tutus eris* acquires a different sense by comparison with 4.18.8. Finally, they share the same metre and they both present winter as dangerous. See Moreno Soldevila, 2004c.

9. madidos . . . artus: *madidos* means both 'covered with sweat' (OLD *s. v.* 2b, e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 6.849 *tum madidos artus alterno pulvere siccant*) or 'anointed', just like *nitidus* (OLD *s. v.* 2d, cf. 14.50, Leary *ad loc.*; 4.8.5 *nitidis . . . palaestris*). In any case, the irony is subtle.

penetrabile frigus: cf. Verg. *G.* 1.93 *Boreae penetrabile frigus*; Lucr. 1.494 *penetraleque frigus*; [Quint.] *Decl.* 13.5 *brumae glacialis penetrabilis . . . rigor* (TLL *s. v.* 1058.62–1059.4 [Wirth]). In epic language this adjective is applied to weapons (TLL *s. v.* 1059.4–11): Verg. *A.* 10.481 *penetrabile telum*; Ov. *Met.* 5.67; Sil. 7.649 *penetrabilis . . . harundo*; 12.240 *penetrabile telum.*

10. gravis . . . Iris: Shackleton-Bailey translates 'pregnant Iris', as she was 'the goddess of the rainbow, which was believed to absorb moisture and return it as rain'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.271 *concipit Iris aquas alimentaque nubibus adfert*; Stat. *Theb.* 10.135–6 *gravior . . . Iris. Gravis* would then be a synonym for *gravida* (TLL *s. gravis* 2276.73–2277.5).

Gravis is applied to heavy rain and storms (Lucr. 6.290 *gravis imber*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.300 *docta graves imbres et tolerare Notos*; 2.494 *gravis effusis decidit imber aquis; Tr.* 5.5.17 *gravi . . . procella*), as well as to menacing clouds: Liv. 28.15.11 *graves imbre nubes.* In keeping with the military connotations of *penetrabile* and *premat*, *gravis* may also mean well-equipped (Liv. 26.17.7; 31.39.2; Curt. 3.7.1; 8.12.1; Tac. *Hist.* 2.87).

subita . . . aqua: cf. **4.2.5** *repente*; 14.130.2 *subitas . . . aquas*; Ov. *Fast.* 5.324; Mart. 12.29.10 *subitus . . . imber*; 7.36.3 *subitos . . . nimbos.*

premat: cf. *Sp.* 25b.2 *fessus tumidis iam premeretur aquis*; Ov. *Met.* 1.290 *pressaeque latent sub gurgite turres; Pont.* 4.1.30 *aequoreo madidas quae premit imbre comas.* This is clearly a hyperbole in line with the ongoing parody of military language: cf. Verg. *A.* 2.530; 8.474.

11. Ridebis ventos . . . et imbres: cf. **4.3.4** *concretas pigro frigore ridet aquas*; 10.30.20 *ridet procellas tuta de suo mensa*; 13.57.1. In epigram 4.3 harsh weather conditions stand for political and military adversity. Bad weather (*ventus, procella, tempestas*) is a common metaphor for political turmoil (Cic. *Pis.* 21; *De orat.* 1.2; *Sul.* 40; *Att.* 10.4.5). Under the autocratic power of an Emperor portrayed as Jupiter (cf. 4.1; 4.3; 4.8), any such reference to weather acquires a symbolic dimension.

12. Tyria sindone: 'a purple gown'. The contrast between Gallic wool and Tyrian purple, as symbols of poverty and wealth, appears also in 6.11.7: *Te Cadmea Tyros, me pinguis Gallia vestit* (Grewing *ad loc.*). For the adjective *Tyrius*, see **4.28.2** (n.) and cf. 8.48.1 *Tyriam . . . abollam*; 9.22.13 *Tyrias . . . lacernas*; 8.10.1–2; 14.133.2; 156 *lanae Tyriae.* Purple traditionally stands for (royal) power (Cic. *Scaur.* 45h *purpura regalis*; Verg. *G.* 2.495 *purpura regum*) and wealth, but riches do not guarantee security (*tutus*): Sen. *Her. O.* 646–7 *aurea rumpunt texta quietem/vigilesque trahit purpura noctes.*

See Martial 12.74 and 5.59 for the inappropriateness of sending expensive presents.

sindone: (Gr. σινδών) see Stephani, 1889: 20; Colton (1977: 9): 'tunic made of linen or muslin'. Ausonius borrows the term from Martial (*Ephemeris* 2.2).

tutus eris: the end of the pentameter is purely Ovidian: *Ars* 1.752 *Quos credis fidos, effuge, tutus eris*; 2.58 *Sit tua cura sequi; me duce tutus eris*; *Rem.* 144 *Cedit amor rebus: res age, tutus eris*; 650 *lente desine, tutus eris*; *Fast.* 3.432 *'quilibet huc' inquit 'confuge; tutus eris'; Tr.* 1.1.38 *quaesito tempore tutus eris.*

tutus β: **cultus** γ: see Gilbert, 1883: 19. *Cultus* is the *lectio facilior.*

20

Two opposite female types are mocked in this poem: the girl who wants to look older and the old woman who wants to look younger. The poem is carefully structured by means of parallelism (*dicit se . . . cum sit/se dicit . . . cum sit*), repetition (*possis . . . possis; altera . . . altera*) and chiasmus (*vetulam . . . pupa/pupam . . . anus; nec hanc possis, possis . . . nec illam*). Humour is achieved mainly by sound effects, such as rhyme (*Gellia/Caerellia*; *ridicula/putidula*). Both women try to hide their true age by using language (*dicit*) and the poet presumably makes fun of it.

Lindsay and Patricia Watson compare this epigram with a likely model, an epigram by Papinius, preserved by Varro:

> Ridiculum est, cum te cascam tua dicit amica,
> fili Potoni, sesquisenex puerum.
> Dic rursum pusam: sic fiet 'mutua muli':
> nam vere pusus tu, tua amica senex (*L.* 7.28).

Further reading: Barwick, 1959: 45; Watson-Watson, 2003: 223–224.

1. Dicit se vetulam: *vetula* usually alludes to an old—sexually unattractive—woman (3.32.1–2; 3.76.1; 4.5.6; 8.79.1–2; Watson, 2002: 240), always trying to hide the signs of decay (8.33.17; **4.62** n.). It is ironic that Caerellia, while still young, calls herself a *vetula*. Perhaps she wants to seem more experienced (Ov. *Ars* 2.675–680), or is just trying to reject the poet: old age is then an excuse (cf. **4.7**) for not having sex. Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*) suggest that she may be attempting to conceal a substantial age difference with respect to her lover, just like the protagonist of Papinius' poem.

Caerellia: the name appears again in **4.63.1** (n.), although it is unlikely that they refer to the same woman. Caerellia is not infrequent: it was, for instance, the name of an acquaintance of Cicero (*Fam.* 13.72; *Att.* 12.51; 15.1; 15.26; *vid.* RE *s. Caerellia* 10 [Münzer] 1284); see also TLL *Suppl.* II 33.13–69.

pupa: a desirable woman (CIL IV 4353 PVPARVM NOCTURNARVM; IV 6842; VI 2254), although it primarily means a 'doll': Var. *Men.* 4; Pers. 2.70. See Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*).

2. puppam se dicit: cf. 5.45.1 *Dicis formosam, dicis te, Bassa, puellam.*

Gellia: this name frequently appears in satirical epigrams: 1.33; 5.17 (Thompson, 1926; Lindsay, 1928); 6.90 (Grewing). Particularly relevant for her depiction as an old woman are 3.55.3 and 8.81 on her excessive use of perfumes and pearls respectively, and 5.29, on her physical appearance. Indeed, perfumes and jewels are traditionally said to be appropriate for old women: Pl. *Mos.* 272–292.

anus: like *vetula*, the term also refers to an old, unattractive woman (cf. 10.90.4) who is willing to pay for sex (7.75.1–2; 11.87), in cash or by promising a legacy (10.8). Caerellia might be a 'real dish' rejecting potential lovers, whereas Gellia claims to be sexually vigorous.

3. Colline: cf. **4.54**.

4. Caerellia is young and beautiful, but fatuous (cf. 3.72). Gellia is old, disgusting, and affected. For the final *isocolon*, see Siedschlag, 1977: 111–112; cf. 3.31.6; 9.21.

ridicula: clearly derogative: see OLD *s. v.* 2a.

putidula: the diminutive is used only by Martial (Stephani, 1889: 77; Petersen, 1917: 55) to make a funny rhyme with *ridicula*. *Putidus*, 'rotten', can be an insult addressed to old people: Pl. *Bac.* 1163; Catul. 42.11 *moecha putida*; 19; 20; see Watson-Watson *ad loc.* Martial uses it for insufferable people (cf. 3.50.8; 12.39.2). *Putidus* also applies to affected language (OLD *s. v.* 3b): 12.39.2. See Watson, 2002: 240 for this kind of 'depreciatory diminutive'.

For literary invective against old women, see Richlin, 1983: 109–116; 1984; for the special case of Martial's epigrams, see Bonvicini, 1999: 113–122; Richlin, 1983: 244 n. 10; and 246 n. 41.

Segius is an atheist and, according to Martial, his undeserved wealth is proof of the inexistence of the gods: if there were gods, they would not reward him. The key to the poem is *beatum*, for human happiness was the goal of philosophical movements such as the Epicurean; but, ironically, it also means 'wealthy'. Notice the use of philosophical terms (*affirmat, inane, beatum*).

The poem has been given different interpretations: according to Schuster (1926: 345–346), Segius is offering the reason for his atheism and the poet satirises the feebleness of his argument: the gods' punishment for impiety does not necessarily imply that the well-being of the impious proves their inexistence. Somehow the poet is warning him of an impending penalty. Maurach (1972: 64–65) claims that the traditional interpretation of this epigram does not do it justice. According to him, one of the clues is *negare*, inasmuch as *haec* (*var. lect.* hoc) is ambiguous. This critic prefers the variant *hoc*, which he regards as the *lectio difficilior*: it would refer to his recently acquired wealth. Segius would then be a selfish being, who conceals his good fortune so as not to have to share it with his acquaintances (cf. 1.103; 2.24; 6.79). This interpretation would be consistent with poem **4.40**, on a similar topic: the client complains to Fortune, whereas here he complains to the gods. Kaliwoda (1998) explains this poem in the light of Martial's Epicurean beliefs (see Innocenti, 1972: 141–144; Adamik, 1975a; Heilmann, 1984), adducing a passage in Cicero (*N. D.* 3.83ff.) on the idea that injustice seems to prove that gods do not exist. Segius agrees, but he forgets about two further relating principles: first, Epicurus does not deny their existence, but their interference with human life (Winiarckzyk, 1984: 168–170; 1992: 307; Obbink, 1989); second, a traditional thought according to which no one can consider himself fortunate until the end of his life (Sol. *frag.* 13W, 63–70; Hrdt. 1.32; Soph. *Aj.* 1418ff.; *OT* 1528ff.; Kaliwoda, 1998: 200 n. 11; compare with Schuster's interpretation above). Strikingly enough, Martial does not comment on the fact and seems to adhere to Segius' atheism.

In any case, the underlying point is the lack of correspondence between human behaviour and fortune: there is no divine retribution

and this seems to be an argument for the inexistence of the gods (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 32; Ov. *Am.* 3.3.1–2; 3.9.35–36; Sen. *Con.* 1.2.8; Sen. *Dial.* 1.1.1). This is not a complex philosophical poem but a subtle and witty social satire: Segius is not criticised for his religious beliefs, but for immorality in a wider sense. Undeserved fortune is not so uncommon in contemporary Rome (cf. **4.5** n.).

Martial frequently attacks false philosophers (9.27; 9.41; 9.47; 11.56), mainly because they do not practice what they preach, especially in sexual terms. Here, the attack appears to involve a different subject. Segius seems to be close to the Epicurean and Cynic doctrines (*vid. infra*; Winiarckzyk, 1984: 167), but his is just an intellectual pose. Segius is a cynic in the figurative sense of the word. There is a further attack on a Cynic in this same book (**4.53**).

Further reading: Gilbert, 1884: 517; Schuster, 1926: 345–346; Innocenti, 1972: 141–143 n. 34; Maurach, 1972; Sullivan, 1989: 190; Kaliwoda, 1998: 197–200. I had no access to Dovatur, 1986, dealing with this epigram. On Cynic and Epicurean atheist thoughts, see OCD[3], *s. Cynics* and *Epicurus*; about atheism, Drachmann, 1922 = 1977; Fahr, 1970; Thrower, 1980; Obbink, 1989; Winiarckzyk, 1984; 1989; 1990; 1992.

1. Nullos esse deos: Cic. *N. D.* 1.2 *deos . . . nullos esse omnino Diagoras Melius et Theodorus Cyrenaicus putaverunt*; cf. 1.63; 1.117 *omnino deos esse negabant*; 1.123 *nullos esse deos Epicuro videri*; Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 9.53 μὴ εἶναι θεόν. In Classical Greek, atheism was referred to in various ways, including the term ἄθεος, expressions denoting impiety (ἀσέβεια), and those denying the existence of gods: cf. e.g. Ar. *Th.* 451 οὐκ εἶναι θεούς; Luc. *JTr.* 4; Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 9.53 (*supra*); Ps-Plu. *Plac. Phil.* 880.D.10 φασὶ μὴ εἶναι θεούς; Eus. *PE.* 14.16 καθόλου φασὶ μὴ εἶναι θεούς; Ps-Galen. *Phil. His.* 35 οὐ γὰρ εἶναι θεοὺς εἰπεῖν τετολμήκασιν; Lact. *De ira dei* 4.7 *id Epicurum sensisse, nullos esse deos*; 9.7 *qui nullum omnino deum diceret, ob eamque sententiam nominatus atheus*; August. *C. Litt.* 3.21.25 *esse deum negavit*; *De civitate dei* 18.41 *deum esse non credens*. Further examples in Winiarckzyk, 1984; 1992.

Outside religious and philosophical contexts, similar expressions are found in Latin literature: in fact, this is a sceptical, universal thought, but also a rhetorical thesis: *an di sint* or εἰ θεοί εἰσίν (Laguna Mariscal, 1996: 176–177). Ovid questions the existence of gods, when deceived by his beloved (Ov. *Am.* 3.3.1 *Esse deos, i, crede*) or pondering on the death of good people (*Am.* 3.9.36 *sollicitor nullos esse putare deos*). So do Jason's final words in Seneca's *Medea*: Sen. *Med.*

1027 *testare nullos esse, qua veheris, deos*. The opposite expression can also be found: Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.1 *Estis, io, superi*; cf. Varro *epigr.* p.205 (Riese) *marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, et Cato parvo/Pompeius nullo: credimus esse deos*. In Martial's epigram 1.12, Regulus' escape from a collapsing portico proves their existence: 1.12.12 *Stantia non poterant tecta probare deos* (Howell); cf. 2.91.2 *sospite quo magnos credimus esse deos* (Williams *ad loc.*); 5.1.8; 7.60.1–2.

inane caelum: cf. Quint. *Decl.* 314.16 *Tu forsitan, cum miserum patrem trucidares* (. . .) *inane hoc supra nos vacuumque cura caelestium putabas*. Although *inanis* is often used to express the wideness of the sky (Verg. *A.* 12.906; [Tib.] 3.7.130; Ov. *Met.* 2.506; 6.230; Luc. 9.473; Stat. *Theb.* 12.249), here it means 'uninhabited' (OLD *s. v.* 3a), the sky traditionally being the gods' abode (Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.1; Petr. 39.5). Kaliwoda (1998: 198 n. 4) notes that *inanis* is a common Epicurean term for the notion of vacuum, employed by Lucretius over eighty times (TLL *s. v.* 827.24–38 *in philos. Epicuri* (Gr. το κενόν) [O. Prinz]; see Innocenti, 1972: 142 n. 34).

2. affirmat: cf. 6.14.2.

Segius: the name only appears here. Some *codices recentiores* read *Celius (= Caelius), Selius* (ed. Lemaire, 1825), or *Gellius*, but *Segius* is the most widespread option. According to Stein [RE IIA1 (1921) *s. v.b*], it is an arbitrarily selected name.

probat: 'proves' (cf. 4.15.3); the conjunction *-que* seems to link *affirmat* and *probat*, so that *Segius* would be the subject of both. However, the subject of *probat* could be the nominal clause introduced by *quod*; in that case, the whole sentence would constitute the poet's opinion, thus confirming that Segius is right.

3. The protagonist's prosperity, certainly undeserved, would prove the gods' inexistence: cf. Cic. *N. D.* 3.83 *Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat Harpalum, qui temporibus illis praedo felix habebatur, contra deos testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret*; 3.83 *ridens 'videtisne' inquit 'amici quam bona a dis inmortalibus navigatio sacrilegis detur'*; 3.88 *Improborum igitur prosperitates secundaeque res redarguunt, ut Diogenes dicebat, vim omnem deorum ac potestatem*; Sen. *Dial.* 6.12.6 *deorum . . . crimen erat Sulla tam felix*; cf. Men. 42 (*sententiae e codicibus Bizantinis*) 338 Θεῶν ὄνειδος τοὺς κακοὺς εὐδαιμονεῖν; 47 *monod.* 1.255 Θεοῦ ὄνειδος τοὺς κακοὺς εὐδαιμονεῖν.

se factum . . . videt beatum: the expression *factum beatum* implies a change of fortune: cf. 4.64.30; Pl. *As.* 529; Ov. *Am.* 1.8.28 *te facta divite*.

dum negat haec: some *recentiores* and editions (Scriverius, Lemaire, Gilbert) read *hoc* instead of *haec*. In spite of Maurach's argument (*vid. supra*), *hoc* is the *lectio facilior*, probably induced by a misinterpretation of *factum*. Schuster (1926: 345), however, defends *hoc*, on the grounds that *nullos esse deos* and *inane caelum* mean the same; see also Gilbert (1884: 517).

beatum: the double meaning of *beatum* is the key to the epigram: it refers to happiness in philosophical contexts (TLL *s.* beo 1909.32–1912.4 [Burger]), but here it clearly alludes to wealth (TLL *s. beo* 1917.31–1918.67).

22

Cleopatra, a recently married girl, flees from the nuptial bed out of coyness and fearfulness and plunges into a lake. Its transparent waters, however, do not conceal her body, but enhance her naked beauty. At the core of the poem is a paradoxical combination necessary to convey the feelings that her submerged body provokes in the onlooker: fragile (*puro vitro; tenuis gemma*) and resplendent in her sublime and ephemeral beauty, when shyly—though unsuccessfully (*lucebat*)—concealed (*fugit; latentem; tegeretur; condita*), it causes ecstatic admiration and irrepressible desire. The poet, aroused by this sight, dives into the lake trying to possess her, but his desires are thwarted by the transparency of the waters (Baldwin, 1981; Greenwood, 1998: 369; Moreno Soldevila, 2003), which can also symbolise the allurement of the forbidden.

This epigram is modelled on Ovid's tale of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus (Ov. *Met.* 4.285–388), with a curious reversal of roles, an influence aptly studied by La Penna (1992: 350–351) and Maselli (1994). Ruiz Sánchez (1998: 102–107) relates this epigram to **4.32** and **4.59**, delving into the ambiguous nature of water and amber, in a subtle study of intertextuality. A different interpretation can also be put forward in the light of erotic elegy and the ambiguity of water as a symbol: the girl, rather than trying to hide herself, may be playing the game of innocence, in order to tantalise the male beholder (Moreno Soldevila, 2003).

This fine poem explores a universal erotic motif: the visual allurement of submerged nakedness (Bömer, 1976: 123; Griffin, 1985: 88–111): e.g. Ov. *Met.* 5.592–599; 5.601–603; 11.236–240; 13.900–909; *Fast.* 4.141–143; cf. *Met.* 3.172–182; Call. *Hymn.* 5.107–118; 5.70–84; Athenaeus 13.603d; Longus (1.13; 1.32); Rufinus *A. P.* 5.60; 5.73. There is a Greek epigram attributed to Posidippus or Asclepiades (*A. P.* 5.209), which tells that Cleander fell in love with Nico when he saw her swimming in the sea (Gow-Page, 1965 II: 141–142). Not only does Martial's wording evoke the story of Hermaphroditus, but also Arethusa's dangerous bath: Ov. *Met.* 5.587–589 *invenio sine vertice aquas, sine murmure euntes,/perspicuas ad humum, per quas numerabilis alte/calculus omnis erat, quas tu vix ire putares*; 5.593–595. Settings of this

kind have a strong erotic component and provide a context for sexual assaults, for, as Richlin points out, 'they combine the innocence and tempting solitude of other favourite settings (. . .) with an opportunity to show the body naked' (1992: 165). The relation between water and sex is further explored by Griffin (1985), who lucidly investigates how poets transformed their everyday experiences into idealised poetic material. Baths and bathing were very popular, both indoors and outdoors in holiday resorts such as Tibur or Baiae. Moreover, mixed bathing (Fagan, 1999: 26–29; 34; Griffin, 1985: 89 n. 6) could facilitate sexual encounters (Suet. *Tib.* 44.1; *Dom.* 22; Mart. 3.51; 3.72; 7.35; 11.21.11; Lampr. *Heliog.* 31.7; Housman, 1931: 411 = 1972: 1183; Cameron, 1973; Baldwin, 1981; Griffin, 1985: 91 n. 19) and flirtation (Ov. *Ars* 3.639–640; Gibson *ad loc.*; Fagan, 1999: 34–36). This epigram may be interpreted as an idealisation of a real-life experience (Bömer, 1976: 122 and Marquardt, 1892 § 281–283), a passing adventure, or an erotic fantasy (Moreno Soldevila, 2003: 157).

Further reading: Pepe, 1950: 196–197; Cameron, 1973; Baldwin, 1981; Griffin, 1985: 88–111; La Penna, 1992: 350–351; Maselli, 1994; Greenwood, 1998b; Ruiz Sánchez, 1998: 102–107; Moreno Soldevila, 2003.

1–3. Cleopatra, having consummated her marriage, dives into a lake, either fleeing from his husband, or in order to calm her fiery desires (cf. Longus 1.23; Mart. 11.7.11; Kay *ad loc.*; 11.71.1–2). See Moreno Soldevila, 2003: 153. The meaning of *passa*, focusing on the first sexual encounter as a traumatic experience (Thomsen, 1992: 227), and the connotations of *placanda* would contribute to her being depicted as a coy inexperienced girl (Ruiz Sánchez, 1998: 106–107).

1. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.10–12 *metuitque tangi/nuptiarum expers et adhuc protervo/cruda marito.*

Primos passa toros: i.e. *primum passa toros*; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.45–6 *illa quidem nuptumque prior taedasque marito/passa alio*; Petr. 25.4 *'ita' inquit Quartilla 'minor est ista quam ego fui, cum primum virum passa sum?' Patior* is a sexual term (TLL *s. v.* 731.71–732.25 [Kruse]; Rodríguez, 1981: 108; Adams, 1982: 189–190; Fortuny, 1988: 101; Montero, 1991: 150), alluding to the passive, mainly feminine role: Ov. *Ep.* 17.26–8; *Fast.* 5.156; Sil. 13.829. *Patior* implies a certain degree of violence: Ov. *Met.* 9.332; 9.740; 11.309; 12.197; *Fast.* 2.178. The verb can be

used in isolation (Sen. *Ep.* 95.21), and with either an animate (Adams, 1982: 190) or an inanimate object denoting the sexual act (*vim, concubitus*: cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.766).

primos . . . toros: Prop. 3.20.14 *longius in primo, Luna, morare toro*; Mart. 7.74.8 *primis quo coiere toris* (Galán). *Torus* is a symbol for sexual—especially marital—union: Ov. *Met.* 7.91; *Fast.* 4.602; Mart. 10.47.10.

et adhuc placanda marito: *passa* denotes some dislike or trauma, further reinforced by one of the meanings of *placare* ('to conciliate', 'to reconcile with'): despite her first sexual experience, Cleopatra still finds her husband unfamiliar. Shackleton Bailey (1993) identifies the husband with Martial, the 'I' of line 7: 'presumably the poet for the purpose of this epigram', following a long-established tradition (Collesso: *De Cleopatra sua uxore fugiente suos amplexus*). On Martial's marital status, see Bellissima, 1931: 274–291; Scamuzzi, 1966: 180–187; Ascher, 1977; Schnur, 1978; Sullivan, 1978 = 1991: 25–30; 125–6; Watson, 2003. In my opinion, the poet would rather be an accidental beholder and potential lover (for the resulting love triangle, see Moreno Soldevila, 2003: 156).

2. merserat in nitidos . . . lacus: cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.595 *nudaque mergor aquis*. *Mergere* usually refers to drowning, which may mislead the reader momentarily: 4.63.2; 9.40.7 (cf. 6.68.7–10). Ruiz Sánchez (1998: 106) and Moreno Soldevila (2003: 150–152) emphasise a sense of danger and death latent in the poem and urging the enjoyment of life and sex (ibid. 156).

nitidos . . . Lacus: i.e. 'transparent', cf. 7.15.1 *nitidis . . . undis* (Ov. *Met.* 3.407); 8.68.8 *calculus in nitida sic numeratur aqua* (Schöffel); 12.98.2 *nitidis . . . aquis*. The plural *lacus* (TLL *s. v.* 862.29–39) will also be used in 4.25.4 *Euganeos . . . lacus* (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.19).

The expression inevitably brings to mind Lake Lucrine, outside Baiae, famous for its landscape and moral relaxation (1.62; 4.57 n.). Moreover, and contrary to tradition, Martial relates the Nymph Salmacis, protagonist of the recreated Ovidian passage, with this lake: 10.30.10 (Maselli, 1994: 52–53). More unlikely, *lacus* could also refer to an artificial pool or bath (cf. CIL I 1529.9 BALINEARIVM LACVM; cf. Col. 2.21.3; Petr. 70.4; Auson. *Mos.* 342; TLL *s. v.* 802.67–803.59 [van Wees]). Why would she be having a bath? If, as the poet imagines, she has just had sexual intercourse, she would obviously be washing herself. However, that should be done pri-

vately, in a *solium*, not in a lake or pond. Thus, it is the sight of the coy woman swimming that makes the poet imagine her story.

Cleopatra: elsewhere the name only appears in **4.59**, clearly referring to the Queen of Epypt (cf. **4.11.4** n.; see RE XI1 [1921] *s. v.* 20). The traditional interpretation of this poem is somewhat inconsistent with the connotations of this name, conventionally associated with luxury and wantonness (Becher, 1966: 146–150). Apart from the famous historical character, Cleopatra (RE *s. Kleopatra* 30 [Stein]) was also the name a concubine of Claudius' (Tac. *Ann.* 11.30; Dio Cass. 60.31.4).

3. dum fugit amplexus: *sc. mariti*; cf. Tib. 1.9.74 *et senis* ***amplexus*** *culta puella* ***fugit*** (the echoes of Tibullus suggest that maybe her husband is too old: see Moreno Soldevila, 2003: 158). The connection between *amplexus* (cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.79 *serpentis amplexu*), the name Cleopatra, and the recreated Ovidian passage (*Met.* 4.351 *iam cupit amplecti*; 362 *implicat ut serpens*) is highly suggestive.

Amplexus (TLL *s. v.* 1996.15ff. [Gudeman]) metonymically symbolises desire and sexual union: 6.68.10 *amplexu teneri sollicitata viri?*; 11.26.1–2. *Amplecti* functions, in fact, as a sexual euphemism (Montero, 1991: 164 n. 10).

3–4. sed prodidit unda latentem:/lucebat totis cum tegeretur aquis: cf. line 6; **4.32.1** (n.); 8.68.6–7 *et tegitur felix nec tamen uva latet;/femineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus* (Schöffel; cf. Prop. 2.3.15); see Ruiz Sánchez, 1998: 102–107.

Notice the alliteration ***l****atentem*-***l****ucebat* reinforcing paradox, the repetition of /t/ possibly imitating the splashing, as well as the parallel construction: *prodidit—lucebat*; *latentem—tegeretur.*

prodidit: TLL. *s. v.* 1620.23–30 (Morelli); cf. e.g. Ov. *Ars* 3.228; *Met.* 14.740–1 *adapertaque ianua factum/prodidit*; Mart. 3.72.4; 4.85.2 *prodat perspicuus ne duo vina calix*; 6.39.5.

lucebat: in the sense of 'being seen' through a transparent surface (TLL *s. v.* 1694.64–80 [B.]; OLD *s. v.* 2c: cf. Prop. 2.3.15 *si qua Arabio lucet bombyce puella*; Mart. 4.32.1; 8.68.7; Schöffel), though keeping its connotations of splendour and luminosity (TLL *s. v.* 1693.5–1694.19).

5–6. condita sic puro numerantur lilia vitro,/sic prohibet tenuis gemma latere rosas: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.354–355 *in liquidis*

translucet aquis, ut eburnea si quis/signa tegat claro vel candida lilia vitro (Bömer). See Adamik (1982) for the function of similes in Martial's epigrams. Bömer highlights the luminous and chromatic effects in Ovid's lines: beauty is enhanced when seen through a gleaming surface. Although Friedländer relates this epigram with 8.68.5–6 (*Condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma,/et tegitur felix nec tamen uva latet*), the allusion here does not seem to be to a glass protection for flowers (*specularia*; 8.14.1–4; cf. Col. 11.3.52), but to some kind of decorative object. The similarity with **4.32**, on an amber fossil, reinforces this hypothesis. Lilies and roses symbolise beauty and frailty (Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.16; Ov. *Ars* 2.115–6; Sen. *Phaed.* 768–9; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.128–9), whereas transparency suggests virginity (Bömer, 1976: 105; 124). Ruiz Sánchez (1998: 105–106) analyses the symbolic implications of these flowers, which could be related to the nuptial context of the opening line.

condita . . . lilia: *condita* is widely present in the manuscript tradition: it is the *lectio* of the archetypes of the second and third families, whereas *candida* is only present in codices *T* and *Q*. Manuscript *T* is one of the partial representatives of the first family of Martial's manuscripts, dating from the 9th century, whereas *Q* is one of the best representatives of the second family, although it dates from the 15th century and is strongly interpolated. Most editors—except for Scriverius, as far as I know—have not seen much value in *candida*, regarding it as the *lectio facilior*, a correction or slip triggered by other instances of the phrase *candidum lilium*: Verg. *A.* 6.708–709; [Tib.] 3.4.34; Prop. 1.20.37–38; Ov. *Met.* 4.355; 5.392; Calp. *Ecl.* 3.53; 6.33. Nonetheless, it could be conversely argued that the quoted passages stress the validity of *candida* in Martial's passage.

Not only is *candida* strengthened by literary tradition, but also completely pertinent and meaningful, as will be seen, whereas *condita* is much more difficult to account for. However, the latter has deserved more credit, especially in the light of other passages of Martial which bear outstanding resemblance to this epigram: 2.40.6 *Condantur parco fusca Falerna vitro*; 4.32.1 *Et latet et lucet Phaethontide condita gutta*; and, more significantly, 8.68.5 *Condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma.* However, what exactly does it mean? The most obvious meaning would be 'preserved': the lilies would then be protected by a transparent surface, as are the vines in poem 8.68; in 4.32, *condita* means both 'preserved' and 'buried' (OLD *s. v.* 4a). As regards the protagonist of the epigram, for whom the lilies stand, the participle might evoke

imprisonment (OLD *s. v.* 1b), suggesting the idea that the girl cannot escape from the poet's embrace, as well as concealment (though thwarted; cf. OLD *s. v.* 5), thus being related to other terms used in this poem: 3 *latentem*; 4 *tegeretur*; 6 *latere*. There is no other instance, however, of the use of *condere* with flowers which could definitely corroborate its validity. Besides, rather than being necessary for the understanding of the line, *condita* turns out to be somewhat redundant, since the ablative (*puro . . . vitro*) is sufficiently unambiguous. The text could be perfectly understandable without *condita*, as proved by 8.68.8 (cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.587–589). On the other hand, *condita* balances *tegeretur* and *prohibet latere* in emphasizing that there are obstacles which cannot, however, stop the object from being seen.

As for *candidum*, it is, as already stated, the ubiquitous epithet for *lilium* (André, 1949: 353), an ever-present term of comparison for whiteness of complexion. Especially in conjunction with roses, lilies are poetic symbols of purity, the rose among the lilies resembling a blushing face: Verg. *A.* 12.68–69 *si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa/alba rosa, talis uirgo dabat ore colores*; Ov. *Am.* 2.5.33–7. So they are in Martial's epigrams: 1.115.2–3; 5.37.6; 8.28.11. Purity is also strongly present in the word *purus*, used to convey the transparency of glass (*puro . . . vitro*). *Candida* would be all the more relevant as it conveys brightness and radiance: the lilies look more shiny behind a glass, as the waters enhance the luminosity of Cleopatra's body (cf. *lucebat*). In Ovid's account, *eburnea* and *candida* highlight the beauty, the brilliance, and the whiteness of Hemaphroditus' body as well as his purity before Salmacis' assault. Did Martial want to retain that nuance of purity in an outstanding position at the beginning of the line or rather make a witty phonetic variation on the Ovidian passage? *Candida* is undoubtedly the *lectio facilior* but, at least, it should not be discarded without consideration.

numerantur: 8.68.8 *calculus in nitida sic numeratur aqua*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.587–589 *aquas . . ./perspicuas ad humum, per quas numerabilis alte/calculus omnis erat.*

puro . . . vitro: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.355 *claro . . . vitro*; Mart. 6.68.7 *vitreis . . . undis* (Ov. *Met.* 5.48); 12.2.13 *Fons . . . Castalius vitreo torrente.* Crystalline waters are essential elements in a *locus amoenus* (Verg. *G.* 3.522; Mart. 4.55.22). *Purus* means 'clean' (Hor. *Epod.* 2.15; Mart. 11.11.3), 'pure' (Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.61), 'transparent' (Ov. *Met.* 2.856; cf. Sen. *Nat.* 3.2.2; OLD *s. v.* 6b: Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.16 *perlucidior vitro*; 3.13.1 *splendidior vitro*; Ov. *Met.* 13.791; *Ep.* 15.157–158). It also evokes

a sense of modesty (OLD *s. v.* 5), whereas glass, like the lilies, evokes frailty.

6. sic prohibet tenuis gemma latere rosas: roses, symbol of beauty and the transience of life, together with lilies, constitute an invitation to enjoy sensuality regardless of any obstacles (*vitro; tenuis gemma*). The rose often stands for the flushing of a white countenance: Verg. *A.* 12.68–9 (*supra*); Ov. *Am.* 2.5.33–7 *at illi/conscia purpureus venit in ora pudor,/. . ./quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae.*

tenuis gemma: *tenuis* is attested in manuscripts *A V*, whereas *tenues* is present in the rest, and selected by Duff and Ker in their respective editions. Raderus and Lemaire print *teneras* (cf. Prop. 1.17.22). *Tenuis* is by far the best option, because it can agree with *gemma* and *rosas*, evoking both the perfection of the translucent material and the frailty of the roses. *Gemma* refers to a translucent surface (cf. 8.65.8 *perspicua . . . gemma*), precisely one of the meanings of *tenuis* (OLD *s. v.* 5c): Ov. *Met.* 3.161 *fons . . . tenui perlucidus unda*; 6.351; *Fast.* 2.250. *Gemma* can also refer to crystal (OLD *s. v.* 3; TLL *s. v.* 1757.4–8), amber (OLD *s. v.* 5; TLL 1756.81–83; cf. 4.32 n.; 9.12.6; Serv. *Ecl.* 8.54), and glass (8.68.5; 14.94).

prohibet: cf. 8 *vetuistis*. The verb evokes the obstacles in a love relationship which can make it all the more interesting (Ov. *Am.* 2.10.21; 2.19.53; 3.8.63; *Ars* 1.139; *Rem.* 537) and anticipates the idea that reluctance increases desire (cf. *luctantia*). Ruiz Sánchez aptly summarises: 'el agua que por su transparencia permite ver (*prodidit, lucebat/vetuistis*), pero al tiempo obstaculiza la satisfacción amorosa, es un emblema perfecto del deseo' (1998: 106).

7–8. Insilui mersusque vadis luctantia carpsi/basia: Ov. *Met.* 4.356–8 *'vicimus et meus est' exclamat nais, et omni/veste procul iacta mediis inmittitur undis,/pugnantemque tenet,* ***luctantiaque oscula carpit***. Hero offers water kisses to Leander in Ov. *Ep.* 19.167–8: *At nos diversi medium coeamur in aequor/obviaque in summis oscula demus aquis.*

Insilui: Ov. *Met.* 8.142 *insilit undis*; 11.731; Sen. *Phoen.* 24 *insiluit freto*; Stat. *Theb.* 9.230 *insiluere vadis*. Literally the poet says 'I leaped into the water', but also 'I leaped on her'. The verb may be a synonym for *petere* (Plin. *Nat.* 8.50; Gell. 9.11.7; Apul. *Met.* 8.17). Predatory images are frequent in sexual contexts (cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 1.537; 11.774; Hoelzer, 1899: 73–74; Lier, 1914: 18–20; Preston, 1916: 55–56;

Kenney, 1970; Murgatroyd, 1984; Thornton, 1997: 40–43; Von Koppenfels, 1973). *Insilio* has a sexual meaning in Isid. *Orig.* 12.2.28.

After rapture and contemplation, the first person bursts into the poem (and the water), thus endowing it with movement. The poet presents himself either as a voyeur who, aroused by this sight, is unable to repress his desires, or as the husband, mentioned in the first line.

mersusque vadis: cf. line 2 *merserat.*

luctantia carpsi/basia: *carpere basia/oscula* is a widespread expression in erotic poetry, especially in elegy: Prop. 1.20.27; Ov. *Am.* 2.11.45; *Ep.* 11.117; *Met.* 4.358; Phaed. 3.8.12. It evokes passionate, furtive, ephemeral loves. It is quite significant that the poet uses the verb *carpere* just after two floral images (*lilia*, *rosas*; Ruiz Sánchez, 1998: 106), thus increasing the idea of urgency (7.47.11 *fugitivaque gaudia . . . carpe*).

Luctantia is rather ambiguous: it suggests resistance, which arouses desire (5.46.1 ***Basia*** *dum nolo nisi quae* ***luctantia carpsi***; Ov. *Ep.* 17.27–28 *oscula luctanti tantummodo pauca protervus/abstulit*), but also sexual enjoyment, especially evoking a French kiss (cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.7.9 ***osculaque*** *inseruit cupida* ***luctantia*** *lingua*). *Luctari*, like other military terms, denotes sexual activity (cf. Prop. 2.1.13; 2.15.5; Montero, 1991: 212; TLL *s. v.* 1731.43–49 [Nosarti]). This is a highly erotic moment.

8. perspicuae, plus vetuistis, aquae: Ov. *Met.* 5.587–9; *PLM* 4.333.2 *cum modo perspicua se speculatur aqua. Perspicuus* means 'transparent' (TLL. *s. v.* 1748.10–30 [Spoth]): Ov. *Met.* 4.300; 5.587–588; Stat. *Theb.* 4.825; *Silv.* 1.2.155; 2.3.1–2; 3.3.94; Sil. 3.414; Mart. 4.85.2 (n.).

Submerged, the poet can also be seen: water has both prompted and thwarted his desire. See Martial's opinions on voyeurism and exhibitionism in 1.34 and 7.62. On the other hand, there is a further play with Ovid's tale, whose purpose is to narrate why the waters of Salmacis' spring affected virility (Ov. *Met.* 4.285–286). Finally, the idea that aquatic sex is difficult is subliminally present (see Kay *ad* 11.21.11). It is the waters, not the girl, that prevent him from going on (see Moreno Soldevila, 2003: 160). Why then was she pictured as coy at the beginning? It is to be borne in mind that women in this book usually adopt virtuous poses (**4.71**; **4.81**).

The address to waters is recurrent in this same book (**4.18.8**; **4.63.4**; Greenwood, 1998), but was already used in previous compositions: Leander addresses them just before drowning (*Sp.* 25b; 14.181). Personified waters stand for the (potential) witnesses of this clandestine adventure (Moreno Soldevila, 2003: 160 n. 45).

plus vetuistis: cf. 6. *prohibet*; Ov. *Ep.* 19.170 *exiguum, sed plus quam nihil illud erit!*

Plus has a euphemistic value (Montero, 1991: 252; Pichon, 1966: 33ff.): Prop. 2.4.2; 2.33c.42; Ov. *Am.* 1.5.25 *cetera quis nescit? Lassi requievimus ambo; Ars* 1.230; 1.669 *Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et cetera sumet; Met.* 2.863 *oscula dat manibus; vix iam, vix cetera differt.*

Vetere, like *prohibere*, is frequent in amatory contexts: Mart. 1.34.10; 11.78.7; Ov. *Am.* 1.8.44. Desire increases if fulfilment is delayed or forbidden: cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.19.60; 3.4.17 *nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata.*

23

A double-edged tribute to an unidentified contemporary poet. Martial recreates an imaginary timeless contest between two writers of Greek epigrams, the Hellenistic poet Callimachus and the Roman Bruttianus. The muse Thalia being undecided, it is Callimachus himself who offers the palm to his rival. Martial would do so, he claims, if Bruttianus also wrote epigrams in Latin. The compliment to Bruttianus turns into a confirmation of Martial's leading role in Latin epigram: he suggests indirectly that no one can rival him, while subtly equating himself with Callimachus.

Further reading: Dams, 1970: 192–193; Swann, 1994: 61. On Martial and contemporary Greek epigram, see Laurens, 1965: 315–341.

1–3. Thalia's hesitancy is conveyed by means of alliteration (*diu**que** **qu**aeris*; cf. ***qu**is, **qu**isve; **qu**os*) and the syntactic and metrical components of the second line: the disjunctive conjunction and the caesura after the sixth syllable place both contenders on equal terms. This is further stressed by the last word in the third line: *comparavit*.

The Muse as a judge in a contest has mythical echoes and recalls in particular the competition between Marsyas and Apollo (Hyg. *Fab.* 165.4 *Musas iudices sumpserunt*; Apul. *Fl.* 3).

1–2. Cf. *A. L.* 263.1 (SB 257) *Dum dubitat natura marem faceretne puellam*; Hor. *S.* 1.8.2–3.

2. primus: Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.6 *quid esset in toto dicendi opere primum interrogatus*; Mart. 14.191.2 *Primus Romana Crispus in historia.*

secundus: cf. Volc. 6 (Gel. 15.24) *Plautus secundus facile exuperat ceteros*; cf. Verg. *A.* 5.337–339.

3. Graium quos: this line is disfigured in the manuscripts (*gratumque*). Koestlin (1876: 269–270) proposed this (widely accepted) emendation. Shackleton Bailey (1990) points out that *Graium* appears in the first Roman edition and interprets it as a genitive plural: cf. Acc. *Poet.* 3.1; *Trag.* 471; Lucr. 2.600 (= 5.405; 6.754); Verg.

A. 6.588; Prop. 2.6.19; Ov. *Met.* 13.281; Stat. *Theb.* 8.467; 9.158; 12.55. He therefore translates 'which of the Greeks whom epigram has set in competition' (SB 1993). However, although the allusion to a Greek origin intensifies the surprise element of the following line, the Muse is thinking of only two competitors, and one of them is not Greek. *Graium* must be a nominative singular agreeing with *epigramma* (as inferred by other translators, such as Izaac, Ker, Scàndola, or Ramírez de Verger). This would imply an elliptic use of the relative: *eorum quos* is to be interpreted.

Graium . . . epigramma: cf. Mela 3.57 *grais . . . carminibus*; [Verg.] *Catal.* 9.62 *Graios . . . sales*. *Graius* is a poetical synonym for *Graecus* (cf. Mart. 5.65.13; 9.72.2). For Martial's use of the Greek term *epigramma*, see **4.49.1** (n.).

comparavit: 10.20.17 *Arpinis . . . comparare chartis*. Both the prefix and the stem of the verb (*con-* and *par-*) stress the idea that they are evenly matched. *Comparare* specifically means to match competitors, especially fighters (TLL *s. v.* 2019.54–59 [Mertel]; Suet. *Cal.* 35; cf. Liv. 30.28.8; 44.38.10; Ter. *Ad.* 212 *certationem comparatam*). The idea of fight is subtly perceived in the name *Callimachus* (Gr. καλλίμαχος: 'fighting nobly' LSJ *s. v.*).

4–5. The names of the contenders are first mentioned. In contrast with the Muse's indecision, to which the poet devotes three lines, Callimachus promptly offers the victory to Bruttianus (the tense of the verb *dedit* emphasises his resoluteness). Martial presents an analogous anachronistic relationship between two poets in **4.14.13–14** (n.).

palmam: a palm was given to the winner in a fight (TLL *s. v.* 144.8–23 [Adkin]), a race (TLL *s. v.* 144.23–44) and other types of contests (TLL *s. v.* 144.45–629), such as the *ludi scaenici* (TLL *s. v.* 143.81–144.8). This custom was taken from Greece: Liv. 10.47 (cf. Vitr. 9pr.1). Figuratively, *palma* may mean 'victory' (TLL *s. v.* 145.72–146.24): Mart. 8.78.13; 10.53.4; 11.33.1 (OLD *s. v.* 5). Like Spanish 'llevarse la palma' (Var. *R.* 3.16.14 *fert palmam*), the term is part of expressions denoting excellence (OLD *s. v.* 6), as for instance in literary contexts: Mart. 12.94.9–10 *epigrammata fingere coepi:/hinc etiam petitur iam mea palma tibi*; cf. Volc. 1.2 *palmam poetae comico cui deferant*; 1.5 *Caecilio palmam Statio do mimico*; Varr. *Men.* 399 *in argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam, in ethesin Terentius, in sermonibus Plautus*; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.53 *daturque ei palma in illo medio genere dicendi*; 11.3.2 *Demosthenes . . . pronuntiationi palmam dedit*; Juv. 11.181; cf. Sen. *Suas.*

2.16. The phrase *palmam dare* further appears in Cic. *De orat.* 3.143; Var. *R.* 3.6.2; Prop. 4.1b.102; Ov. *Ars* 2.733; *Tr.* 2.1.506; Plin. *Nat.* 19.77; 32.153; 35.33; 36.129; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.53; Plin. *Ep.* 7.4.6.2.

Callimachus: Martial mentions him once more, not as an epigrammatist, but as the composer of the *Aitia* (10.4.12). Propertius calls himself the Roman Callimachus (4.1a.64) and Quintilian regards the Hellenistic poet as the greatest exponent of Greek elegy (*Inst.* 10.1.58; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.253; Porph. *ad* Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.100); yet Callimachus' epigrams were also well known in Rome (cf. e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.84). Although he is not frequently acknowledged as the greatest Greek epigrammatist, Pliny compliments Arrius Antoninus by comparing him to Callimachus: Plin. *Ep.* 4.3.4 *Callimachum me vel Heroden, vel si quid his melius, tenere credebam* (see Ferguson, 1970: 80). Preston (1920: 344) remarks that 'the comparison . . . to Bruttianus does not flatter the Greek'. Martial might have exaggerated Bruttianus' poetical gifts, in the same way as he does with Silius Italicus, whom he compares to Virgil (**4.14**).

Thalia: occasional Muse of epigram and other minor genres: **4.8.12** (n.).

de se: i.e. 'depriving himself of it', cf. Plin. *Ep.* 7.4.6 *Cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti/ausus de Cicerone dare est palmamque decusque* . . . *De* may indicate the giver (OLD *s. v.* 6a), or 'a person over whom a victory is gained' (*s. v.* 6b). Nonetheless, Ker (1968) translates 'of his own accord'.

5. facundo: cf. 5.5.1; 5.30.3 *facundi . . . Catulli*; 7.45.1 *facundi Senecae*; 7.91.1 *facunde . . . Iuvenalis*; 8.28.1; 9.26.1 *facundo . . . Nervae*; 10.20.3 *facundo . . . Plinio*; 10.73.1; 10.87.2; 11.48.2 *facundi . . . Ciceronis*; 12.2.11 *facundus Stella*; 12.24.3; 14.185.1 *facundi . . . Maronis*.

Bruttiano: *Brutiano* γ. The form *Bruttianus* appears in Pliny's letters (*Ep.* 6.22 *Lustricius Bruttianus*). This character is difficult to identify, since Martial only names him here. Pertsch (1911: 7–8) even questions his real existence. Balland (1988: 51–53) proposed identifying Bruttianus with Cerrinius (8.18), and both with *C. Bruttius Praesens* (Syme, 1988: 563–578). Cerrinius is in fact praised as a poet who could overshadow Martial himself if he published his Latin epigrams: 8.18.2 *vel mecum possis vel prior ipse legi.* This scholar (ibid. 51) ventures that this *Cerrinius Bruttianus*, tired of writing Greek epigrams, had begun to devote himself to Latin. According to him, *Cerrinius* is an Oscan name, very frequent in Campania, and *Bruttianus* derives

from *Bruttius*. In Pliny's letter 7.3, addressed to *Bruttius Praesens*, it is said that the latter's first wife was originally from Campania. Balland wonders whether she might have been called *Cerrinia* and whether her husband might have taken her father's patronymic, retaining his own under the form of a cognomen ending in *-anus*. Similarly, the suffix may have been poetic licence on Martial's part (ibid. 52 n. 82). Balland (1998: 53) concludes that *C. Bruttius Praesens* composed historical writings, probably in Greek, inasmuch as they are only mentioned in Greek sources (Syme, 1988: 566–567), which would reinforce the hypothesis of his writing Greek epigrams. Balland (53 n. 87) points out that there is a significant juxtaposition between Pliny's letters 7.3 and 7.4, which could give added weight to the impression that this *Bruttius Praesens* was a poet.

See also Duret, 1986: 3220.

6–7. These lines contrast the characteristic features of Greek and Latin epigrams (see Lausberg, 1982: 61–63; Swann, 1994: 61). Greek epigram is traditionally described as elegant and charming (*charis, lepos, venustas*); Latin epigram's main feature is mischievous wit (*sal*). *Lepos* and *sal* are not, however, incompatible: Pl. *Cas.* 218; Cic. *De orat.* 1.159; 1.243; 2.98; Catul. 16.7; Mart. 3.20.9 *lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?*; 8.3.19 *At tu Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos*; Plin. *Ep.* 7.4.6.

6. Cecropio . . . lepore: *lepos* refers to elegant witty style: Pl. *As.* 13; Cic. *De orat.* 1.17; 1.27; 1.159; 3.29; 3.181. On the one hand, it may be related to concepts such as *dulcedo, elegantia, humanitas, suavitas, urbanitas, venustas* (cf. Fro. *Aur.* 2.3.1). On the other hand, it is semantically close to *facetiae, festivitas, hilaritas, iucunditas*. *Lepos* and *venustas* are traditional features of Greek (Hellenistic) epigram: Plin. *Ep.* 4.3.4; 4.18.2; Gel. 19.11.1 *Celebrantur duo isti Graeci versiculi* (. . .), *quod sint lepidissimi et venustissimae brevitatis* (cf. Macr. *S.* 2.2.16).

Cecropius, meaning Athenian, is often used by Martial (1.25.3; 6.34.4; 10.33.2) and other poets, especially when referring to Greek art: [Verg.] *Catal.* 9.14 *carmina cum lingua tum sale Cecropia*; Mart. 7.69.2 *cuius Cecropia pectora dote madent*. As *Cecropia* is an epithet of Athena (Ov. *Met.* 6.70; Luc. 3.306; Mart. 1.39.3; 5.2.8; 7.32.3), it also anticipates the following line (*Romanae . . . Minervae*). *Cecropius* is used as well of Attic bees and their products (9.12.2; 11.42.4; Verg. *G.* 4.177; Mart. 13.24.1; 13.105): bees and honey are traditional metaphors

for poets and their works (**4.32.2** n.; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.44; Mart. 11.42.3–4): Plin. *Ep.* 4.3.3 *Nam et loquenti tibi illa Homerici senis mella profluere et, quae scribis, complere apes floribus et innectere videntur.*

satur: cf. 1.39.3–4 *Si quis Cecropiae madidus Latiaeque Minervae/artibus* (*vid.* 4.14.12 n.); 7.69.2 *Cecropia pectora dote madent.* Like *madidus, satur* (and *saturare*) means *tingere*, which is also used metaphorically in the sense of 'imbuing': cf. 3.20.9; 8.3.19; 12.95.3 *et tinctas sale pruriente chartas*; Man. 4.527–528 *dulci tincta lepore/corda*; cf. Maur. 2417–8.

The image of honey, conveyed by the epithet *Cecropius*, is reinforced by the presence of *satur* (cf. 13.24.1 *Cecropio saturata Cydonea melle*), which may add ironic undertones, in that it can mean 'gorged' and 'tired' (11.108.1 *Quamvis tam longo possis satur esse libello*).

7. Notice the alliteration and repetition of sounds: *Ro**man**ae . . . **Min**ervae, **s**a**l**e **lus**erit, **R**omanae . . . luse**r**it Mine**r**vae.*

Romanae . . . Minervae: cf. 1.39.3 *Latiaeque Minervae*; 5.5.1 *Palatinae . . . Minervae*, as opposed to Athena or Pallas: 1.39.3; 7.32.3 *Cecropiae . . . Minervae.*

sale: 'wit', as in 6.44.2 *et solum multo permaduisse sale*; 8.3.19 *At tu **Romano** lepidos **sale** tinge libellos*; 10.9.2 *et multo sale nec tamen protervo*; 12.95.3 *et tinctas sale pruriente chartas* Plin. *Ep.* 3.21.1 *plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis* (Martial); cf. Hor. *S.* 1.10.3–4 (*Lucilius*) *sale multo/urbem defricuit*; Phaed. 5.5.8 *scurra, notus urbano sale.* In the plural, *sales* is equivalent to jokes: cf. Hor. *Ars* 270–271 *Plautinos . . . sales*; Sen. *Dial.* 2.18.6 *sales in partem bonam accepit*; Mart. 3.20.9; 3.99.3 *Innocuos permitte sales*; 5.2.4; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.6. In the same way as *lepos* could be inherent to Latin epigram, as stated above, Greek poetry may contain *sal*: [Verg.] *Catal.* 9.14 *carmina cum lingua tum sale Cecropia*; 9.62 *patrio Graios carmine adire sales.* However, the Romans considered themselves wittier than the Greeks: Cic. *Fam.* 9.15.2 *accedunt non Attici sed salsiores quam illi Atticorum Romani veteres atque urbani sales*; cf. [Sulp.] *De statu* 8–9. For the term *sal* and its Catullan echoes, see Swann, 1994: 61–63.

sale luserit: sales γ. *Ludere* pertains to poetical writing, especially in the minor genres (**4.49.2** n.): 7.8.1 *nunc ludite, Musae*; 8.3.2 *quid adhuc ludere Musa iuvat?* In the light of its original meaning, *ludere* characterises epigram as entertaining (11.6.3) and innocent (3.99.3–4; 7.12.9). *Ludere* also connotes an amateurish practice (1.113.1; 12.94.8; cf. Gel. pr.4): the implication is that if Bruttianus amused himself

by writing Latin epigrams he would be better than the professional Martial. *Ludere* also has erotic connotations (6.45.1; 11.15.7; 11.39.7; 11.104.5), which are somewhat incongruent with *Minervae*.

Ludere can be transitive ('to compose': 1.113.1 *quaecumque lusi iuvenis*; 12.94.8 *ludo levis elegos*), but *sales* is unsuitable here for metrical reasons. The verb can also be used with an ablative: 11.6.3 *versu ludere non laborioso*.

8. With an apparently humble attitude, the poet asks the Muse to place him in the second position, thus letting Bruttianus come first. The plea is, however, far from innocent: Martial equates himself with Callimachus, and even surpasses him, for he has no competitor in his own language.

precor: for its parenthetic use, cf. 4.1.3; 5.50.7; 6.10.9; 6.38.9; 6.68.12; 7.68.2; 10.82.7; 12.49.7.

secundus: it may have both positive (OLD *s. v.* 10; cf. l. 2) and negative connotations: 9.pr.v.5 *Ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus*; cf. 7.99.7.

24

All of Lycoris' friends have died. The poet apparently feels pity for her loneliness and suggests that she should become acquainted with his wife, thus maliciously wishing a similar end for her. The joke is multi-layered: there is a hint that Lycoris may have killed her friends, or that she is a jinx; another implication may be that Lycoris is so old that she has already lost her coetaneous acquaintances. At any rate, this is a doubly misogynous epigram, drawing on satirical topics such as old women and scorn for wives.

Although this is a traditional male joke, the poetic voice could also be that of the legacy-hunter (cf. 4.69 n.): cf. 2.65; 5.37.18–24.

1–2. Omnes quas habuit . . . Lycoris amicas/extulit: this may also be a trick on the part of Lycoris, consisting in having older friends so as to look younger: 8.79 ***Omnes*** *aut vetulas habes* ***amicas***/*aut turpes vetulisque foediores./Has ducis comites trahisque tecum/per convivia, porticus, theatra./Sic formosa, Fabulla, sic puella es.*

Fabiane: cf. **4.5.2** (n.).

Lycoris: this was the nickname of Cornelius Gallus' mistress (8.73.6; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10.2; 10.22; 10.42; Prop. 2.34.91; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.30; *Tr.* 2.1.445; see RE XII 2 (1927), Stein; Watson, 1996: 586, n. 2), and a type-name (Hor. *Carm.* 1.33; Ullman, 1915: 28). The name Lycoris appears several times in the epigrams, its bearer having the typical features of the *vetula*, the old hag (6.40; for this satirical topic, see 4.12 n. and 4.65 n.): physically she shows signs of decay (1.72.6; 1.102; Citroni *ad loc.*; Watson, 1996: 586–588), being portrayed as blackish (4.62 *nigra Lycoris*; 7.13 *fusca Lycoris*; Galán *ad loc.*), one-eyed (3.39), and as a *meretrix* (1.102; 6.40).

2. extulit: one of its meanings is 'to carry out for burial' (TLL *s. v.* 141.32–142.33 [Bannier]; Pl. *Aul.* 567–8; *Mos.* 1000; Ter. *An.* 117; Cic. *Flac.* 41; *Leg.* 2.66), to 'bury', or simply 'to lose a loved one': Pl. *Epid.* 174 *uxorem quam tu extulisti*; Mart. 2.65.2; 5.37.21; Juv. 1.71; 6.175. The verb can be interpreted in a less innocent way: cf. 8.43.1 *Effert uxores Fabius, Chrestilla maritos.* For *efferre* in the sense of 'to kill', cf. Man. 1.885. Lemaire, Post, and Paley suggest that Lycoris may

have poisoned her friends. For poisoning, see 4.69; Kaufman, 1932: 156–167; and Lippold, RE *Supp.* V 223–228 *s. Gift.*

uxori fiat amica meae: there are some other epigrams ending with a similar wish (see 4.33 n.). For the usage of *uxor*, see 4.5.5 (n.).

For the issue of whether the poet ever got married, see 4.22.1 (n.).

25

Martial probably visited the Venetian region while staying in *Forum Cornelii*, in AD 88 (see Citroni, 1987; Sullivan, 1991: 30–33). He was certainly pleased with this setting and evoked its ideal beauty in a poem full of mythical and symbolic imagery. In this same book, Martial included another 'landscape' poem (**4.44**, on Mt. Vesuvius). In both, the blending of the descriptive and the mythological enhances the beauty of the place, whereas the final distich brings in a gloomy reflection.

A geographical description of this region can be found in Mela 2.60–62 and Plin. *Nat.* 3.126–128.

Martial's epigram is largely modelled on Hor. *Carm.* 2.6, as Bonvicini (1999: 128) suggests; it is also reminiscent of Stat. *Silv.* 3.5, a yearning for his native land (see Laguna Mariscal, 1992: 345–346, on Statius and Horace).

Further reading: Corsaro, 1973: 192; Citroni, 1987; Sullivan, 1991: 155–159.

1. Aemula Baianis Altini litora villis: cf. Sidon. *Carm.* 18.3 *aemula Baiano tolluntur culmina cono.*

Altini: *Altinum*, in Cisalpine Gaul, was a Roman *municipium* between Padua and Aquileia. See Strab. 5.215 and RE I2 (1894) *s. v.* 1697–8 (Hülsen).

Baianis . . . villis: Baiae was a renowned seaside resort in the Bay of Naples (more details in **4.57.1** n. and D'Arms, 1970: 42–48; 119–120; 126–132). It was a pleasant place (cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.83; Mart. 11.80.3–4), famous for its *villae maritimae.*

2. Legend has it that Phaethon fell down in the environs of the *Eridanus* (Ov. *Met.* 2.324), a mythical river which the Greeks and Romans alike tended to identify as the *Padus*, present-day Po (*LIMC s. Eridanos*; Plin. *Nat.* 37.31; Serv. *ad Verg. G* 4.371; *A.* 10.189): cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 189–91 *in Eridani ponite ripis,/ubi maesta sonat Phaethontiadum/silva sororum*; Mart. 10.12.2 *et Phaethontei qui petis arva Padi.* See further Roscher, 1965 III: 2175–2201.

Phaethontei . . . rogi: *Phaethonteus* is a rare poetic epithet: Ov. *Met.* 4.246; Mart. 6.15.1; 10.12.2; Stat. *Theb.* 1.221.

conscia silva: V. Fl. 1.526–527 *veteris sat conscia luctus/silva Padi et viso flentes genitore sorores!* The phrase *conscia silva* is Ovidian: *Met* 2.438 (see Bömer, 1969: 524–525; V. Fl. 3.584; cf. 4.1.2 n.). *Conscius* means both 'witness' (TLL *s. v.* 371.49–372.24 [Spelthahn]; cf. **4.1.2** n.) and 'accomplice' (TLL *s. v.* 373.33–42): this forest was completely burnt in the mythical conflagration (Ov. *Met.* 2.201–331), thus turning into Phaethon's funeral pyre.

3. The exact mythological reference is not clear: Paley (*ad loc.*) suggests a local tale. In any case, Nymphs and Satyrs are present in folk stories (Lucr. 4.580–581; Verg. *A.* 8.314), usually coupled (Verg. *G.* 1.11; Ov. *Ep.* 4.49; *Met.* 1.192–193; Mart. 9.61.11–16). The wedding of a forest Nymph and a Faunus near a lake no doubt symbolises fertility.

Antenoreo: 'Paduan', since Antenor was the mythical founder of Padua: Verg. *A.* 1.242–9; Liv. 1.1.2–3; Sen. *Dial.* 12.7.6; Mela 2.60; Sil. 8.602–603. The derivative adjective *Antenoreus* is only attested by Martial (1.76.2), Lucan (7.194 *Antenorei . . . Timavi*) and Silius Italicus (12.214 *Antenorea . . . stirpe*).

Fauno: the *Fauni*, identified with the Satyrs, were country deities belonging to Bacchus' entourage. They were famous for their wantonness towards Nymphs. Notice that, in the description of Vesuvius, Martial also alludes to the Satyrs (**4.44.4**), as symbols of natural life.

Dryadum: tree Nymphs: Verg. *Ecl.* 5.59; *G.* 1.11; 3.40.

4. Sola puella: Dryades are often called *puellae*: Verg. *Ecl.* 5.59 *Dryadas . . . puellas; G.* 1.11; *Culex* 116 *et Satyri Dryadesque chorus egere puellae*; Prop. 1.20.45. Nymphs usually take their names from geographical features. Therefore, *Sola* may allude to a forest between Padua and Altinum (as Friedländer suggests), or to a lake (Schrevel identifies it with *La Solana*). Other editors (such as Lemaire) did not take it as a proper noun, printing it in lower case.

ad Euganeos . . . lacus: the *Euganei* were the primitive inhabitants of the area, before the arrival of the mythical Antenor (Liv. 1.1.3; Serv. *ad Verg. A.* 1.242): Sil. 8.602–603 *tum Troiana manus, tellure antiquitus orti/Euganea profugique sacris Antenoris oris* (cf. 12.216). For this people, see RE VI1 (1907) *s. Euganei* (Hülsen). Martial uses the adjective twice more: 10.93.1 *Euganeas . . . oras*; 13.89.1 *Euganei . . . Timavi.* This phrase may allude to the numerous lakes in the Alps.

5. Ledaeo . . . Timavo: the river Timavus flows into the Gulf of Trieste. *Ledaeus* originally means 'descendant of' or 'related to' Leda, and is usually applied to Helen (Verg. *A.* 7.364; Ov. *Ep.* 16.1) and the *Dioscuri* (Ov. *Fast.* 1.706; *Epic. Drusi* 283; Sil. 15.83; Stat. *Theb.* 11.133; Sil. 13.804; Mart. 1.36.2; cf. 8.21.5). It is secondarily applied to Cyllarus, Castor's horse: Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.53–4 *Ledaeus . . . Cyllarus.* The allusion here is rather indirect: according to one tale, Cyllarus drank from this river (*vid. infra*). Martial mentions the Timavus on two further occasions: 8.28.7; 13.89.1.

felix Aquileia: *Aquileia*, a Roman colony since 181 BC, turned into a thriving town: Mela (2.62) calls it *ditem Aquileiam. Felix* may refer to its wealth and prosperity (TLL *s. v.* 436.15–51 [Ammann]). There may be a subtle marriage image, as *felix* is often applied to marital happiness (**4.75.1** n.): it is as though the town 'were married' to the river.

6. hic ubi septenas Cyllarus hausit aquas: cf. 8.28.7–8 *Timavum,/ quem pius astrifero Cyllarus ore bibit?* (Schöffel *ad loc.*). Cyllarus, Castor's stallion, was a gift from Leda, who received it from Poseidon: Verg. *G.* 3.90; Sen. *Phaed.* 811 *Spartanum . . . Cyllaron*; Mart. 8.21.5; 8.28.8; Stat. *Theb.* 4.215; 6.328; *Silv.* 1.1.54; V. Fl. 1.426. Martial seems to be following a tradition according to which the Argonauts sailed to the Adriatic Sea through the Timavus: Plin. *Nat.* 3.128 *Argo navis flumine in mare Hadriaticum descendit non procul Tergeste, nec iam constat quo flumine.*

septenas . . . aquas: *aqua* refers to each of the channels of a river (TLL *s. v.* 353.82–354.11 [Vollmer]): Prop. 2.1.32 *septem . . . aquis*; Ov. *Am.* 2.13.10 *septem . . . aquas*; V. Fl. 8.187. For the use of *septenas* instead of *septem*, cf. 8.36.5 *septenos . . . montes.* According to some accounts, the Timavus had seven springs (Strab. 5.215), but others reckon nine: Verg. *A.* 1.244–246 *fontem . . . Timavi,/unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis/it mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti*; Mela 2.61 *Timavus novem capitibus exsurgens.* The neighbouring river *Padus* (*vid. supra*) had seven mouths (Mela 2.61). In this same region, there were seven lakes called *septem maria.*

hausit β: haurit γ: aurit *T.* Editors unanimously print *hausit,* in keeping with the past time referred to (cf. *nupsit* in line 4). It is, however, the *lectio facilior.* Friedrich (1909: 95–96) argues in favour of *haurit.* According to him, the archetype of the second family tended to substitute the perfect tense for the present (cf. e.g. 4.13.1 *nupsit* instead of *nubit*); besides, it is not unusual in relative clauses to find

a present instead of a past tense: cf. Hor. *S.* 1.6.12; Verg. *A.* 9.266. Friedrich also suggests that *bibit* (8.28.7) must be taken as a present tense.

7. vos eritis nostrae requies portusque senectae: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.6 *sit meae sedes utinam senectae*; Verg. *A.* 9.481–482 *tune ille senectae/sera meae requies*; 12.57–58 *senectae/tu requies miserae*; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.70 *tu domino requies portusque senectae*; Suet. *Tib.* 24.2 *senectuti meae requiem*; Ov. *Pont.* 2.8.68 *vos eritis nostrae portus et ara fugae* (see Pérez Vega *ad loc.*); Sen. *Her. F.* 1072–3 *portus vitae/lucis requies*. Life is metaphorically represented as a voyage, the harbour being a place to rest in old age: cf. Eur. *Andr.* 748.

8. si iuris fuerint otia nostra sui: See Gómez Pallarès, 1995: 68–69; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 94.74 *Tunc laudant otium lene et sui iuris.* The poem ends with a gloomy reflection: Martial is not free to choose; he is enslaved to the Urbs. It is quite significant that after this poem follows an epigram on the declining institution of patronage: the contrast between the idyllic life and reality is striking.

26

This epigram focuses on the client-patron relationship (see Garrido-Hory, 1985: 386–388). The poet has not visited his patron in the morning for a year: the toga he needs to attend the *salutatio* costs more than the money he earns. Therefore, being a client of this man does not make sense financially. This idea was further developed in epigram 9.100, as well as by Juvenal in:

> sed cum summus honor finito conputet anno,
> sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
> quid facient comites quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
> et panis fumusque domi? (Juv. 1.117–120).

The *salutatio* and other such obligations constitute a leitmotif in Martial's epigrams: 3.36; 3.38.11–12; 3.46; 5.22; 10.56; 10.74; 10.82; 12.29. The increasing meanness of patrons triggers the poet's protests: 5.19.7–10; 12.36.

Further reading: Colton, 1976; Shackleton Bailey, 1989: 134–135. For clients and patrons in Martial's epigrams, see Mohler, 1931; Andrée, 1941; Marache, 1961: 38–53; Garrido-Hory, 1985; Sullivan, 1991: 160–162.

1. mane domi: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.3 ***mane*** *salutamus* ***domi*** . . . *bonos viros multos*; Mart. 1.108.5 *Migrandum est, ut* ***mane domi*** *te, Galle, salutem.* The *salutatio* (OCD[3] *s. v.*; RE IA2 *s. v.* [Hug.]; D.-S. *s. v.*; Marquardt, 1892: 259–260; Friedländer, SG I 89–103; cf. **4.8.1** n.) was a courtesy visit, which was paid to social superiors early in the morning (Mart. 1.55.6; 2.18.3; 3.36.3; 4.78.4; 5.22.1; 5.22.12; 6.88.1; 7.39.1–3; 8.44.4–5; 9.92.5; 9.100.1–2; 10.10.2; 10.82.2; 12.29.1; 14.125).

non vidimus: *videre* is used here in the sense of *visere* or *convenire* (Forcellini *s. v.* II 7; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 1.5.8), especially in the context of the *salutatio*: Mart. 5.22.1,12.

toto . . . anno: this expression is not infrequent in poetry (Catul. 23.20; Hor. *S.* 2.3.1; Ov. *Fast.* 1.495; 3.137; *Tr.* 5.5.7; 5.8.31; Mart. 1.99.12; 9.82.5; 10.70.1).

2. Vis dicam, quantum, Postume, perdiderim?: cf. 6.88.3 *Quanti libertas constet mihi tanta, requiris?*

Vis dicam: this usually begins an indignant or ironic question: cf. 2.7.8 (Williams *ad loc.*); 6.30.6; 10.14.10; 12.22.2.

Postume: see **4.40.3** (n.).

3. Tricenos . . . bis, vicenos ter: Shackleton Bailey (1989: 134–135) proposed *vel denos ter*, based on the reading of the third family, without rejecting the possibility that the repetition should stress the smallness of the amount (*vid.* Lemaire, 1825). In my opinion that is the key to the joke, the correction being unnecessary.

There is, however, a syntactical ambiguity: *bis* and *ter* may mean 'twice' and 'thrice', respectively, but they can also work as multipliers (cf. e.g. 4.40.5; 4.51.3; 4.76). In the first case (Post *ad loc.*), the protagonist would have received, on a few special occasions, larger gifts than the one hundred *quadrantes* of the usual *sportula* (25 asses, that is, a *denarius* and nine asses, see **4.68.2** n.): in epigram 10.27 Diodorus offers thirty sesterces (seven *denarii* and eight asses) on his birthday. The protagonist of 9.100 considers himself generous, because his *sportula* consists of three *denarii*; Martial refuses five in 12.29. If *bis* and *ter* are taken as multipliers, the result is no different: a whole year of morning slavery would have earned him only 15 *denarii*, the daily *sportula* offered by Postumus being smaller than the standard.

puto: this parenthetical expression is often used with numerals (1.99.6; 6.30.5 *Post septem, puto, vel novem Kalendas*; 6.70.2; 7.53.9; 8.64.3; 12.28.2), not always implying doubt (Forcellini *s. v.* 14) and usually with ironic undertones (Forcellini *s. v.* 15).

4. Cf. 9.100.6; 10.57 *Argenti libram mittebas; facta selibra est,/ sed piperis. Tanti non emo, Sexte, piper.*

Ignosces: cf. 8.69.3 *Ignoscas petimus* (Schöffel *ad loc.*). 'Excuse me for my frankness and for breaking our relationship' (see Post *ad loc.*). The future tense of *ignoscere* makes a polite apology (Catul. 68a.31; Cic. *De orat.* 2.39; *Fam.* 3.2.3; 5.13.5; 15.17.1; *Att.* 3.15.4; 7.13.4; 9.6a.1; 10.4.6; Hor. *S.* 1.9.72; Prop. 1.11.19; Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.126). For the ironic use of this verb in Martial's epigrams, cf. 2.89.2; 11.94.2.

togulam: the toga (Wilson, 1924) was the official garment of the Roman citizen (4.66.3 n.): etiquette required that it should be worn at the *salutatio* (1.108.7; 5.22.11; 9.100.1; 10.82.2; 12.18.5; 14.125; Juv. 1.96; 3.127) and on similar occasions (2.57.5; 2.74.1; 2.74.6;

3.36.6; 3.46.1; 6.48.1; 10.10.12; 10.19.4; 11.24.11; 12.72.4; Juv. 7.142). Therefore, Martial uses it as a symbol of urban life (3.4.6; 10.47.5; 10.96.11–12; 12.18.17) and of the client's troubles (especially when it is said to be worn out): 2.43.3; 3.30.3; 3.36.9; 9.100.5; 12.72.4 (see Vout, 1996: 216). It could be sent as a gift, especially by a patron to his client (2.85.4; 5.19.12; 7.86.8; 8.28; 9.49; 10.11.6; 10.15.7; 10.29.4; 12.36.2; 13.48.1; 14.125). The diminutive, also used by Cicero (*Pis.* 55; *Att.* 1.18.6) and Titinius (*com.* 138), undoubtedly has a pejorative sense: 3.30.3; 4.66.3; 5.22.11; 6.50.2; 7.10.11; 9.100.5; 12.70.2.

27

Imperial patronage and jealousy are blended in this epigram. Martial addresses the Emperor, portrayed as an assiduous reader of his work, for which the poet has been awarded honours and privileges (1–4). An envious rival denies the fact that Martial enjoys Domitian's favour (2), but the actual marks of distinction are outstanding and irrefutable (5). Finally, the poet boldly asks the Emperor for more benefits in order to torment his angry opponent even further (6). Irreverent as this epigram may seem, Martial's requests play an important role in the patronage relationship: just as the granted favours confirm the poet's literary merit, his petitions contribute to portraying Domitian as a powerful, almost divine, entity: cf. 5.19; 7.60; 8.24.

As for envy, recurrent in Martial's work (Hofmann, 1956–57: 445), it is the theme of another epigram in this book: **4.77**. On the traditional idea that glory inevitably triggers jealousy, see Otto, 1971: 176.

The position of this epigram within the book is far from arbitrary: it is closely related to **4.23**, in which Martial claims his pre-eminence as a Latin epigrammatist by apparently eulogising a writer of Greek epigrams. Besides, due to its casual tone, it is closer to **4.30** than the initial cycle on Emperor worship (**4.1–3**). **4.27** is flanked by two satirical poems (**4.26** and **4.28**) and is mordant itself. Especially significant is the juxtaposition with **4.26**, on the decadence of private patronage (cf. 6.87–88), which the Emperor should be willing to counterweight.

Further reading: Allen, 1969: 345–357; Hofmann, 1983: 242–245. Nauta (2002: 335–341) masterfully analyses imperial patronage in relation to Martial. Citroni (1988: 18–27) studies in detail how their literary relationship evolved, with an apparent change for the better from this book onwards (pp. 20–21). For envy in the literary field, see Dickie, 1981.

1. Saepe meos laudare soles, Auguste, libellos: cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.133 *te solitum memini laudare libellos*. Domitian is portrayed as a keen reader of Martial's epigrams (*vid. supra* and Szelest, 1974: 105–106): cf. 2.91.3–4; 6.64.14–15; 7.99.3–4 *Carmina Parrhasia si nostra legentur in aula/—namque* ***solent*** *sacra Caesaris aure frui*.

The Emperor features as a reader of the epigrams as early as book I (1.4.1), although the tone is quite apologetic (as in the prologue of book VIII); books IV, V, and VI are timidly presented to him through intermediaries (Nauta, 2002: 341–349; cf. 4.8.7; 5.1; 5.6.16–19; 6.1).

Saepe . . . soles: this pleonasm, reinforced through alliteration, is recurrent in Martial's epigrams (3.95.2; 12.35.2; 13.65.2; 14.92.2; 14.204.2; 14.213.1), but also quite frequent in Latin prose (Cic. *De orat.* 1.72; 1.124; 1.129; 2.233; 3.154; *Fin.* 3.7; *Tusc.* 1.48; 3.8.7; *N. D.* 2.22; *Fam.* 15.15.1; *Att.* 2.21.2; 10.1.1; Sen. *Nat.* 1.1.14; 4b.4.3; Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.19; 5.7.32) and poetry (Lucr. 4.606; Verg. *Ecl.* 1.20; *G.* 2.186; Prop. 1.13.1; 2.18c.21; Tib. 1.9.18; Ov. *Ars* 2.128; *Rem.* 614; 742; *Met.* 1.639; 8.19; *Pont.* 2.7.59; 3.5.40).

meos . . . libellos: the implications of the term *libellus* are analysed in **4.8.7** (n.), where Martial uses the possessive *meus*, suggesting humbleness, as well as in **4.10.1** (n.). There is wordplay on the double meaning of *libellus*, a poetic booklet and a document containing a request (OLD *s. v.* 3b; e.g. 8.31.3): cf. 8.24.1–2; 8.82.1 (see Schöffel's notes on the quoted passages and Nauta, 2002: 340).

laudare: cf. 3.1.3 *laudas librum fortasse priorem*; **4.49.10** (n.); 5.25.12 *haec legis et laudas?*; 6.60.1 *Laudat, amat, cantat nostros mea Roma libellos*; 7.90.2 *laudat carmina nostra*; 7.28.5 *sic te Palatia laudent*.

Auguste: this is the first time Martial addresses Domitian as Augustus, a name implying dignity and majesty (Dickey, 2002: 103): cf. 5.15; 5.65; 8.36; 8.82; 9.3; 9.18; 9.79; 11.20 (addressed to Nerva). It usually appears in the vocative (except for 8.pr. *vid.* Schöffel *ad loc.*) and almost always in the same position in the hexameter.

The analogy with Octavian (Octavius Augustus) is intentional, especially in the case of Domitian (cf. 8.80.7 *nova dum condis, revocas, Auguste, priora*) and in the context of literary patronage: Domitian should be a new Augustus to protect the poets of this second Golden Age (8.82).

2. Invidus ecce negat: Dickie, 1981; cf. 9.97.2 *Quod me Roma legit, rumpitur invidia*; 9.97.11 *Rumpitur invidia, quod amamur quodque probamur*. Literary jealousy is variously dealt with: the protagonist of 8.61 does not envy Martial's literary achievements but his socio-economic position; 11.94 is a vicious attack on an envious Jewish poet; in 10.9 the poet makes fun of himself and of his literary fame, which is not worthy of envy.

ecce negat: 2.69.8 *si vir es, ecce, nega*; 11.94.7 *ecce negas iurasque. Ecce* stresses *negare* while adding a concessive meaning: cf. 3.86.2.

num minus: cf. Cic. *Luc.* 146.1; *Div.* 2.71.8; Hor. *Epod.* 8.17; *Eleg. Maec.* 1.27; Ov. *Ep.* 17.230; 18.174; *Fast.* 1.526; 3.6.

soles: some humanist manuscripts read *faves*, probably a conjecture in order to avoid the repetition of *soles*.

3. Domitian's favours are said to be a payment for Martial's poetic gifts: 2.91; 2.92 (see Williams, 2004: 274–280); 3.95.

quid quod: rhetoric transitional formula introducing an argument: cf. 1.87.5; 2.72.8; 4.30.6; 10.11.7; 12.74.7.

honorato: i.e. *mihi*, cf. 3.95.5 *praemia laudato tribuit mihi Caesar uterque. Honorare* implies an economic compensation or prize (TLL *s. v.* 2943.64–2944.25 [Ehlers]); cf. Sen. *Ben.* 7.11.1; Stat. *Silv.* 4.pr. *gratias egi sacratissimis eius epulis honoratus*), but also other kinds of privileges publicly bestowed (TLL *s. v.* 2946.22–25: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 27.3 *equestri dignitate honoravit*; Gaius *Inst.* 3.50 *trium . . . liberorum iure honoratae*). The following line is thus anticipated. *Honorare* is further used in Martial's epigrams in relation with the function of poetry: 5.15.3–4 *Gaudet honorato sed multus nomine lector,/ cui victura meo munere fama datur. Honorato* subtly draws attention to this exchange: the poet's donation (fame and immortality) should receive other sorts of compensation.

4. non alius poterat quae dare dona mihi?: although elsewhere (3.95.9–11) Martial mentions other favours granted by the Emperor (an honorary tribunate and the granting of citizenship to some of his clients), this mainly refers to the *ius trium liberorum* (Prinz, 1931; Daube, 1976): 2.92.1–3 *Natorum mihi ius trium roganti/ Musarum pretium dedit mearum/* ***solus qui poterat***. The *ius liberorum* comprised a series of privileges bestowed on those having three or more children and was part of Augustus' legislation to increase the birth rate. These honours, however, could be granted to childless or even unmarried people, and were highly esteemed: Plin. *Ep.* 2.13; 10.2.1; 10.94; 10.95; Suet. *Galb.* 14.3 (RE XII2 [1919] *s. ius liberorum* [Steinwenter]).

In contrast to the expressions *solus qui poterat* and *non alius poterat*, Martial asserts that he was granted this privilege twice (3.95.5–6 *Praemia laudato tribuit mihi* ***Caesar uterque****/natorumque dedit iura paterna trium*; 9.97.5–6 *tribuit . . .* ***Caesar uterque****/ius mihi natorum*; see Henriksén *ad loc.*). In the 19th century some scholars identified these two emperors as Vespasian and Titus (see Prinz, 1931: 149–150). Now it is

acknowledged that one of these two Caesars must have been Domitian, especially in view of poems 2.91 and 2.92 (see Prinz, 1931, Daube, 1976, Citroni, 1988: 5 n. 5, Nauta, 2002: 336–7, and Watson, 2003: 38–44, for a full discussion). In fact, Domitian renewed all the concessions made by his predecessors Titus and Vespasian (Dio Cass. 67.2.1). This epigram bears witness to the fact that Domitian granted Martial the *ius trium liberorum*, as suggested by the parallelism with 2.92.3. Martial's stressing the unique character of this concession is due to the flattering nature of this epigram.

5. Ecce iterum nigros corrodit lividus ungues: the honours given by the Emperor increase the rival's envy: 9.97.5–6 *Rumpitur invidia, tribuit quod Caesar uterque/ius mihi natorum, rumpitur invidia.* Biting one's nails was a sign of anxiety (Pers. 1.106; 5.162–163 *crudum Chaerestratus unguem/adrodens*; Hor. *S.* 1.10.71 *vivos et roderet unguis*), frustration (Prop. 3.25.4), rage (Prop. 2.4.3), and, most of all, jealousy: Hor. *Epod.* 5.47–48 *hic inresectum saeva dente livido/Canidia rodens pollicem*; Luc. *DDeor.* 22.1; Sidon. *Carm.* 2.170; *Ep.* 9.9. Symbolically, this trait conveys the idea that the envious harm themselves (Curt. 8.12.18 *invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta*); they are 'eaten up' by envy: Mart. 11.33.3 *I nunc, livor edax* (Kay *ad loc.*; *vid.* Otto, 1971, *s. dens*). Ovid portrays Envy, allegorically, gnawing at others and herself: *Met.* 2.781–782 *carpitque et carpitur una/suppliciumque suum est.*

ecce iterum: cf. Verg. *A.* 4.576; Sen. *Her. O.* 1277; V. Fl. 4.302; Sil. 14.405; Stat. *Theb.* 6.802; 12.429; Quint. *Decl.* 295.2; [Quint.] *Decl.* 2.17; 10.14; Juv. 4.1.

nigros . . . ungues: dirty nails are a sign of slovenliness (Ov. *Ars* 1.519), which is one of Envy's traits (Ov. *Met.* 2.760; 2.775–776). *Nigros* may also be interpreted proleptically: the rival bites his nails until they bleed (cf. *Epic. Drusi* 385 *sanguine nigro*; Ov. *Met.* 12.326; *Hal.* 21 *nigrum . . . cruorem*; Stat. *Ach.* 2.127 *nigro sanguine*). Black is symbolically related to jealousy (Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.16; Sil. 11.547–8); chromatically, it is quite close to *lividus*, the colour of envy (*vid. infra*): cf. e.g. Cels. 5.26.20; 5.26.29; 5.26.31: 5.28.3; 8.4.21; Ov. *Am.* 3.5.26; *Met.* 13.817; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.103 *liventem satiram nigra rubigine.*

corrodit: cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 9.9.14 *digitis . . . corrosis.* This verb (TLL *s. v.* 1047.82–1048.8 [Reisch]), less frequent than *rodere,* is originally applied to rodent animals (Cic. *Div.* 2.59). Cf. Phaed. 4.8.7; V. Max. 3.2.11.

lividus: purple is proverbially associated with envy in Latin (TLL *s. v. liveo* 1544.20–58 [Bk.]; *lividus* 1546.65–1547.13 [Bk.]; s. *livor* 1548.59–1549.21 [Salvadore]): Hor. *S.* 1.4.93; *Ep.* 2.1.89; Mart. 1.40.2 *Omnibus invideas, livide, nemo tibi*; 8.61.1 *Livet Charinus, rumpitur, furit, plorat*; 8.61.8; 10.33.6 *malus livor*; 11.20.1 (Kay *ad loc.*); 11.33.3 *livor edax*; 11.94.1; 12.pr.; Juv. 11.110; Stat. *Theb.* 2.14–15.

6. For gifts and honours as payment for literary work, see Saller (1983: 250–255) and Nauta, 2002. The Emperor as donor appears in 5.19.15–18; 6.10.3; 7.60; 8.24; 9.18. For the gifts bestowed by the emperors, see Millar, 1992: 135–139.

da: 8.24.1–2 *Si quid forte petam timido gracilique libello,/inproba non fuerit si mea charta,* ***dato***; 9.18.7.

Caesar: whenever Martial asks the Emperor for a favour, he almost invariably addresses him as *Caesar*: 5.19.1; 5.19.15; 7.60.7–8; 8.24.3; 9.18. See **4.1.1** (n.) and Dickey, 2002: 100–101; 313–314.

doleat: both in the physical and in the moral sense (TLL *s. v.* 1823.71–1824.36 [Hey] *irasci, indignari, aegre ferre, invidere*): Cic. *Tusc.* 4.16 *invidentiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti*; 4.17; *Amic.* 59; Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.68–69 *gnara dolorum/Invidia.*

28

This epigram deals with a sexual role-reversal: it is the woman who makes presents to seduce her lover (cf. **4.9**; Mankin and Watson *ad* Hor. *Epod.* 12.2 *munera*). This social satire, also present in Juv. 6.355–362, can be read in the light of amatory elegy: Chloe gives her lover the gifts typically demanded by the *avara puella*, that is, jewels and expensive garments (Navarro Antolín, 1991; 1996; James, 2001): Prop. 2.16.43 *sed quascumque tibi vestes, quoscumque smaragdos*; Tib. 2.4.27–30 *O pereat, quicumque legit viridesque smaragdos/et niveam Tyrio murice tingit ovem./Hic dat avaritiae causas et Coa puellis/vestis et e Rubro lucida concha mari.* The elegiac poet tries to convince her beloved that love should be free from interest and material profit: Tib. 1.8.29–30 *munera ne poscas: det munera canus amator,/ut foveat molli frigida membra sinu.* Only old lovers, devoid of other charms, offer presents. This suggests that Chloe may be old and unattractive and is trying to win a lover, probably younger, by these means: cf. 7.75.1 *vis futui gratis, cum sis deformis anusque.* Lupercus is also the butt of the attack, for he clearly prostitutes himself (cf. 4.5.6; 9.80) and shows clear signs of effeminacy.

The poem is built around a gift catalogue and several wordplays.

1. Donasti: love tokens are a recurrent satiric motif: cf. 2.39; 12.79. It is usually the male lover who offers elegant clothes, perfume and jewels to his mistress (cf. 11.27; 12.65), but sometimes there is a reversal of roles: Juv. 6.355–356.

tenero . . . Luperco: *tenerus* is an adjective of endearment, related to love (**4.14.13** n.) and youth (OLD *s. v.* 3), which suggests that Chloe might be an elderly woman trying to seduce a young man (Williams, 1999: 77). On the other hand, *tener* also implies effeminacy (e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 89; cf. *glabraria*), thus linking this epigram with others dealing with bisexuality: 2.47; 2.60.

The name *Lupercus* appears in different satirical contexts, especially literary (1.117; 12.47.1), in which case it has been identified with a real person (*Q. Valerius Lupercus Iulius Frontinus*; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.5 and 9.26 [*vid.* Critoni *ad* 1.117]). It is, however, a very common name (Kajanto, 1982: 318). In other passages it is no doubt a fictitious

character: an impotent man (3.75) resorting to *irrumatio* (cf. 11.40; see Bertman, 1989); a cheated lover (6.6); a discourteous friend (6.51). His is not the portrait of a young man (cf. 7.83), so that *tener* might even be ironic.

A Roman would have perceived the component *lupus* in the name *Lupercus* (of dubious etymology: *vid.* Ernout-Meillet: 370). *Lupus* suggests rapacity (Pl. *Capt.* 912; Otto, 1971: 198; Ov. *Am.* 1.8.56) and prostitution (TLL *s. lupa* 1859.11–71 [Lanciotti]): cf. Nov. *com.* 7 *Cum ad lupam nostram tam multi crebro conmetant lupi.*

Chloe: cf. 3.53 *Et voltu poteram tuo carere/et collo manibusque cruribusque/et mammis natibusque clunibusque,/et, ne singula persequi laborem,/tota te poteram, Chloe, carere*. Chloe seems to be a *vetula*, or at least an unattractive lady, who tries to conquer a man by means of gifts and donations (cf. 9.80.1; 10.8.2). The name is taken from Horace: *Carm.* 3.7.10–12 *suspirare Chloen et miseram tuis/dicens ignibus uri,/temptat mille vafer modis*. Apart from this lady suffering over unrequited love, Chloe is the name of a disdainful girl (Hor. *Carm.* 1.23; 3.26.12), contrary to this Chloe's attitude towards Lupercus. There may be wordplay between *tenero* and *Chloe*, for Greek χλοή means 'fresh grass'. The name appears later in the epigrams: although Henriksén (1998: 107) suggests that this woman is unrelated to the Chloe in 9.15, they both share a trait: ingenuousness.

2–3. Imported clothes constituted a valuable present. In Roman comedy and amatory elegy greedy girls ask their lovers for expensive clothes and jewels: Prop. 2.16.17–18; 4.5.21–26; Ov. *Am.* 1.10.61. The *amator*, who presents himself as poor, feels unable to compete with his wealthy rival, the *dives amator* (Prop. 2.16.43–46). Lupercus also seems to demand this kind of love token, but he is not the only boy to be bought in this way (Tib. 1.9). There is a double role-reversal, since it is the male who receives the gifts, which are, besides, typically feminine: cf. e.g. Ov. *Ep.* 9.57–60.

2. Hispanas Tyriasque coccinasque: *scilicet Lacernas* (see **4.2.2** n.; Wilson, 1938: 117–125). This type of polysyndeton is very common when three elements are coordinated in a hendecasyllable: Mart. 2.48.1–2; 3.53.2–3; 4.46.11; 5.2.1; 6.19.7; 6.70.6; 7.55.5; 9.90.16; 11.35.3; 12.8.5; 12.36.8; cf. *Priap.* 57.4. Siedschlag (1977: 41 n. 4) points out that uniting the last two words in a hendecasyllable with

-que is a Catullan trait: Catul. 15.19; 32.11; 57.2; *Priap*. 23.3; Mart. 1.109.7; 2.41.7; 4.55.12; 4.89.7; 5.39.7; 5.56.3; 6.55.1; 6.70.12; 14; 7.72.7; 7.95.5; 10.9.1.

Hispanas: Hispanic wool, especially from *Baetica* (1.96.5; Col. 7.2.4–5), was highly valued (5.37.7; 12.65.5; 12.98.2; 14.133). It need not be dyed (12.63.3–6; Leary *ad* 14.133).

Tyrias: Tyrian purple was so renowned (cf. e.g. Prop. 3.13.7) that *Tyrius* became a synonym for the colour (cf. Verg. *G*. 3.307; Hor. *Epod*. 12.21; Ov. *Met*. 6.222; Mart. **4.19.12**; 8.10.1–2 *lacernas . . . Tyrias*; Schöffel *ad loc*.; 8.48.1 *Tyriam . . . abollam*; 9.22.13 *Tyrias . . . lacernas*; Henriksén *ad loc*.; 14.133.2; 14.156; Leary *ad loc.; vid*. André, 1949: 103). On dyeing see **4.4.6** (n.) and OCD[3] *s. Dyeing*. Purple was extremely expensive: **4.19.12** (n.).

coccinas: scarlet, *coccum* (*coccinus, coccineus*) was extracted from the female *kermococcus* (Leary, 1996: 195), *coccus*, Gr. κόκκος: Mart. 5.23.5 *cocco madida vel murice tincta*. As a colour adjective, *coccus* is the oldest term (Hor. *S*. 2.6.102; cf. Luc. 10.125; Mart. 3.2.11; 10.76.9; Quint. *Inst*. 11.1.31), both alone and in expressions such as *cocco tinctum* (Pociña, 1991: 115). Its derivatives, *coccinus* (Gr. κόκκινος; Juv. 3.283 *coccina laena*; Petr. 28.4 *coccina gausapa*) and *coccineus* (14.131; Petr. 32.2 *pallio . . . coccineo*; 38.5 *coccineum*) mean exactly the same (André, 1949: 116–117). Here *coccinas* must agree with an elided noun (*lacernas*). Martial uses elsewhere a neuter plural form, *coccina*, meaning scarlet clothes (TLL. *s. v.* 1293.59–74 [Stadler]): 2.16.2; 2.29.8; 2.39.1; 2.43.8; 14.131 (= Gr. τά κόκιννα; see Pociña, 1991: 116). There is a further derivative adjective, *coccinatus*, 'clad in scarlet': 1.96.6 *qui coccinatos non putat viros esse*; 5.35.2 *coccinatus* (cf. Suet. *Dom*. 4.2). Pociña (1991) focuses on the history of this term and points out that Martial and Petronius use it to refer to garments, fabrics and the like, as well as to denote extreme luxury and ostentation (p. 116). For this kind of dye, see Sebesta, 2001: 69–71.

3. et lotam tepido togam Galaeso: cf. 2.43.3 *Te Lacedaemonio velat toga lota Galaeso* (Williams *ad loc*.). The *Galaesus* was a river near Tarentum, famous for its flocks (Pl. *Truc*. 649 *ovis Tarentinas*; Varr. *R*. 2.2.18; Mart. 13.125.2), whose wool was extremely white and delicate (12.63.3 *albi quae superas oves Galaesi*; 5.37.2; 8.28.3–4; Hor. *Carm*. 2.6.10; Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc*.; Stat. *Silv*. 3.3.93 *et Lacedaemonii pecuaria culta Galaesi*).

tepido: the area was proverbially warm: Hor. *Carm.* 1.31.5 *aestuosae . . . Calabriae; Epod.* 1.27; Col. 11.3.15. Martial applies this epithet to the River Nile (11.11.1); cf. Ov. *Ib.* 136 *tepidus Ganges.*

4. Despite the anti-luxury laws, the fascination for jewellery gradually increased, in men and women alike. However, wantonness, moral decay and effeminacy were associated with an extravagant use of jewels (Sen. *Nat.* 7.31.2; Isid. *Orig.* 29.32.4 *Apud veteres ultra unum anulum uti infame habitum viro*; Mart. 11.59). For jewellery in the Roman empire, see e.g. Higgins, 1965: 28–30; 1980: 173–185; Barini, 1958; Zazoff, 1983: 306–348.

Indos sardonychas: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 37.86–90. The sardonyx, a kind of agate, was set in rings or used in cameos (OCD[3] *s. gemmae*; Higgins, 1980: 36). Here it usually appears as an expensive present or a sign of ostentation (cf. 2.29.2; **4.61.6**; 9.59.19; 10.87.14; 11.27.10; 11.37.2; Juv. 6.382; 7.144).

Indos: Plin. *Nat.* 37.89 *hoc in Indicis caeruleum aut corneum invenitur*; 37.90.

Scythas zmaragdos: Scythian emeralds were, according to Pliny the Elder, the hardest and most perfect: Plin. *Nat.* 37.64–65. Martial mentions this stone (5.11; 14.109), a favourite present for women in elegiac poetry (Tib. 1.1.51; 2.4.27; Prop. 2.16.43). For emeralds in antiquity, see Higgins, 1980: 38. The Scythians were a nomadic people living north and north-west of the Black Sea.

5. dominos: *metaphorice de nummo imagine principis ornato* (TLL *s. v.* 1924.57–8).

novae monetae: cf. 12.65.6 *an de moneta Caesaris decem flavos*; 12.55.8 *a nova moneta*; 14.12.1 *flava . . . moneta.* Newly minted gold coins (Shackleton Bailey, 1993 *ad loc.*): cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.221–222 *aera dabant olim: melius nunc omen in auro est,/victaque concessit prisca moneta novae*; Mart. 1.99.13 (Citroni *ad loc*). Although Lupercus could have been given money for his services, this reference to coins in a catalogue of jewels suggests their use in jewellery: progressively, imperial coins were used as medallions, ring-seals, brooches, and charms (Higgins, 1980: 175; 180; Bruhn, 1991).

6. petit: 10.75.8; 11.27.8; 12.55.7.

usque et usque: besides its popular flavour, this repetition suggests Chloe's inveterateness: cf. 5.60.1; *Priap.* 77.8; Apul. *Met.* 9.38.

7. glabraria: a *hapax legomenon*. According to TLL (*s. v.* [Häfner]), an *amatrix glabrorum,* i.e. *homunculorum levatorum et comptorum*; cf. Ker 'enamoured of smooth-skinned boys'; Torrens 'conquistadora de adolescentes'; Estefanía 'amante de esclavos imberbes'; Scàndola 'amante degli sbarbatelli'. *Glaber*, in fact, means both smooth-faced or depilated (Apul. *Met.* 2.17; TLL *s. glaber* 1998.81–1999.9 [Häfner]), and refers specifically to a *puer delicatus* (TLL *s. glaber* 1999.10–21; Catul. 61.134–6; Sen. *Ep.* 47.7; Phaed. 4.5.22). The term is rather ambiguous, since it may also be equivalent to *pathicus* or *cinaedus* (Pl. *Aul.* 402; CIL IV 1816; Hyg. *Fab.* 274.12), denoting homosexual behaviour. Shackleton Bailey (1993) translates *glabraria* as 'prey to a smooth skin' (cf. l. 1 *tenero*). Martial sometimes attacks the relationships between matrons and their slaves (2.49; 2.60; 5.61; 6.39; 6.67; 10.40; 12.38; Schmidt, 1989), especially if they are eunuchs.

There is a second, less powerful interpretation for *glabraria*: OLD *s. v.* 'a shorn sheep' (see Ramírez de Verger 'oveja esquilada'; cf. Collesso *ad loc.* 'proprie dicitur ovis tonsa'. *Glaber* may in fact be applied to hairless animals (TLL *s. v.* 1998.43–60), although it does not refer to shearing (*tonsa*). *Tondere* is used metaphorically in the sense of 'fleecing' a person (Pl. *Bac.* 242; *Mer.* 526): cf. line 8 *nudam* and *Lupercus-lupus*. See Brotherton (1926: 50) and Pl. *Bac.* 1095; 1121ff.; *Epid.* 616 *defloccati senes*; (*Per.* 829); Prop. 2.16.8 *et stolidum pleno vellere carpe pecus* (*vid.* Otto, 1971: 260).

For other similar adjectives ending in *-arius* with the meaning 'fond of', see Mart. 11.100.6 (cf. 4.87.3); Stephani, 1889: 50–52; Cooper, 1975: 70–76; 147–155; Salemme, 1976: 17–18; Watson, 2002: 241.

vae tibi: cf. 2.60.3; 5.33.2.

misella: for the use of diminutives in Martial's epigrams, see Salemme, 1976: 23–25. For this vocative, see Dickey, 2002: 342. This *misella* is reminiscent of the *sermo quotidianus* and part of the literary tradition (Pl. *Rud.* 550; Catul. 3.16; 35.14; 40.1; 45.21; 80.7; Cic. *Fam.* 14.4.3; *Att.* 3.23.5; Lucil. 1172; 1245; Petr. 63.4; 65.10; Var. *Men.* 205.2; Priap. 78.5; Juv. 13.213; Mart. 8.81.8; 12.77.7; Apul. *Met.* 6.9 *Psychen misellam*).

8. Nudam te statuet tuus Lupercus: cf. 4.29.5 (n.). There is a double entendre in *nudam*: if she keeps giving him jewels and clothes she will end up 'naked' and 'penniless' (see OLD *s. v.* 10: Cic. *S. Rosc.* 23 *hunc . . . nudum eicit domo; Att.* 1.16.3; Hor. *Carm.* 3.16.23; *S.* 2.3.184; Juv. 3.210; 6.232 *spoliis nudi gaudere mariti*; cf. also Turp.

com. 43 *modo forte . . . ita me destituit nudum* (Cic. *Fam.* 9.22.1); Liv. 30.44.10 *cum inermem iam ac nudam destitui.* There is similar wordplay in an epigram in the Greek Anthology:

Εὐφρὼ καὶ Θαῒς καὶ Βοίδιον, αἱ Διομήδους,
  Γραῖαι, ναυκλήρων ὁλκάδες εἰκόσοροι,
Ἆγιν καὶ Κλεοφῶντα καὶ Ἀνταγόρην, ἕν' ἑκάστη,
  γυμνούς, ναυηγῶν ἥσσονας, ἐξέβαλον.
ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐταῖς νηυσὶ τὰ ληστρικὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης
  φεύγετε· Σειρήνων αἵδε γὰρ ἐχθρότεραι (5.161).

There is further wordplay in the name *Lupercus*: in the *Lupercalia* (*vid.* OCD[3] *s. v.*; Dion Hal.1 80.1; Ov. *Fast.* 2.19–36; 267–452; Plu. *Ant.* 12; *Rom.* 21; *Caes.* 61) the *Luperci* ran about naked, whipping spectators, especially women, with leather lashes: cf. Verg. *A.* 8.663 *nudosque Lupercos*; Varr. *L.* 6.34 *Lupercis nudis*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.267 *nudos . . . Lupercos.* For Holleman (1976), this line alludes to a practice abolished in imperial times, though perhaps maintained clandestinely: 'the disrobing of the pudenda of the women involved' (863). Shackleton Bailey interprets this line as 'will make a prostitute of you' (cf. OLD *s. v. sto* 1c). Apart from all these implications, the literary echoes reinforce the role-reversal mentioned above: Lupercus, instead of covering his beloved with jewels and clothes (like, for instance, Pygmalion: Ov. *Met.* 10.263–265), strips and ruins her.

29

A literary poem on Martial's own art and publishing routine: if the poet wrote more and published more often, the reader would not enjoy each book of epigrams so much. Addressed to Pudens, who must have been an enthusiast of his work (cf. *releges*), the poem has a didactic tone: it begins with an absolute assertion, which might be seen as the answer to his friend's demands (*Why don't you write more?*). More published books, states the poet, would 'saturate the market'. Readers enjoy a few epigrams now and then, but soon become tired of them (cf. **4.89.7**). This is an aspect of a more general principle (*rara iuvant*), which introduces a carefully selected sequence of similes, taken from the natural world, from social and erotic conventions, and from literature itself. Looked at more closely, however, every single comparison has to do with poetry: fruits and flowers evoke the rural milieu of bucolic poetry (3–4); the third distich clearly draws on two elegiac motifs (the *avara puella* and the *exclusus amator*); the following couplet deals openly with poetry, as the satiric poet Persius, who published just one book, is compared with Domitius Marsus. Very subtly, the poet is siding with other minor genres, such as pastoral, elegy and satire, and detaching himself from other serious forms of poetry. The end of the poem *sic tibi pluris erit* confirms his self-confidence and his pride: Pudens, by imagining that the book he is reading is the only one, will derive more pleasure from a unique and rare jewel. As usual, his self-apologetic tone turns into pride and satisfaction (cf. 4.14).

Further reading: Bardon, 1956: 56–57; Dams, 1970: 193–194; Shackleton Bailey, 1989: 135; Sullivan, 1991: 56–77; Merli, 1996: 382–383.

1–2. General statement on epigram as a genre (1.45; 2.1; 9.50; 10.1.1; cf. 8.29; 10.59; 12.4). Notice the apologetic mood conveyed by *obstat, lassat*, and *implet.*

1. Obstat . . . turba: a visual and striking image. *Turba* denotes a disorderly (human) crowd, but it may also mean an entourage (5.7.5–6; 7.32.3; cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.1.6; 1.7.37). Both Martial and Ovid use the

term to refer to their poems: 13.3.1 *Omnis in hoc gracili Xeniorum turba libello*; Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.109. *Sua turba* is ambiguous: at first it seems to allude to the poems in the book, but in the end it is clear that it refers to the books themselves.

Pudens: Aulus Pudens, a friend and admirer of Martial's work (**4.13.1** n.; 7.11; Galán *ad loc.*).

nostris . . . libellis: the possessive adjective is by no means trivial: when addressing the Emperor in this same book he chose *meus*: 4.8.10; 4.27.1 (but contrast *nostra Thalia*, 4.8.12). *Nostri libelli* appears whenever the poet shows his satisfaction (4.49.7; 4.72.1), even beneath an apparent apologetic tone (4.31.1).

2. lectorem: the reader is the motivation for Martial's epigrams: 5.16.1–2; 10.2.5. He would rather please his audience than the critics (9.81): cf. **4.49.10** (n.); **4.89.7** (n.). For Martial's attitudes towards his readers, see Galán Rodríguez, 1994; Spisak, 1997.

frequens . . . opus: *frequens* reinforces the visual image of the previous line and anticipates *rara* (l. 3; cf. 14.122.1). The reader is still uncertain whether Martial means short or occasional books, for the adjective means both 'crowded' (cf. 1 *obstat . . . turba*; OLD *s. v.* 2–3) and 'frequent' (OLD *s. v.* 6).

lassat: cf. **4.89.7** *lector queriturque deficitque*; 3.68.11 *longum iam lassa libellum/ponebas*; Ov. *Ep.* 20.241 *Longior infirmum ne lasset epistula corpus*. Notice the wordplay between *opus* and *lassat* (cf. 4.82.8; Ov. *Am.* 1.*ep.*).

implet: cf. 11.108.1–2 (Kay); 10.59.5–6. *Implere* here means both 'tire' and 'stuff' (TLL *s. v.* 633.38–58 [Rehm]).

3–4. Cf. Macr. 7.32 *aestivae nives et hibernae rosae*; Mamert. 11 *alineni temporis poma, aestivae nives, hibernae rosae*. Early fruits and winter roses are more valued because of their scarcity. Notice that both *gratia* and *pretium* would be applicable to writing and publishing.

3. rara iuvant: a gnomic expression, a reworking of *nihil nimis* (μηδέν ἄγαν): Ter. *Hau.* 519; Cic. *Fin.* 3.73; Sen. *Ep.* 94.43; Juv. 11.208 *voluptates commendat rarior usus*; see Tosi, 1991: 785–7. Notice that the word *rara* was used in **4.13.3**, on Pudens' wedding. It certainly puts the accent on his sophisticated taste.

primis sic maior gratia pomis: *gratia* is frequently applied to the natural world (cf. Verg. *G.* 1.83; Plin. *Nat.* 1.19; 12.44; 15.116;

TLL *s. v.* 2213.36–2214.36 [H.]), but it also refers to literary style (cf. Hor. *Ars* 69; Prop. 1.2.29; Mart. 9.26.5; TLL *s. v.* 2214.37–2215.45), and especially to epigram itself: Plin. *Ep.* 4.18.2.

4. Hibernae . . . rosae: 6.80.2 (Grewing *ad loc.*); 13.127; *A. P.* 6.345 (Gow-Page, 1968 II: 216); Flor. *Epit.* 1.24 *conlatis undique quamvis per hiemem rosis*; Sen. *Ep.* 122.3 *qui hieme concupiscunt rosam.*

pretium: winter roses are the most expensive. *Pretium*, meaning both 'value' and 'price', is not foreign to literary language: a select brief book of epigrams will be more appreciated by the occasional patron and therefore more profitable to its author, who does not live on royalties. *Pretium* is both the value of the work (7.17.8; 9.99.8) and the profit it produces (2.92.2).

5–6. Cf. Tib. 1.8.75–76 *Nunc omnes odit fastus, nunc displicet illi/ quaecumque obposita est ianua dura sera*. This distich contains two major elegiac topoi (the *avara puella* and the *exclusus amator*), smoothly introduced by the preceding line: the rose is a ubiquitous symbol of love, women, and beauty; *pretium* anticipates greed (Tib. 2.4.39; [Tib.] 3.1.7; Ov. *Am.* 1.8.69; 1.10.17; 1.10.32; 1.10.47). The erotic principle that resistance is more attractive than compliance (**4.38** n.) takes shape in the disdainful elegiac *puella* (cf. e.g. Tib. 1.8.77; Ov. *Ars* 3.509–11; Gibson *ad loc.*; Mart. 10.14.7). If she were more lenient, her lover would lose interest: Ov. *Ars* 3.579–580; *Rem.* 405.

5. spoliatricem . . . amicam: see Stephani (1889: 37) for the rare feminine term *spoliatrix*, only attested in Martial and Cicero: *Cael.* 52 *tune Venerem illam tuam spoliare ornamentis, spoliatricem ceterorum*. The idea that the beloved demands expensive presents which may ruin her lover is expressed in similar terms both in erotic elegy and in comedy: Tib. 2.4.25 *dominam . . . rapacem*; Ov. *Am.* 1.10.29 *sola viro mulier spoliis exultat ademptis*; Mart. 5.42.5 *Dispensatorem fallax spoliabit amica*; cf. 11.27.9–14. For gifts and greed as an amatory motif, see **4.28** (n.); Zagagi, 1987; Navarro, 1991; 1996.

commendat fastus: *fastus* means both pride and disdain (Prop. 1.18.5–6; Ov. *Met.* 14.762).

6. If the door of his beloved's house were always open, a lover would soon be bored: obstacles are more stimulating (e.g. Tib. 1.2.6–7). Paradoxically, the *exclusus amator* would be more attached to his girl.

iuanua . . . semper aperta: cf. Tib. 1.2.6 *clauditur et dura ianua firma sera*; 1.2.9 *ianua, iam pateas uni mihi, victa querelis*; 1.4.78 *cunctis ianua nostra patet*; 1.5.67–68 *nec verbis victa patescit/ianua*; 1.8.76 (*supra*); 2.3.74; 2.4.31; Prop. 1.16; 2.9.42 *et furtim misero ianua aperta mihi*; 2.16.6 *nunc sine me tota ianua nocte patet*; 2.23.12 *ah pereant, si quos ianua clausa iuvat!*; 4.9.62 *nec tulit iratam ianua clausa sitim*; Ov. *Am.* 1.6; 1.8.77–78; 2.1.20; 2.12.3; 3.1.46; *Ars* 2.523–524. For the *exclusus amator*, see Copley, 1956; Henderson, 1973; Yardley, 1978.

7. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.94 *Multum et verae gloriae quamvis uno libro Persius meruit.*

Saepius . . . numeratur: an infrequent use of the verb; Ker (1968) translates it as 'wins credit'; Shackleton Bailey suspects that 'it was a gaming term, corresponding to "scores a point"' (1989: 135). Tempting as it is, no arguments are put forward for such an interpretation. An ellipsis could somehow be involved: it could be compared with 1.39.1 *raros inter numerandus amicos*; in the words of Calderinus, *Persius numeratur inter poetas* (*in* here would have an instrumental, rather than local, meaning). This *numeratur*, however, is very close to **4.40.2** *ter numeranda*. In any case, there might be wordplay with *turba*, *frequens*, *in libro uno*.

Persius: Aulus Persius Flaccus, the satirical poet, lived and wrote under Nero's reign. He died very young (AD 34–62) and composed only six satires. Martial does not state this explicitly, but Persius had a marked influence on his epigrams (cf. **4.49**).

8. levis in tota Marsus Amazonide: Domitius Marsus was a precursor of Latin epigram, and highly regarded by Martial (1.pr.; 2.71.3; 2.77.5; 5.5.6; 7.29.8; 7.99.7). He lived under Augustus and, according to Martial, was one of Maecenas' protégés (7.29.7–8; 8.55.21–24), although this point is questioned by Byrne, 2004. Among his surviving works, there is only one epigram (part of a larger collection entitled *Cicuta*), a poem on Tibullus' death, and fragments of two poems on Augustus' mother, as well as a prose treatise, *De Urbanitate* (Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.102; see Ramage, 1959), which probably influenced Martial (Byrne, 2004: 261). The nature of his *Amazonis* is unknown, but Martial makes it clear that it was not well received (Haupt [1876, III: 332–333] argued that Horace's *Carm.* 4.4.18–22 was an implicit attack on Marsus and his *Amazonis*; see also Byrne, 2004: 162 n. 37). It might have been an epic (see **4.49** for Martial's dislike of the

genre), as Haupt argues: 'velim autem scire quidnam Amazonis pluribus libris conscripta potuerit esse aliud quam epicum carmen' (1876, III: 333); or an *epyllion* on Penthesilea (Byrne, 2004: 162). According to Cameron (1995: 312), it might instead be a prolix elegiac work (cf. 7.29.8). *Tota* stresses this idea (Bardon, 1956: 57), while Martial mentions his verbosity in another poem: 2.77.5–6 *Marsi doctique Pedonis/ saepe duplex unum pagina tractat opus*. For Shackleton Bailey (1993 *ad loc.*), it is strange that Martial chose this work as an example of a long epic poem. Enigmatic as this *Amazonis* may be, the implication is clear enough: Martial does not want to make the same mistake as his admired predecessor (Bardon, 1956: 57). *Levis* alludes to his facet as a writer of minor poetry (cf. 7.8.9 *leviora . . . carmina*; 9.73.9 *leves calamos*; Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.339 *leve . . . opus, iuvenilia carmina*; TLL *s. v.* 1212.2–39 [Kosler]; see Bardon, 1956: 57), but does not necessarily have a derogative sense (as Haupt [1876, III: 333] suggests) nor imply that Martial liked the poem (as believed by Fogazza, 1981).

For more information on Domitius Marsus, his surviving works and, particularly, his *Amazonis*, see RE V1 s. *Domitius* 66 (Skutsch); OCD[3] *s. Domitius Marsus*; PIR[2] D 153; Haupt, 1876, III: 332–333; Bardon, 1956: 52–57; Courtney, 1993: 300–305; Fogazza, 1981 (especially 22–25); Byrne, 2004 (especially 261–262).

9. Tu quoque: after the list of similes, Martial resumes his initial statement. *Tu quoque* has Ovidian echoes and it is tinged with didactic undertones (cf. e.g. *Ars* 1.49; 1.492; 3.225; 3.797).

de nostris . . . quemcumque libellis: there is a hint of humbleness in the use of the indefinite pronoun: cf. 3.1.1.

releges: cf. 2.6.5; 11.52.17. Martial seems to be responding to his friend, who may have asked for a new book. Re-reading conveys the idea that Martial's poetry, light and straightforward as it seems, is in fact intricate and elaborate.

10. esse puta solum: sic tibi pluris erit: any of his books would be more appreciated if there were only one. Elsewhere the readers are given the right to abridge Martial's work as they like: cf. 6.65.4; 10.1; 14.2.

30

The poet warns an anonymous listener not to fish in an imperial *vivarium*, as its fish are sacred and domesticated. The advice is serious and a Libyan beggar bears witness to it: he was blinded for fishing there. The epigram ends by resuming the initial warning: 2 *ne nocens recedas*/14 *innocens recede*; 3 *sacris piscibus*/16 *pisces venerare delicatos*. The Emperor, who has consistently been portrayed as a god in this book (**4.1**; **4.3**; **4.8**), is accorded divine proportions here as well. In fact, there is a long tradition of texts describing consecrated fish in eastern religions, especially in Syria (X. *An.* 1.4.10; Cic. *N. D.* 3.15 *piscem Syrii venerantur*; Athen. *Deipn.* 8.346d; Ael. *NA* 12.2), but not exclusively (Plin. *Nat.* 32.17; Ael. *NA* 12.29–30; Plu. *Mor.* 976a). Dölger (1928) focuses extensively on this subject: these fish either lived in sacred lakes or ponds within temples or were consecrated to a deity. Accordingly, they must not be caught (Dölger, 1929: 166). The lake or fishpond in this poem does not belong to a temple, but to imperial properties in the environs of Baiae.

Pisciculture was already very popular in Republican times, not only for food provision (Toynbee, 1973: 209–210; cf. Var. *R.* 2.pr.6; 3.16.1), but mainly as an ornamental leisure activity (Var. *R.* 3.17.2). These *vivaria* or *piscinae* in Roman villas seem to have been 'an expensive affectation, a Roman adoption of a diversion first indulged by Hellenistic kings' (D'Arms, 1970: 41; cf. Ael. *NA* 8.2.592a1). There is a substantial number of anecdotes regarding this practice: some of these *piscinarii* showed excessive care for their peculiar pets (Cic. *Att.* 2.1.7; *Parad.* 5.38; Var. *R.* 3.17.5; Sen. *Dial.* 5.40.2–4; *Cl.* 1.18.2; Plin. *Nat.* 9.77; 9.171–2), feeding them from their own hands, adorning them with jewels, and even mourning their deaths (Ael. *NA* 8.4; Plu. *Mor.* 89a; 811a; Macr. 3.15.4; Porph. *De abstinentia* 3.5). Especially significant here are the following passages by Pliny and Martial himself:

> Cum plausu congregari feros ad cibum adsuetudine in quibusdam vivariis spectetur et in piscinis Caesaris genera piscium ad nomen venire quosdamve singulos. itaque produntur etiam clarissime audire mugil, lupus, salpa, chromis et ideo in vado vivere (Plin. *Nat.* 10.193).

> Piscina rhombum pascit et lupos vernas,
> natat ad magistrum delicata muraena,
> nomenculator mugilem citat notum,
> et adesse iussi prodeunt senes mulli (Mart. 10.30.21–24).

Curiously, these tame animals show the same behaviour as sacred fish (*supra*): they approach, eat out of their keeper's hands, and are adorned. This blending of the religious and the pagan is masterfully exploited here. As in poem **4.3**, a prominent daily-life phenomenon is given religious significance. In other epigrams, tame animals are said to worship the Emperor (*Sp.* 17; 29; 1.6; Dölger, 1929: 163–173). Likewise, Domitian's fish are sacred for they belong to him (Dölger, 1929: 169): their eating from his hand is seen as a sign of worship (Weinreich, 1928: 168). The *exemplum* of the Libyan is disquieting. Post suggests that it alludes to a real story: someone caught fishing in the imperial pond had apparently been blinded by order of the Emperor. This is rather unlikely and totally absent from such biased historical sources as Suetonius and Cassius Dio. A symbolic interpretation should always be possible: blindness is a traditional form of divine punishment. As in **4.2**, the violation of the Emperor's rules results in 'divine retribution'. See Lorenz (2002: 137–138) for the symbolic qualities of this passage.

Urso (1989: 107–117) has reinterpreted this poem in a radically different way: under the appearance of a religious composition, this could be an erotic, comic poem. Martial, as a *magister amoris*, warns a potential lover of the dangers of Baiae (see also Urso, 1992, for Catullan echoes in this poem). Although her particular readings are intriguing, the overall interpretation of the poem becomes rather forced and it is not generally given credit.

Further reading: Weinreich, 1928: 143–145; Dölger, 1928; 1929: 163–173; Corcoran, 1959; Urso, 1989; 1992: 461–465; Lorenz, 2002: 137–138; Watson-Watson, 2003: 109–112.

1. The Emperor's fishponds in Baiae were open to the public (D'Arms, 1970: 135).

Baiano . . . lacu: traditionally interpreted as an imperial *vivarium* in (or near) the *Lacus Lucrinus* (Weinreich, 1928: 151), an area in which fish farming was widespread (Plin. *Nat.* 9.168–172). The imperial fishponds (Plin. *Nat.* 9.167; 10.193 *piscinis Caesaris*; Juv. 4.51 *vivaria Caesaris*) were located along the coast (D'Arms, 1970: 135 n. 89).

Although *lacus* is never used in the sense of fishpond (Urso, 1989: 108), the poet might well be comparing Domitian's *piscina* with the Lake itself (Post *ad loc.*). For Baiae and Lake Lucrine, see **4.57** (n.).

procul: cf. Verg. *A.* 6.258 *procul, o procul este, profani*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.623 *procul hinc, procul impius esto*; 4.365 *procul hinc discedite*. The adverb endows the line with a religious tone: the fisherman is portrayed as a neophyte. For parodic interpretations, cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.1.3; *Ars* 1.31; *Priap.* 8.1; Dölger, 1929; 172; Lorenz, 2002: 137 n. 103; Ov. *Rem.* 214.

monemus: Sen. *Ag.* 732; Mart. 6.73.9.

2. It is natural that fishing in the imperial ponds should have been forbidden, not because the fish were considered sacred, but because they were private property. However, the poet takes advantage of the eastern traditions of sacred fish in order to magnify the portrait of Domitian.

ne nocens recedas: cf. 14 *innocens recede*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.13 *procul hinc, procul ite nocentes.*

3. sacris piscibus hae natantur undae: for *natare* in the passive voice, cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.48; *Tr.* 5.2.25; Mart. 6.43.2; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.27. Incidentally, Baiae's springs and waters are said to be sacred: Mart. 4.57.7 (n.); [Tib]. 3.5.3 *sacris Baiarum . . . lymphis* (Navarro *ad loc.*).

4. qui norunt dominum: cf. Catul. 3.6–7. These prodigious fish recognise their master: 1.104.22 *norunt cui serviant leones*. *Dominum* alludes to the Emperor, not necessarily referring to his title *dominus et deus* (5.2.6; 7.34.8; 8.2.6; 9.16.3), but as their owner. The term *dominus* is a frequent form of address to the emperors (TLL *s. v.* 1927.3–1928.27; for the special case of Domitian, see Scott, 1933: 249–250; Thompson, 1984; Martin, 1986: 205–207; Clauss, 1999: 119–121).

manumque lambunt: tame fish (Weinreich, 1929: 144) eat out of their owner's hand (strictly speaking, fish cannot lick: Watson-Watson *ad loc.*): cf. Cic. *Att.* 2.1.7 *si mulli barbati in piscinis sint qui ad manum accedant*; Plin. *Nat.* 32.16 *E manu vescuntur pisces in pluribus quidem Caesaris villis*; 32.17 *ora hiantia manibus inserendis praebent*; Ael. *NA* 8.4 Ἦσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἰχθύες πρᾳοί τε ἅμα καὶ χειροήθεις καὶ οἷοι καλούμενοί τε ὑπακούειν καὶ διδόντων τροφὰς ἑτοίμως δέχεσθαι; 12.30 Χειροήθεις δὲ ἰχθῦς καὶ ὑπακούοντες τῇ κλήσει καὶ τροφὰς ἀσμένως

δεχόμενοι πολλαχόθι καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ τρέφονται; 8.4.4 (*vid. infra*). *Lambere* implies domestication (*Sp.* 18.1–2 *Lambere securi dextram consueta magistri/tigris*; 6.64.29 *Sit placidus (ursus) licet et lambat digitosque manusque*; Ov. *Met.* 1.646 *illa manus lambit*; Plin. *Nat.* 8.56), and also acknowledgement of divinity: 14.107.1–2.

4–5. manum/illam qua nihil est in orbe maius: cf. *Horap. Hieroglyphica* 1.34 ἐπειδὴ ἡλίου ἐστὶν ὁ φοῖνιξ σύμβολον, οὗ μηδέν ἐστι πλεῖον κατὰ τὸν κόσμον (Dölger, 1929: 167 n. 29). The Emperor's hand has superhuman proportions: **4.1.6**; **4.8.10**; 6.1.5 *magnas Caesaris . . . manus*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.60–63; Weinreich, 1928: 145; Dölger, 1929: 167; Scott, 1936: 118.

6–7. Quid quod nomen habent et ad magistri/vocem quisque sui venit citatus?: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 10.193 (*loc. cit.*); 32.17 *nam in Lycia Myris in fonte Apollinis, quem Curium appellant, ter fistula vocati veniunt ad augurium*; 32.17 *Hieropoli Syriae in lacu Veneris aedituorum vocibus parent, vocati veniunt*; Mart. 10.30.22 (*loc. cit.*); Luc. *Syr. D.* 45 οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οὐνόματα ἔχουσιν καὶ ἔρχονται καλεόμενοι; Ael. *NA* 8.4.1 (*loc. cit.*); 8.4.4 καὶ καλοῦντος τοῦ Κράσσου τὸ φώνημα ἐγνώριζε, καὶ ἀνενήχετο, καὶ ὀρέγοντος ὅ τι οὖν ἣ δὲ ἤσθιε προθύμως καὶ ἑτοίμως λαμβάνουσα; 8.4.16 καὶ τῶν γε θεραπευτήρων ἐπιψαυόντων καὶ ἐπαφωμένων ὑπομένειν καὶ κούφως φέρειν, καὶ κεχηνέναι καθιέντων ἐκείνων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας σφίσι καθαιρόντων καὶ τὰ ἐσδυόμενα τῶν σαρκίων ἐξαιρούντων; 8.4.23 Πτολεμαίου . . . καλοῦντος τὸν πραότατον τῶν κροκοδείλων μὴ ὑπακοῦσαί φασι καὶ τροφὰς ὀρέγοντος μὴ προσίεσθα; Plu. *Mor.* 975f πολλαχοῦ δ' ἰχθῦς ὑπακούοντας αὐτῶν ὀνόμασιν.

quid quod: cf. 4.27.3 (n.).

6. magistri: *magister* may allude both to a priest (TLL *s. v.* 80.4–20 [Wolff]; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 32.17) and a keeper (TLL *s. v.* 84.69–85.3; cf. *Sp.* 10.1; 17.3; 18.1; 22.1; 1.48.1; 1.104.10; 2.75.1; 11.69.1). Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*) add that *magister* might be the Emperor himself (Cic. *Rep.* 3.33), but this is unlikely in the light of previously quoted passages.

8–13. An illustrative *exemplum* is provided: a Libyan became blind when fishing in this pond. Blindness provoked by impiety reinforces the links between this poem and the context of eastern religions, as this was a traditional divine punishment, especially documented in

the cult of Isis (Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.53–58; Juv. 13.90–94). The sin could be purged, however, if the offender, dressed as a beggar, knelt down like a supplicant. For the physical punishments imposed by the Syrian Goddess, see 4.43.7 (n.); for parallels between eastern religions and this anecdote, see Weinreich, 1928: 148; Urso, 1989: 111 n. 17.

8. hoc . . . profundo: cf. 10.37.15 *Illic piscoso modo vix educta profundo*; 13.80.1 *Quae natant in siculo grandis murena profundo*. The term mainly refers to the sea (TLL *s. v.* 1748.12–61 [Hays]), but it can also be applied to a lake, river, and the like (TLL *s. v.* 1749.23–32; cf. Auson. *Mos.* 28). It is worth remembering that the *vivarium* was equated with a lake in the first line. Statius gives this name to a bath (*Silv.* 1.5.54).

Libys impius: Libya, in the north of Africa, usually referred in a broad sense to the whole area, including Carthage (Ov. *Pont.* 4.16.3; Luc. 7.800; Mart. 9.43.9). This allusion may be read as a subtle political example of how those opposing Rome (and the Emperor *is* Rome) deserve punishment (cf. 4.11.3 *impia . . . bella*). However, this specific allusion may support the idea that the event actually took place (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*).

9–10. Notice the assonance *tremente-repente.*

9. dum praedam calamo tremente ducit: cf. 1.55.9 *et piscem tremula salientem ducere saeta*; 3.58.27 *tremulave captum linea trahit piscem*; Ov. *Ars* 2.77 *aliquis, tremula dum captat harundine pisces; Met.* 8.217–219 (Bömer *ad loc.*); cf. *Met.* 3.587 *calamo salientis ducere pisces.*

calamo tremente: *calamus* is the fishing-rod (TLL *s. v.* 123.71–77 [Bannier]: Prop. 4.2.37; Ov. *Rem.* 208; *Met.* 3.587; *Hal.* 36; 87). *Tremente* adds a realistic hue to the passage: the fish, still alive (cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 158), tries to disentangle itself from the hook and shakes the rod. On the other hand, the verb is consistent with the religious reading of the poem (8.53.7).

10–11. The cause-effect relationship between sacrilegious fishing and blindness is reinforced by the position of the participles (*raptis/ captum*) at the beginning of each line, as well as by the alliteration: ***c***_aecus/_ ***c***_aptum_; cf. ***r***_a_***pt***_is/_***rep***_ent_***e***; ***p***_otuit/_***p***_iscem_.

10. raptis luminibus: cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.57 *erepta lumina*; Luc. 3.713 *lumine rapto*. *Luminibus* (OLD *s. v.* 9) refers to sight.

repente caecus: blindness is a form of divine punishment (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*), not exclusive to eastern religions (*vid. supra*): Ov. *Met.* 3.335 *aeterna damnavit lumina nocte*.

11. captum . . . piscem: 3.58.27; 4.66.7 (n.).

12. sacrilegos . . . hamos: though its main meaning pertains to religion, *sacrilegos* also conveys political undertones: Martial uses it several times to refer to an action against the state or the Emperor (9.61.20; Henriksén *ad loc.*; cf. 9.70.2; 9.84.1).

13. Baianos . . . ad lacus: cf. 1 *Baiano . . . a lacu*. The plural is used instead of the singular, as in 4.22.2 (n.).

rogator: an apparent equivalent of *supplex*, although Martial uses it elsewhere in the sense of 'beggar' (10.5.4).

14. At tu, dum potes, innocens recede: cf. 2 *fuge, ne nocens recedas*.

15. iactis simplicibus cibis in undas: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 32.17 *in Stabiano Campaniae ad Herculis petram melanuri in mari panem abiectum rapiunt, iidem ad nullum cibum, in quo hamus sit, accedunt*. The fisherman has brought food to use as bait (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*) and he is invited to throw it into the water to feed the fish. *Simplex*, applied to food, usually means 'light', 'without condiments' (Plin. *Nat.* 11.282; Tac. *Ger.* 23.1): here it means 'without a hook'.

16. et pisces venerare delicatos: 10.30.22 *delicata muraena*. Some humanist manuscripts and editions read *dedicatos*, a synonym for *sacris* (l. 3), but it is the *lectio facilior*. *Delicatus* is used of pet animals (Plin. *Nat.* 33.140; Plin. *Ep.* 2.11.25; OLD *s. v.* 2a), but also of elegant, and even frivolous people. *Venerare* belongs to the religious sphere: it implies awe and respect for a god, but also for the deified Emperor (1.70.5 *veneranda Palatia*; 7.60.1 *Tarpeiae venerande rector aulae*).

31

The addressee of this poem wants to see her name in Martial's poems (*dicique legique*): the poet shows an ironic willingness to fulfil her desires (*ne valeam; gratissima*), but he adduces an unavoidable obstacle, her name itself. Unsuitable for poetry, the Muses could not pronounce it, so she should change it. The traditional explanation for the inappropriateness of her name is as follows: *Hippodame* would substitute for a Roman name unfit for epigram for metrical reasons (cf. 9.11.10–12). In fact, this epigram is reminiscent of the first lines of Ov. *Pont.* 4.12, on the prosodic difficulties of including Ovid's friend's name in his poetry:

> Quo minus **in nostris ponaris**, amice, **libellis**,
> nominis efficitur condicione tui;
> aut ego **non alium prius hoc dignarer honore**,
> **est aliquis nostrum si modo carmen honor**.

In nostris libellis appears in the first line of both poems; Mart. 4.31.2 (*et nonnullus honos creditur iste tibi*) echoes Ov. *Pont.* 4.12.4 (*est aliquis nostrum si modo carmen honor*); Martial's second distich is equivalent to Ovid's third line. Finally, *inseruisse* (Mart. 4.31.4) is analogous to the equally unpoetic *ponaris* (Ov. *Pont.* 4.12.1), humbly suggesting a lack of poetic skills. However, Ovid goes on to explore different prosodic solutions, whereas Martial does not refer to technical problems with any clarity.

It is poetic decorum that is brought into play: in spite of Shackleton Bailey's doubts (1989: 135), Heraeus seems to be right in suggesting that the name had erotic connotations. Yet Martial is not mocking her for having such a connotative name or even for her implied sexual activities, but for her wish to appear in laudatory poetry. The key to the poem are the Muses themselves: Melpomene, Polyhymnia, and Calliope are related to tragedy, hymns, and epic. Hippodame's name could only be pronounced by wanton Thalia, Muse of epigram. In my opinion, this epigram should be understood as a subtle play on the poet's creative function, just like **4.17**. He claims that he is free to choose the people he wants to honour and criticise (cf. 12.61). In epigram **4.29** he defended a select, small-scale

production; this very principle seems to apply to patronage: if he praised anyone, his poetry would lose merit and value. However, there are people who like to be in the spotlight at any cost (cf. 12.78). Martial uses *praeteritio* as a subtle satirical resource: *Hippodame* only fits in an ironic mood.

Further reading: Hirschfeld, 1881: 113–114; Renn, 1888–1889: 61–62; Shackleton Bailey, 1989: 135.

1. Quod cupis . . . dicique legique: 12.41.2 *dici cupis*; 12.61.1–3 . . . *et dignus cupis hoc metu videri*; 12.61.7 *si legi laboras*.

nostris . . . libellis: **4.29.1** (n.).

2. Martial asserts that his poetry provides fame and glory: 5.15.3–4; 5.25.5; 10.2; 10.45.2; Garson, 1979: 8; Garthwaite, 1998.

iste: editors unanimously accept the *lectio* of the first family.

3. ne valeam: assertive expression (2.5.1; 6.64.18), similar to *dispeream* (1.39.8; 2.69.2; 9.95b.4; 10.11.3; 11.90.8; Catul. 92.2; 92.4; Prop. 2.21.9; *Catal.* 4.3; 7.2; Hor. *S.* 1.9.47). The ironic tone is self-evident.

gratissima nobis: cf. l. 9 *gratum Musis*. Note the presence of the plural personal pronoun (cf. 1 *nostris . . . libellis*), stressing an ironic detachment of the poet from his addressee.

4. et volo: an irony-intensifying syntactic ambiguity: *volo* may be coordinated with *ne valeam*, thus emphasising his willingness to comply with the addressee's wish. It may also be coordinated with *est*, not necessarily within the scope of negation.

inseruisse: a technical (unpoetic) term related to writing (TLL *s. v.* 1873.10–43 [Stiewe]; OLD *s. v.* 3b), but not used elsewhere by Martial. Its relation with *chartis meis* (≠ *nostris libellis*) creates irony and reveals the poet's true intentions. The perfect infinitive is used instead of the present (see Hofmann-Szantyr: 352).

chartis . . . meis: *chartis* is not chosen simply for the sake of *variatio*. *Chartae* literally means papyrus sheets (cf. 2.1.4; 4.86.11; 6.64.23) and can refer to literary works metonymically (OLD *s. v.* 3b). Martial uses *charta* in this sense as a derogatory term: 2.8.1–2; 5.6.7; 7.80.4. If it alludes to the writings of others, it has a pejorative intention (5.53.3). See Ruiz, 1980: 151–152, for its meanings. The use of *meis* instead of *nostris* contributes to this idea of feigned humbleness.

5. cf. 9.12.1 *Nomen habes teneri quod tempora nuncupat anni.*

Sed tu: frequent transitional formula: 1.3.9; 1.43.14; 2.8.8; 2.28.6; 2.77.8; 3.32.2; 7.28.9; 7.43.4; 7.44.3; 7.95.9; 9.11.12; 9.50.3; 12.3.11; 12.44.8; 14.105.2; 14.178.1.

nomen habes: this can be taken literally and figuratively, as *nomen* may refer to reputation: cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.219.

averso fonte sororum: cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.12.17 *aversis utinam tetigissem carmina Musis*; Prop. 4.1b.73 *aversus cantat Apollo*. *Aversus* is applied to unfavourable gods: Verg. *A.* 1.482; Hor. *Epod.* 10.18; *Carm.* 3.23.19; Ov. *Am.* 3.12.17; *Fast.* 1.60; Luc. 6.314; Mart. 8.62.2 *et dolet, averso quod facit illa deo*; Stat. *Theb.* 5.641; 10.71; Apul. *Met.* 7.21. *Fonte* alludes to the spring of the Muses (TLL *s. v.* 1024.12–37 [Vollmer]), who are frequently referred to as *sorores*: 1.70.15 *doctaeque sorores* (9.42.3); 1.76.3; 2.22.1; 4.14.1 *Castalidum . . . sororum*; 5.6.18 *novem sororum*; 8.3.9 *nona sororum*. Friedländer suggested the emendation *aversa fronte* (*vid.* Hirschfeld, 1881: 113–114).

6. Shackleton Bailey (1993 *ad loc.*) finds it strange that the mother named her child: maybe she was born a slave or perhaps mothers used to name girls (*vid.* Hirschfeld, 1881: 113–114). So far, however, the reader does not know that the protagonist is a woman.

impositum: *imponere nomen* is an idiomatic expression for baby-naming (TLL *s. v.* 658.56–69 [J. B. H.]: cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.708 *nomenque imponit avitum*). However, other senses of the verb can be perceived here (*imponere supplicium; poenas; plagas; vid.* TLL *s. v.* 656.74–657.3; *onus*; *vid.* TLL 657.64ff.).

dura: 'cruel' (OLD *s. v.* 5a) or 'stupid' (OLD *s. v.* 4b; TLL *s. v.* 2309.72–84 [Bannier]): cf. 5.56.10), for she probably did not take into account the connotations of the name.

7. This is the only time Martial mentions Melpomene (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.3; 3.30.16; 4.3.1), associated with tragedy, and Polyhymnia (Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.33; Ov. *Fast.* 5.9; 5.53; *Ciris* 55), originally related to hymns and sacred poetry, and later with mime (*vid.* OLD *s. v.*). These polysyllabic names somehow anticipate the protagonist's long Greek-sounding name, and corroborate the idea that the difficulties in writing a poem on her are more related to genre than prosody.

8. cf. Prop. 2.1.3 *non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo.*

pia . . . Calliope: cf. 9.86.6. She is the first of the Muses (Hes. *Th.* 80), patroness of epic poetry (Verg. *A.* 9.525; Prop. 4.6.12; Sil. 3.222; 12.390; Stat. *Theb.* 4.35; 8.374; *Silv.* 3.1.50; *A. P.* 9.504.1): the epithet *pia* is highly appropriate for her. *Pius* has a strong religious component (Mart. 7.32.7 *Te pia Cecropiae comitatur turba Minervae*; [Tib.] 3.10.25 *pia turba deorum*); it is used of Apollo, Bacchus and the Muses in Ov. *Ars* 3.347–8. There is a certain antithesis between *pia Calliope* and the name *Hippodame*: in one of the *Priapea* the poet asserts that he does not invoke chaste Muses out of shame (2.7). Perhaps it is shame that prevents the Muses, rather than the poet, from mentioning the name *Hippodame*. Notice that *pius* is frequently associated with *castus* and *pudicus*: Pl. *Am.* 1086; Ter. *Hec.* 152; Catul. 16.5 *nam castum esse decet pium poetam*; Serv. *ad Ecl.* 8.82.

9. gratum Musis: cf. 3 *gratissima nobis.*

nomen adopta: an infrequent expression, cf. Vitr. 7.pr.8 *adoptavit cognomen.*

10. non semper belle: *non belle* is a recurrent sequence in Martial's epigrams (cf. 3.37.2; 5.52.5; 6.44.5; 8.31.1; *vid.* Shackleton Bailey, 1989: 135), but here the negation affects *semper*: the name may be suitable for lighter genres such as epigram, but no one could take it seriously in other kinds of poetry. *Belle* was a trendy expression in Martial's time judging by its use in the epigrams (cf. 2.7; 12.39). It pertains to affected style (5.16.13; 6.44.5; Grewing *ad loc.*; 7.85.3; *vid.* Galán *ad loc.*; 10.46.1), as well as to social propriety and decorum (5.52.2; 10.90.4). *Non belle dicere*, besides, may mean 'to insult': Cic. *Att.* 13.38.1.

dicitur: the interplay of the different meanings of *dicere* is crucial in this epigram: 1 *dici*; 8 *dicere*; 10 *dicitur*. The first seems to be purely literary (OLD *s. v.* 7b): Verg. *G.* 2.95 *Quo te carmine dicam?*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.21 *dicenda Musis proelia.* The second appearance draws on both the literary and a more literal sense ('to pronounce'; OLD *s. v.* 5). It is worth remembering the expression *'dic, Musa'*, so intimately related to poetic inspiration, especially in parody: Hor. *Ars* 141; Mart. 3.20.1.

'Hippodame' α: *Hippodamus* *βγ*. The first form is ambiguous in terms of gender (vocative masculine, nominative feminine). According to Heraeus and Hirschfeld, 1881, it is a Greek female name (attested

in Nichander, fr. 104.5), an alternative to *Hippodamia*. *Hippodame* was Enomaus' daughter and the wife of Pelope (Enn. *Trag.* 292; Cic. *Tusc.* 3.26; Verg. *G.* 3.7), or Pirithous (Ov. *Met.* 12.210; 224).

It literally means 'horsebreaker' (Ἱππόδαμος was Castor's epithet, cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.23; *Od.* 3.17; δαμάζω means 'to tame'). Martial plays with the erotic connotations of *Hippodamos* in 7.57.2 (Galán *ad loc.*), probably because it evoked a *schema* or *figura Veneris*: cf. Ar. *V.* 501; *Lys.* 677ff.; *A. P.* 5.202; 5.203 (Gow-Page, 1965 II: 120–121); Mart. 11.104.14 *Hectoreo quotiens sederat uxor equo* (Fortuny, 1986: 84–85); Hor. *S.* 2.7.47–50; Ov. *Ars* 2.732; 3.777–8 *Parva vehatur equo: quod erat longissima, numquam/ Thebaïs Hectoreo nupta resedit equo*; Juv. 6.311; CIL IV 1781. Adams (1982: 165–6) suggests that this posture, the woman on top, 'was considered as slightly abnormal, and one which a woman would concede only as a special favour'. *Equus* could be a metaphor for the male organ (Montero, 1991: 94–95). These erotic connotations prevent a decent Muse (*pia*) from pronouncing such a name. The protagonist wants to be praised by the poet, but he resorts to the genre limitations of his epigrams: his is a playful Muse and any attempt to write a serious poem with that name would be fruitless.

Hirschfeld (1881: 113–114) suggests that under the name *Hippodame* hides a Latin name, such as *Domitia Caballina* (*Hippo-dame*), and he relates this passage with the first line of Persius' prologue (*fons Caballinus; vid.* Kissel *ad loc.*). Renn (1889: 62), on the other hand, defends the masculine. According to Roman customs, fathers named boys and mothers girls, so that this must be a woman's name. However, he imagines that, not having a legitimate father, the mother, probably called *Hippodame* herself, named her son *Hippodamus*. In any case, the final joke would have the same intention.

32

Description of a bee fossilised in amber. Epigrams **4.59** and 6.15 deal with the same subject. They describe the sudden deaths of a viper and an ant respectively, trapped in a resin drop, whereas 4.32 lacks movement and dynamism: it is a reflection on the paradoxical nature of death. These three epigrams share some remarkable features (Grewing, 1997: 151): Phaethon's death is subtly present; fossilisation in amber seems to be a desirable death according to their final lines; they also share parallel expressions: 4.32.1 *Phaethontide . . . gutta* ↔ 6.15.1–2 *Phaethontea . . . umbra . . . gutta*; 4.32.3 *premium* ↔ 6.15.4 *pretiosa*; 4.59.6 *nobiliore*; finally, antithesis is a prominent device. There are further correspondences, such as the use of funerary terms: 4.32.1 *condita*; 4.32.2 *clusa*; 4.59.5 *sepulchro*; 4.59.6 *tumulo . . . iacet*; 6.15.4 *funeribus*. Grewing (1997) ascribes these epigrams to the animal *epicedia* tradition (Catul. 3; Ov. *Am.* 2.6; Stat. *Silv.* 2.4; 2.5; Mart. 11.69; *A. P.* 7.209 (Gow-Page, 1965 II: 79–80); 7.210 (ibid. 84); 7.216 (Gow-Page, 1968 II: 34); 9.417; 9.18; 9.222; 9.370; 7.364; 7.207 (ibid. 642); see Mart. 4.59 n. and Grewing *ad* 6.15), but, as no lament can be found in them, they do not strictly conform to this subgenre. Szelest (1976) associates them with epigrams dealing with bizarre deaths; Watson (2001: 940) points out that these epigrams are part of the *ekphrasis* tradition, inasmuch as they describe beautiful rare objects. Alongside White (1974), they argue that 4.32 and 6.15 may have been inspired by the contemplation of such fossils exhibited at the place of one of his patrons.

Apart from Bonvicini (1986: 324–328), this cycle is explored by Ramelli (1997: 233–246), who stresses the symbolic nuances of amber: it ennobles and immortalises an otherwise insignificant being. Myth also contributes to this 'nobilitazione del dato quotidiano' (Ramelli, 1997: 239). The powerful image of amber aside, there are further symbolic connotations: amber is compared to immortality-evoking honey (*nectare*); the bee was traditionally said to have a divine nature and be closely related to death. Its end in a drop of amber is presented as a well-deserved reward for its efforts in life: it thus becomes a symbol of eternal beauty. Unexpected death (cf. **4.18**; **4.59**; **4.60**) is less central here than deep reflection on beauty and immortality.

Given that honey resembles amber so much, the immortalisation of the industrious bee is strongly reminiscent of the artist immortalised in his work (see Schwarzenberg, 2002: 61).

As regards structure, Siedschlag classifies 4.32 within *Ereignis-Kommentar* epigrams (cf. e.g. **4.35**; **4.59**; **4.63**): short epigrams with no apostrophe, which can be divided into two parts, the second being shorter and offering a reflection on the first (1977: 100–105).

Tacitus and Pliny the Elder mention little animals trapped in amber: Tac. *Ger.* 45.6 *sucum tamen arborum esse intellegas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque* ***interlucent****, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia* ***clauduntur***; Plin. *Nat.* 37.46 *liquidum id primo destillare argumento sunt quaedam intus* ***tralucentia****, ut formicae culicesque et lacertae, quae adhaesisse musteo non est dubium et* ***inclusa*** *durescente eodem remansisse.*

Further reading: Szelest, 1976; Bonvicini; 1986; Ramelli, 1997; Laurens, 1998: 201–203; Ruiz Sánchez, 1998: 106; Watson, 2001; Moreno Soldevila, 2004c. For the tradition of animal *epicedia*, see Herrlinger, 1930, especially 100–101. For a detailed study on the mythical implications of amber, see Schwarzenberg, 2002.

1. Note the repetition of /t/.

Et latet et lucet: cf. 4.22.3–4 *sed prodidit unda latentem:/lucebat, totis cum tegeretur aquis*; 8.68.6–7 *et tegitur felix nec tamen uva latet:/femineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus* (Schöffel *ad loc.*); Auson. *Mos.* 66. *lucetque latetque calculus* (see TLL *s. lucere* 1694.64–80 [B.]). The epigram begins enigmatically: the paradoxical combination of death and the absence of decay is rendered in these initial antithetic words, the close relationship between which is reinforced by alliteration and homoioteleuton (Bonvicini, 1986: 325–6), along with the emphatic repetition of *et.* Martial focuses on luminosity (Bonvicini, 1986: 325): *lucere* is used of the sun (cf. *Phaethontide*; cf. e.g. Lucr. 5.610), as well as jewels and precious stones (2.29.2; 14.109.1; TLL *s. v.* 1693.5–1694.19).

Phaethontide . . . gutta: amber is indirectly evoked by means of the aetiological myth of Phaethon's death: his sisters, the *Heliades*, were transformed into trees and their tears into amber drops (E. *Hipp.* 732–741; Apol. *Arg.* 4.603–606; Strab. 5.215.9; Ov. *Met.* 2.340–366; Serv. *Ecl.* 6.62). Amber was associated with the sun (Ahl, 1985: 189; cf. e.g. Hom. *Od.* 18.296; Plin. *Nat.* 37.31; cf. *lucet* above). Besides, a mourning scene is evoked by the Heliades' tears (Ov. *Met.* 10.263), along with the connotations of *condita.* Amber was consid-

ered a precious material in antiquity (cf. e.g. Apul. *Met.* 2.19; see Ramelli, 1997: 233–246; RE III 1 [1897] *s. Bernstein* [Blümer]), as well as a powerful symbol (see Schwarzenberg, 2002). Ruiz Sánchez (1998: 104) aptly summarises the symbolic ambiguity of this image: 'el ámbar, conectado por el mito con el dolor y la muerte (lágrimas de las Helíades por la muerte de su hermano Faetonte), se convierte en joya, transformando el sufrimiento en belleza'.

Phaethontide: *Phaethontis* is rarer than *Phaethonteus* (4.25.2; 6.15.1 *Phaethontea . . . in umbra*; 10.12.2; Ov. *Met.* 4.246; Stat. *Theb.* 1.221): Ov. *Met.* 12.581. Schwarzenberg (2002: 42) remarks that the myth of Phaethon, a recurrent motif in sarcophagus carvings (LIMC VII 2 *s. v.* 311–313), symbolised premature deaths. For other premature deaths in this book, cf. 4.3; 4.18.

condita: 'hidden' (OLD *s. v.* 5; cf. *latet*), but also 'preserved' (OLD *s. v.* 2): the bee, forever beautiful, will never decay within amber. However, *condere* also means 'to trap', 'to enclose' (cf. *clusa*; 4.59.4 *vincta*; 6.15.2 *implicuit*), and 'to bury': 7.96.1; 11.13.7. Not only is amber a precious jewel preserving the insect, but also its tomb: cf. 4.59.6. Watson (2001) relates this epigram with others in which the cause of the animal's death also becomes its sepulchre: *A. P.* 11.86.

gutta: a poetic term for *lacrima* (Acc. *Trag.* 578; Verg. *A.* 11.90; Prop. 4.1.144) but, as in this case, it may also allude to a solidified material such as amber (4.59.2; 6.15.2).

2. ut videatur apis nectare clusa suo: the union of beauty and death implies confusion between appearance and reality (*videatur*): the rest of the epigram draws on the similarity of amber and honey, an unmistakable symbol of immortality in antiquity.

videatur: according to Ruiz Sánchez, '*videatur* sirve para atenuar en el primer pentámetro la metáfora del ámbar comparado con la miel y corresponde así al *credibile*, que en el verso 4 tiene una función semejante' (1998: 104).

apis: the appearance of the subject (*apis*) has been delayed. Bees were considered divine (Arist. *GA* 716.a.5; Verg. *G.* 4.219–221; Mynors *ad loc.*; Petr. 56.6) and related to death and the afterlife (Robert-Tornow, 1893: 134–139). Ancient writers highlight their industriousness (3 *tantorum . . . laborum*; Robert-Tornow, 1893: 42) and frequently associate them with poetic composition: bees are the symbol of the Muses (Robert-Tornow, 1893: 69); honey is a standard

metaphor for poetry and eloquence (Pi. *Fr.* 152 [226]; Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.44 *poetica mella; A. L.* 401 [SB]; 405 [Riese]); and poetic writing is compared with the production of honey (Robert-Tornow, 1893: 107–114: Pl. *Ion* 534b; Lucr. 3.11–13; Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.27–32 (cf. *Ep.* 1.3.21). Writers are usually likened to these fabulous insects: cf. e.g. *A. P.* 2.69; 2.392; 7.13.1 (Gow-Page, 1965 II: 394). The evocation of the poet, immortal through his own work, makes sense in the light of the following epigram (**4.33** n.). Finally, the image of the bee is as ambiguous as that of amber: 'la abeja, como la víbora de IV,59 provoca dolor con su picadura. Pero también está asociada al placer. Veneno y miel se juntan estrechamente en la figura de la abeja' (Ruiz Sánchez, 1998: 104).

nectare: *nectar* is strictly speaking the drink of the gods (4.8.9 n.), a drink of immortality. It usually refers to wine or honey in poetry (13.104), but it never loses its original connotations (Robert-Tornow, 1893: 85–89). The image is no trivial one: honey was known as a preservative (Plin. *Nat.* 22.108 *mellis quidem ipsius natura talis est, ut putrescere corpora non sinat*) and was even used to embalm bodies: Hom. *Il.* 19.38 (Eust. *ad loc.*); Hdt. 1.198; X. *Mem.* 5.3.19; Nep. *Ag.* 8.7 (cf. Plu. *Ages.* 40; Dio Cass. 15.93.6); Varr. *Men.* 81; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.118. The double value of honey as agent of death and as preservative is present in a story by Hyginus: Glaucus—the son of Minos and Pasiphae—falls into a honey jar and dies, but honey preserves him until he comes back to life (136). The fossilised bee seems to be embalmed in its own honey.

clusa: like *condere*, also frequent in sepulchral contexts: cf. Juv. 15.139; CIL III 10501 CLVSA IACET LAPIDE.

3. Cf. Liv. 32.4.6 *dignum tanti laboris periculique pretium*; Plin. *Ep.* 3.9.24 *dignum solumque par pretium tanti laboris.*

Dignum tantorum pretium . . . laborum: for the expression *dignum pretium*, cf. Liv. 21.48.6; 30.30.7; Sen. *Cl.* 1.1.1; Sil. 7.713; Tac. *Ann.* 15.51; Quint. *Inst.* 12.6.7. For the collocation of *pretium* with *laboris* or *laborum*, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.163; *Tr.* 2.1.11; Stat. *Ach.* 1.844; Tac. *Dial.* 10.1; *Hist.* 2.29; 4.32; *Ann.* 15.12.

4. Death, anticipated throughout the epigram, only appears at the very end: *mori.* The animal's viewpoint is adopted here (cf. 4.59): 11.69.12 *Non potui fato nobiliore mori*; cf. 1.88.10 *Non aliter cineres mando iacere meos*; 6.15.3–4.

credibile est: this has a strong Ovidian flavour: Ov. *Am.* 1.1.11; 3.1.2; *Ep.* 14.58; *Fast.* 1.299; 2.238; *Tr.* 1.9.34; 2.1.72; 2.1.184; *Pont.* 1.4.48; 2.5.16.

33

Martial asks an allegedly prolific writer why he does not dare publish anything. He replies that his heirs will do so, probably because he thinks that posthumous criticism will be more favourable (cf. 5.10.1–2 *'Esse quid hoc dicam, vivis quod fama negatur/et sua quod rarus tempora lector amat?'*). Martial finishes his poem wittily by expressing his eagerness to read his work, that is, wishing his death indirectly, as a way of doubting the quality of his writings.

There are some perceptible echoes from the preceding epigram, also written in elegiac couplets (*laborum* ↔ *laboratis*; *mori* ↔ *legi*). Accordingly, epigram 4.32 acquires a new meaning: it evokes the *vates*, immortal through his work, whereas epigram 4.33 functions as a satiric counterweight by exposing the incompetent writer's desire for undeserved fame.

Further reading: Moreno Soldevila, 2004c.

1–2. Compare the structure of these lines with 1.11.1–2; 6.77.1–4; 9.66.1–2; 10.65.1–4; 12.91.1–3; 12.96.1–4; 14.179 (Siedschlag, 1977: 25).

1. At first sight, this line could be taken as a compliment, but Martial's intentions are far from innocent. According to his poetic ideal, Sosibianus' works cannot be good, since they are too wordy (*libris*, not *libellis*), too numerous (*plena . . . scrinia*; cf. **4.29**), and written with too much effort (*laboratis*) and probably with little *ingenium*.

Plena . . . scrinia: cases for papyrus-rolls (Porph. *ad Hor. Ep.* 2.1.113; Mart. 14.37; Leary *ad loc.*): cf. 1.2.4 *Scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit.*

laboratis . . . libris: *laboratis* implies painstaking artistry (cf. Verg. *A.* 1.639), but also over-elaboration: Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.144 *Ideoque interim quaedam quasi solvenda de industria sunt, <et> quidem illa maximi laboris, ne laborata videantur.* In Martial's view, this can be a waste of time: 2.86.9–10 *Turpe est difficiles habere nugas/et stultus labor est ineptiarum* (cf. 12.94.7; Catul. 1.7; *Priap.* 2.3). *Libris*, as oppossed to *libellis*, refers to a long and usually worthless book: cf. e.g. 3.50.7 *et quartum recitas et*

quintum denique librum; 7.90.3 *Aequales scribit libros Calvinus et Umber*; 11.107.4 *Perlegi libros sic ego quinque tuos*. Notice the alliteration.

2. Cf. 3.9.2 *Non scribit, cuius carmina nemo legit.*

emittis . . . nihil: 'you do not publish anything': Cic. *Fam.* 7.33.1; Hor. *Ars* 77; Quint. *Inst.* pr.1; Plin. *Ep.* 9.1.1. The verb also means 'to free': Sosibianus keeps his books in a safe place.

Sosibiane: this name, always occupying the same position in the pentameter, belongs to some other characters in the epigrams: a slave's son (1.81) and a legacy-hunter (11.83).

3. 'Edent heredes' inquis 'mea carmina': Sosibianus is probably afraid of critics (cf. 5.10), and believes that after his death his works will be better appraised. In this regard, he differs from Martial: 1.25.8 *cineri gloria sera venit*; 5.10.12 *Si post fata venit gloria, non propero* (cf. 1.1.6; 5.13.4); 8.69 *Miraris veteres, Vacerra, solos,/nec laudas nisi mortuos poetas./Ignoscas petimus, Vacerra: tanti/non est, ut placeam tibi, perire.* Probably Sosibianus is thinking about Virgil, whose *Aeneid* was published posthumously (Serv. *A.* 1.pr.).

Edent: 1.25.1 *Ede tuos tandem populo, Faustine, libellos*; 1.91.1 *Cum tua non edas, carpis mea carmina, Laeli.* Cf. *emittis*: Cic. *Brut.* 19; Hor. *Ars* 390.

Quando?: the abrupt short question suggests feigned impatience and utter disbelief: cf. 7.9.2.

4. The end is similar to some epigrams dealing with *captatio*: 11.67.2 *Si non es stultus, scis, Maro, quid cupiam*; 12.40.5–6 *'Mortuus,' inquis,/'accipiam bene te.' Nil volo: sed morere.* Martial finishes many other poems by desiring someone's death (1.43; 2.14; 4.24.2; 4.77.5; 12.39.4; 12.56) or some other kind of misfortune (1.26; 4.51; 9.58; 11.73).

For the same topic ('a work should be published when the author is alive'), although with a different tone, see 1.25.

Tempus erat iam: cf. Juv. 2.115–6 (see Page, 1889: 76).

te . . . legi: *legere* may carry a personal pronoun as object, metonymically referring to someone's work (Fenger, 1906: 8): 1.1.1; 5.13.3; 7.88.3; 8.61.3; 9.97.2 *me Roma legit*; 10.20.21; 10.35.1; 10.35.3; 10.78.14. Joepgen (1967: 80–81) suggests that there is wordplay with another sense of *legere*: see Forcellini, III 54, *s. v.* '*Post crematum cadaver colligere et in sepulchrum inferre*', cf. Ov. *Ep.* 10.150 (*var. lect.* feres). However, there is a much more effective wordplay. In epitaphs, references to

reading are very frequent (e.g. CLE 1552.20; 126.1; 848.2; 1122.2; 445.6), and the object of the verb *legere* is often the name of the deceased (84 LEGE NVNC, VIATOR, NOMEN IN TITVLO MEVM) or the deceased himself (1213.4 RAPTA SCOPE NVNC LEGOR HOC TITVLO): in fact, it is frequent to find the form *legi* at the end of the pentameter. Its referent may be someone who, contrary to expectations, outlives the buried person: 1149.5 QVAE PRIVS IN HOC TITVLO DEBVIT IPSA LEGI; 1150.4 HOC MATER IN TITVLO MALVIT ANTE LEGI; 1419.2. *Legi* is thus equivalent to *mori* at the end of the preceding epigram.

34

An attack on Attalus' dishevelled clothes, based on the ambiguity of *niveam* (Joepgen, 1967: 70; Szelest 1981, 295): its most frequent meaning ('snow-white') clashes with his dirty toga (1 *sordida*); however, *niveus* also means 'snow-like' in general terms: snow is cold, and Attalus' thread-bare toga is not warm. Similar wordplay, though in an erotic sense, can be found in 3.34.2 (*Frigida es et nigra es: non es et es Chione*). Siedschlag, following Kruuse (1941: 289), relates this epigram with others which demand active mental participation on the part of the reader: 3.80; 12.20.

Slovenliness is a widespread satiric topic (Hor. *S.* 1.3.30–33; Juv. 3.144–153). A worn-out toga or cloak are external signs of poverty (3.38.9; 6.50.2; 6.82.9–10)—often symbolising the harshness of a client's life (4.26.4 n.; 7.92.7)—and meanness (1.103.5). A miserly Stoic philosopher is said to have a *brevis atque eadem nocte dieque toga* (11.56.6). As a matter of fact, sham philosophers are often criticised for their shagginess: 1.24.1; **4.53** (n.); 6.56.1–2; 9.47 (Henriksén *ad loc.*); *A. P.* 11.158 (Gow-Page, 1968 II: 98); 11.410; 11.430: see Brecht, 1930: 18–27. This epigram might anticipate **4.53**, a caricature of a Cynic.

Further reading: Joepgen, 1967: 70; Szelest, 1981: 295; Lorenz (2004: 270) focuses on the colour contrast and links this epigram with **4.2** and and **4.36**.

1. Sordida cum tibi sit: cf. 1.103.5 *sordidior multo post hoc toga*; 6.50.2 *errabat gelida sordidus in toga*; 7.33.1 *Sordidior caeno cum sit toga*; Juv. 3.149 *si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter/pelle patet.* An immaculate toga was a sign of elegance (2.29.4), although excessive care could be equally reprehensible: Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.137 *et toga et calceus et capillus tam nimia cura quam neglegentia sunt reprendenda.* Note that the postponement of *cum* highlights the adjective *sordida*, and establishes a link with the preceding epigram, which also begins with a concessive clause.

Attale: this name only appears here and in 1.79. It contributes to the comicity of this epigram inasmuch as Attalus III, King of Pergamon, was renowned for his invention of gold embroidery: Plin.

Nat. 8.196 *aurum intexere in eadem Asia invenit Attalus rex, unde nomen Attalicis*. Gold brocade clothes were called *Attalicae* (*Culex* 63 *Attalicis opibus data uellera*; Prop. 3.18.19 *Attalicas supera vestes*; Plin. *Nat.* 36.115 *Attalica veste*; 37.12 *vestes Attalicas*; Sil. 14.659–660 *Attalicis variata per artem/aulaeis*). *Attalicus* was applied to anything luxurious and splendid: the ironic contrast between Attalus' name and his dirty and threadbare toga provokes a smile in the reader.

2. dicit: see Greenwood, 1998a: 285–290.

niveam: (André, 1949: 39–40) Catullus is the first to use the adjective *niveus*, derived from *nix* (55.13; 64.240; 303), also as a colour adjective equivalent to *candidus*: 61.9–10; 63.8–9; 64.309; 364; 68b.125. Martial also employs it in its primary sense: 2.85.1 *niveae . . . coctae*; 12.17.6 *niveam . . . aquam*. As a colour adjective it can be found in 5.43.1 *niveos . . . dentes*; 6.3.5 *niveo . . . pollice*; 7.50.3 *niveis . . . ministris*; 8.50.6 *niveum . . . ebur* (14.5.2); 9.59.18; 11.22.1; 12.49.12; 13.19.2; 13.47.1; 14.149.2. It seems to be used in the sense of 'cold as snow' in 7.32.11 (*niveas . . . Virginis undas*), although it could also mean 'limpid' there (Galán *ad loc.*). Two meanings of the adjective merge in the expression *pultem niveam* (5.78.9; 13.35.2), alluding to colour and texture. In 4.34 there is wordplay between the colour and temperature senses of *niveus*: cf. 9.49.8 (*toga*) *quam possis niveam dicere iure tuo* (Henriksén *ad loc.*). Compare with 3.38.9 *gelidis . . . lacernis*; 7.92.7 *esse queror gelidasque mihi tritasque lacernas*; 12.36.2 *algentem . . . togam*; 14.135.2 *Cum teget algentes alba lacerna togas*; *A. P.* 11.158.4 διπλάδιον, κρυερῶν ἀντίπαλον νιφάδων; 11.410.5 χιονώδεα βόλβαν. *Niveus*, a poetic term suitable for an elevated style, contrasts with the theme of this epigram and reinforces its irony.

In 2.29.4, Martial says of an immaculate toga: *et toga non tactas vincere iussa nives* (Williams *ad loc.*). In 4.2, snow literally whitens a black cloak.

togam: the official dress of Roman citizens; it also symbolises the unpleasant obligations of city life. Clients had to wear it for the *salutatio* (4.26.4 n.). Therefore a dirty or worn-out toga implies the miserly client's hardships (4.26 n.): 3.36.9 *toga trita*; 5.22.11 *togulae . . . madentis*; 9.100.5 *trita quidem nobis togula est vilisque vetusque*. For this garment, see Wilson, 1924; Vout, 1996; Stone, 2001.

35

Venationes were held in the amphitheatre in the morning, whereas gladiators fought in the afternoon (Balsdon, 1969: 302). Animal shows included hunting, fighting, parades, and exhibitions. This epigram describes an unusual *venatio*: two antelopes fight each other to death before the astonished eyes of the hunter himself, who does not take part in the spectacle. The enormity of this fratricidal bloodshed is conveyed by means of the tight structure of the epigram, based on paradoxes: 1 *frontibus adversis/molles dammas*; 5 *leves animi/tanto furore*. These antithetic phrases are separated by an intervening caesura, while the verbs (*concurrere, calere*) occupy the penultimate position. This perfect symmetry is counterbalanced by the effect of trepidation provoked by the enjambment of the first two couplets. Perception is crucial: *vidimus, spectavere, stupuit* add further nuances of surprise and amazement, which culminate in the question of line 5. The final line is not an answer, but a sententious closure, confirming the extraordinary nature of the spectacle. The tone is nearer admiration than horror.

This epigram forms a diptych with **4.74**. Similar cycles, like the one of the lion and the hare (1.6; 1.14; 1.22; 1.104), symbolise the Emperor's mercy despite his immense, quasi-divine power (Howell and Citroni *ad loc.*; Weinreich, 1928: 123ff.; Barwick, 1958: 284ff.). Epigram 4.35 is barely comparable to them: the *venatio* does not take place, because the potential prey have already killed each other. In the poems in book I the lions spared the hares, somehow inspired by the Emperor's 'mild nature' (1.14.5 *unde potest avidus captae leo parcere praedae?*; 1.104.21–22 (*Haec clementia non paratur arte,/sed norunt cui serviant leones*); here, the *dammae* seem to be imbued with Domitian's courage (cf. 5. *unde leves animi tanto caluere furore?*). He is not overtly mentioned, but a comparison with 4.74 proves that he triggers such a prodigy.

Certainly, this could be interpreted as an ambiguous compliment to Domitian, an aficionado of all sorts of spectacles in the arena: Suet. *Dom.* 4.1 (Jones *ad loc.*); 4.4. The fighting language carries a mild tone of protest, which presents the struggle as unnatural. This is however superseded by the heroic twist of the final line. The

differences from the cycle in book I should not necessarily be interpreted as the result of a change in the poet's attitude or a veiled criticism of a more ruthless Emperor (Sullivan, 1991: 33ff.). Domitian may have cherished the idea of keeping a balance between a milder and a more terrible self-portrait, especially in order to prevent dissidence (cf. **4.2**; **4.30**).

Note the resemblances with 4.30, on the Emperor's sacred fish; and with 4.32, on a fossilised bee, which had a dignified end.

Further reading: Pepe, 1950: 94–95. For spectacles of this kind, see also Keller, 1909: 286–296; Weinreich, 1928: 88–89; Jennison, 1937; Aymard, 1951: 74–85; 185–196; Balsdon, 1969: 302–310; Auguet, 1972: 81–106; Toynbee, 1973: 143–147; Ville, 1981; Coleman, 1990; Lorenz, 2002: 137–138; Lafaye in D.-S, *s. venatio*; Friedländer, SG II 62–74; III 181–189; Carcopino, 1939: 275–276; Paoli, 1963: 251–252; Augenti, 2001: 30–69.

1. Cf. Verg. *G.* 3.265 *quid quae imbelles dant proelia cervi?; A.* 12.716–7 *cum duo conversis inimica in proelia tauri/frontibus incurrunt*. Note the antithesis between the violence implied in *frontibus adversis* or *concurrere* and the nature of the *molles dammas*.

Frontibus adversis: 'face to face', with violent connotations: Liv. 22.47.2 *frontibus . . . adversis concurrendum erat*; Hor. *S.* 1.1.103; Man. 1.502; Lucr. 6.116–117 *concurrere nubes/frontibus adversis*; Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.30 *nunc Notus adversa proelia fronte gerit*; Plin. *Nat.* 9.5. The line is pervaded with epic undertones: *frons* may belong to military language: *B. Afr.* 27.1 *contra eorum frontem adversam lapillos minutos mitteret*; Tac. *Hist.* 2.25 *a lateribus cohortes, legionum adversa frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerant equites*; 3.10. Literally and anatomically, *frons* is where horns grow (TLL *s. v.* 1369.38–1360.25 [Robbert]): Verg. *A.* 12.716 (*vid. supra*); Ov. *Am.* 3.13.15; Mart. 3.58.10–11.

concurrere: *Sp.* 27.5; 4.74.3; 9.70.3. Another military term—'to fight' (TLL. *s. v.* 108.77–109–58 [Burger]; cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 7.520)—which usually alludes to civil conflicts (cf. Verg. *G.* 1.489–490; Mart. 9.70.3–4). Other poets apply it to animal fighting: Ov. *Met.* 9.46 *non aliter vidi fortes concurrere tauros*; Stat. *Theb.* 4.397 *similes video concurrere tauros*.

molles: docile (TLL *s. v.* 1378.8–11 [Buchwald]): cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.18; Prop. 2.19.23 *lepores*; Juv. 3.202; Stat. *Theb.* 8.594 *imbelles vitulos mollesque iuvencas*.

dammas: broadly applied to several species of the antelope family, ranging from the larger, aggressive ones endowed with huge

antlers (Jennison, 1937: 78) to agile and docile gazelles (Aymard, 1951: 18 n. 6), as well as deer. In poetry the *damma* is usually docile and timid: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.28 *timidi*; *G.* 3.539; Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.11–12 *pavidae*; Ov. *Met.* 1.442; *Hal.* 64–65; *Fast.* 3.646; Sil. 13.335 *tenerae*; *Hal.* 28 *sic dammae fugiunt*; Apul. *Met.* 8.4 *pavens dammula*; Mart. 4.74.1 *imbelles* (13.94.2; Stat. *Ach.* 2.121). They never attack. Rather, they are the victims: *Sp.* 29.1; 1.49.23; 3.58.28; 13.94.2 *imbelles dammae, quid nisi praeda sumus?*

In 13.94 they are portrayed as defenceless: *Dente timetur aper, defendunt cornua cervum:/imbelles dammae quid, nisi praeda, sumus? Imbelles* seems to be equivalent to *inermes*, and *dammae* probably refers to female members with no horns (Plin. *Nat.* 11.124). Male deers (Verg. *G.* 3.265; Sen. *Phaed.* 342 *poscunt timidi proelia cervi*), goats (Verg. *G.* 2.526 *inter se aduersis luctantur cornibus haedi*; Plin. *Nat.* 9.99 *inter se ut arietes adversis cornibus incursantes*), and antelopes fight fiercely: some of these fights were certainly taken to the amphitheatre or occurred unexpectedly in the middle of a *venatio*. Martial stresses the proverbial meekness of these animals, thus emphasising the atrociousness of the event. For the use of these animals in spectacles and their representation in art, see Toynbee, 1973: 143–147.

2. vidimus: the plural implies a collective experience: (cf. 12.60.2). The same form was used in the same context and metrical position: *Sp.* 5.2 *Iunctam Pasiphaen Dictaeo credite tauro:/vidimus*; 1.14.2 *Delicias, Caesar, lususque iocosque leonum/vidimus.*

et fati sorte iacere pari: they both died the same way. Cf. 10.71.4 *nulli sorte iacent candidiore senes.* For the expression *fati sors*, cf. V. Max. 9.12.1; Luc. 9.1046. *Sors* and *fatum* may be synonyms (cf. Verg. *A.* 10.501), both meaning 'destiny', (OLD *s. sors* 8; *s. fatum* 3), although *fatum* is used in the epigrams in the sense of 'death' (OLD *s. v.* 6: e.g. 4.60.5; 5.10.12; 11.69.12). *Iacere* (OLD *s. v.* 6) may have a resultative force ('to lie dead': cf. 4.59.6; 6.28.5; 6.52.1; 7.40.1), but may also mean 'to die', 'to be killed' (*Sp.* 21.7).

Fatum personifies and ennobles animals (cf. 11.69.12).

3–4. The *venatio* proper does not take place: in *Sp.* 29 Titus spared the prey (l. 4 *et praedam non tetigere canes*); here, the hunter and his dogs become spectators, rather than participants (*spectavere, stupuit*). Note the alliteration of /s/ and the repetition of /p/ and /t/.

Huntsmen normally pursued their prey on horseback with the aid of dogs: once caught, the *venator* dismounted and killed it with a knife. Some reliefs show hunters on horseback (Augenti, 2001: 61–63; 66–67) and dogs.

spectavere canes praedam: hunting dogs (TLL *s. canis* 254.84–255.55 [Probst]) become spectators of a more gruesome show. For *spectare* in the sense of 'watching as a spectator', see OLD *s. v.* 3.

stupuitque superbus/venator: cf. 10.37.18 *venator capta maele superbus adest. Venator* here is a general term meaning huntsman, although the term was also transferred to the spectacles in the arena (cf. *Sp.* 11.5; Juv. 4.101; Apul. *Met.* 4.13; CIL XII 1590). The more specific term *bestiarius* primarily means beast-fighter. See Coleman, 2000: 251 n. 169, for a full discussion, and also Auguet, 1972: 93–96; Ville, 1981; Augenti, 2001: 34–43; 47–59.

cultro suo: *i.q. cultro venatorio* (cf. TLL *s. v.* 1317.22–30 [Lambertz]; Mart. 14.31; Petr. 40.5; Suet. *Aug.* 19; *Cl.* 13.1; Tac. *Ann.* 3.43). See Aymard, 1951: 316–317.

5. Vnde leves animi tanto caluere furore?: the final question evokes similar passages about death within this book (cf. 4.3.7; 4.18.7), but also 1.14.5 *unde potest avidus captae leo parcere praedae?* On that occasion, Domitian inspired mercy; here, he instils courage and violence.

leves animi: cf. line 1. *molles.*

tanto caluere furore: cf. 4.74.3; Lucr. 5.1313 *permixta caede calentes (leones).* Bulls, lions and other wild animals show this very *furor*: Mart. *Sp.* 22.4; Liv. 22.17.2 *velut stimulatos furore . . . boves*; Phaed. 1.30.11 *furor illorum* (*taurorum*); Sen. *Oed.* 921 (*leo*) *vultus furore torvus.*

6. Cf. Ov. *Hal.* 2–4 *vitulus sic namque minatur,/qui nondum gerit in tenera iam cornua fronte,/sic dammae fugiunt, pugnant virtute leones.* The final line joins fighting and death symmetrically and compares this spectacle with others equally gruesome: bullfighting and gladiatorial combats.

Sic pugnant tauri: cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.46 *non aliter vidi fortes concurrere tauros*; *Hal.* 4 (*supra*); Stat. *Theb.* 4.397–400. Bullfighting was a popular spectacle in Rome (Var. *R.* 3.5.3 *Cavea in qua tauri pugnare solent*). These wild bulls (Toynbee, 1973: 149) could fight men (ILS 5053 IN FORO TAVROS, TAVROCENTAS; Auguet, 1972: 91) or other animals: cf. Sen. *Dial.* 5.43.2 *Videre solemus inter matutina harenae spectacula tauri et ursi pugnam inter se conligatorum*; Mart. 1.48; 12.61.5; Plin. *Nat.* 8.19;

cf. Gran. Lic. 36.7; Mart. *Sp.* 17.2. The image may equally have been taken from the natural world: Ov. *Am.* 2.12.25 *Vidi ego pro nivea pugnantes coniuge tauros*; Phaed. 1.30.2. In epic poetry, fighting bulls are a recurrent simile: Verg. *A.* 12.103–106; 12.715–722; Ov. *Met.* 9.46–50 (Bömer *ad loc.*); cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.397–400; 12.601–606. Bulls are frequently viewed as *truces* (≠ *molles*): Ov. *Ep.* 4.166; *Met.* 8.297; Sen. *Her. O.* 301; Sil. 5.311; 13.223; 14.212; Mart. 3.58.10.

sic cecidere viri: cf. 4.32.4 *sic voluisse mori*; 11.69.12 '*non potui fato nobiliore mori*'; 1.51.5–6. At the beginning of the epigram the *dammae* were characterised as 'female' (*molles, leves*): in fact, *damma* usually has feminine gender (except in Verg. *Ecl.* 8.28; Serv. *ad loc.; G.* 3.539; Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.6). Consequently, *viri* at the end of the epigram creates a strong effect, comparable to Statius' description of a women's fight in the arena: Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.53–4 *stat sexus rudis, insciusque ferri/ut pugnas capit improbus viriles!* (Dio Cass. 67.8). Note the homoioteleuton *tauri/viri*/l. 2 *pari*.

36

Satirical epigram on hair dye: the protagonist tries to conceal the passage of time by dyeing his hair, but not his beard. The first line ponders on this peculiar colour contrast; the second explains that he cannot dye his beard, while confirming that his hair is unnaturally black. *Barbam* and *comam* contrast at the end of each line; the repetition of *potes*, in the same position within each hemistich, suggests that he would also colour his beard if he could.

Hair dye is a traditional satiric theme present in other epigrams, as in 3.43, in which the sudden change of colour gives its protagonist away (3.43.3 *tam subito corvus, qui modo cygnus eras*; cf. *A. P.* 11.398.4), or 6.57, about Phoebus, who literally paints fake hairs on his bald head. Many Greek epigrams on this topic especially satirise old women: *A. P.* 11.67; 11.68 (cf. Mart. 12.23; 14.27); 11.398 (cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.14); 11.408; 11.423. See also Luc. *DMeretr.* 11.4.

Further reading: Lorenz, 2004: 271.

1. Cana est barba tibi, nigra est coma: for antithesis in Martial, see Siedschlag, 1977: 29–35. It often appears in the first line: 1.5; 1.9; 1.30; 1.47; 1.91; 2.21; 2.25; 3.49; 3.72; 4.48; 4.68; 4.85; 5.40; 5.43; 5.66; 7.75; 8.22; 8.74; 9.95; 10.69; 12.10; 12.46. *Barba* and *coma* further occur in a the portrait of a Cynic in this same book: **4.53.3–4**.

A white beard is a sign of old age and reveals that Olus has dyed his hair, but it is also inevitably evocative of Catullus' poem 80, thus implying the motif of the *os impurum* (see **4.12** n.):

> Quid dicam, Gelli, quare rosea ista labella
> hiberna fiant **candidiora** nive,
> mane domo cum exis et cum te octava quiete
> e molli longo suscitat hora die?
> Nescioquid certest: an vere fama susurrat
> grandia te medii tenta vorare viri?
> Sic certest: clamant Victoris rupta miselli
> ilia, et emulso **barba** notata sero.

For the different uses of the adjective *canus*, see André, 1949: 64–69; for *niger*, see 4.2.2 (n.). For the sexual connotations of black and white, see Lorenz, 2004: 271.

1–2. tingere barbam/non potes: Martial does not say why. Ker (*ad loc.*) suggests that the protagonist might suffer from a skin disease (*mentagra*) and quotes Plin. *Nat.* 26.1. The same disease is mentioned by Martial in 11.98.5 (*nec triste mentum sordidique lichenes*). There might be a veiled allusion to sexual practices that could have caused the eczema (Rosenbaum, 1921: 249–266), inasmuch as Martial and other writers believe that practising oral sex had noxious consequences: 1.77; 4.43.7 (n.); 11.61; 11.85 (Kay *ad loc.*). This might not necessarily be so: body hair can differ in colour from that of the head, or beards may not be dyed easily.

Lorenz (2004: 271) interprets this epigram in the light of Catul. 37.19–20 and 39, and concludes: 'the Catullan pretext permits the assumption that Martial's Olus cannot dye his beard because regular fellatio would just whiten it again'.

2. et potes . . . comam: Pliny lists natural hair dyes: *Nat.* 20.221; 22.62; 23.135; 24.42; 24.52; 24.110; 24.122. See also Samm. *Med.* 4.

Hair dye was common in Rome (Forbes, 1965: 42–43), not simply for hiding grey or white hair (Tib. 1.8.43–44; Ov. *Ars* 3.163–164). It became fashionable to have blond hair and women used dyes (Prop. 2.18.23–26; Mart. 8.33.20) and wigs. Men could also colour their hair, although this was frowned upon (Tert. *De Cult. Fem.* 2.8.2).

Mansucripts of the β family and codex *R* read *et*. In the third family the corrupt form *esset* (instead of *est et*) is to be found. *Est sed* is a humanist correction (see Gilbert, 1884: 517).

Ole: a popular variant of *Aulus* (CIL I 1210.4). Olus is the protagonist of several satiric epigrams: he is a mean patron (2.68) and host (10.54), who wants to live beyond his means (3.48). A meddler and a gossip, he should keep silent in view of his many vices (7.10; Galán *ad loc.*). The obscene implications of this epigram could be reinforced by the name of the addressee, since the common noun *(h)olus* could be a sexual metaphor (Montero, 1991: 85–86): Catul. 94.2; *Priap.* 24.4.

37

The wealthy Afer constantly boasts about his profits, while the poet complains about both his loquaciousness and his avarice. The epigram can be divided into two parts: lines 1–5 reproduce Afer's words in direct speech; lines 6–10 comprise Martial's complaint: he would tolerate Afer's inveterate behaviour if he were a bit more generous. Afer's own words present him as boastful and calculating. The sonic component and the rhythm recreate the tedious monotony of his speech: note the repetition of sounds (*centum Coranus; trecenta . . . Titius*), paronomasia (*centum, ducenta, trecenta*), and homoioteleuton (*Mancinus, Albinus, Sabinus; Coranus, Serranus; decies, tricies*). The gradual inventory of debts and returns is made methodically, whereas the catalogue of names, presumably chosen for their sounds, anticipates the wordplay in line 7.

Martial plays the humiliated client, who is relentlessly mortified by his ungenerous patron, but who, after all, would be content with a small reward. Censure is not only directed at usury, avarice, and ostentation (4.46; 4.61), but also the fact that in Rome everything can be bought, even patience.

There are similar complaints in **4.61**. Boastfulness is also the theme of 4.46 and 5.35. It must be borne in mind that showing off was an oft-criticised trait of freedmen and parvenus: see 2.16; 2.29; 3.29; 3.62; 3.82; 5.8; 5.35; 5.79; 11.37.

1. Centum Coranus: cf. 9.98.3 *Centum Coranus amphoras aquae fecit* (Henriksén *ad loc.*). The name *Coranus* (Kajanto, 1982: 181) appeared in Horace's satiric writings (*S.* 2.5.57; 2.5.64) and in Juvenal's (16.54; Ferguson, 1987: 64–65), related to *captatio* or legacy-hunting. Martial uses it only once more: in epigram 9.98, Coranus, an innkeeper, is a swindler.

For the use of *centum* instead of *centum milia*, see Ramírez Sádaba, 1987: 156–157.

Mancinus: in 1.43 he is a mean host; he is also the protagonist of 4.61, quite similar in tone and context to this epigram: there,

Mancinus is as boastful and nasty as Afer. The end of the line is almost identical to that of 4.61.1 *Donasse amicum tibi ducenta, Mancine.* For the name *Mancinus*, see Schulze, 1966: 360.

2. Titius: appears in 7.55.5 (a catalogue of names; Galán *ad loc.*) and 11.51 (Kay *ad loc.*). The name has been chosen for its alliterative play with *trecenta*, but also note that it was a fictitious name used in legal examples, as in Afric. *Dig.* 20.4.9.3 *Titia praedium alienum Titio pignori dedit*; Ulp. *Dig.* 2.14.7.12 (*et passim*).

Albinus: the name only appears in this epigram. Note the homoioteleuton with *Mancinus* (1) and *Sabinus* (γ 2). For *Albinus*, see Kajanto, 1982: 227. Lorenz (2004: 271) perceives a play with the name Afer (l. 6) and with the connotations of black and white, a recurrent motif in this book.

3. decies: i.e. *decies centum milia*; cf. 1.103.1; see Ramírez Sádaba, 1987: 157.

Sabinus: all editors, except Shackleton Bailey, choose *Sabinus.* In the epigrams the name belongs to a real person (7.97; 9.58; 9.60; and probably 11.8; 11.17): *Cn. Caesius Sabinus* (Galán; Henriksén; Kay *ad loc.*). *Sabellus*, on the other hand, is a fictitious name frequent in satirical contexts: cf. 4.46.1 (n.). It is arguable that scribes may have changed *Sabellus* into *Sabinus*, influenced by *Mancinus* and *Albinus* (*supra*). However, the poet himself may have wanted to endow Afer's words with a sense of monotony by means of cacophony (*Mancinus, Albinus, Sabinus*). Note the alliteration with *Serranus.*

Serranus: a poet with this name is mentioned by Quintilian and Juvenal: according to the former, he died prematurely (*Inst.* 10.1.89); Juvenal places him in a list of poor poets (7.80). Nevertheless, the name may have been chosen at random, just for the sake of rhyme: cf. 1 *Coranus.*

4–5. Cf. 5.35.1–2 *Dum sibi redire de Patrensibus fundis/ducena clamat coccinatus Euclides.*

4. ex insulis fundisque: Cic. *Fin.* 2.83 *quin fundos et insulas amicis anteponamus?* This refers to profits from rented properties, in town and in the country. *Insulae*, blocks of flats (cf. 1.117.7), were normally

rented to underprivileged people (cf. Sen. *Dial.* 5.35.5; Carcopino, 1939: 38–63; Paoli, 1963: 56–57). For the rental market in Rome, see Frier, 1977: 27–37, especially pages 34–35.

soldum: the neuter form of this adjective is used to emphasise a quantity expression (OLD *s. v.* 9): cf. Petr. 43.2 *puto mehercules illum reliquisse solida centum.*

5. ex pecore . . . Parmensi: wool from Parma's flocks was highly regarded: cf. 2.43.4; 5.13.8; 14.155.1 (Leary *ad loc.*).

redeunt: cf. 5.35.1 (*supra*); Nep. *Them.* 10.3; Cic. *S. Rosc.* 128.

ter ducena: cf. 5.35.2. According to Canobbio (*ad loc.*), the distributive is used because this amount is received on an annual basis.

6. Totis diebus: hyperbolic expression, favoured by Martial: 1.19.3; 2.5.1–2; 11.86.5. Also in the singular (*toto die*): 10.70.10; 10.74.4; 11.77.2.

Afer: cf. **4.78.9** (n.); 6.77; 9.6; 9.25; 10.84.1.

narras: cf. 4.61.1. *Narrare* differs from *dicere* both in frequency and intensity: cf. 8.6.3–4 *Argenti furiosa sui cum stemmata narrat/garrulus.* According to Martial, anyone who gives a relentless account of something makes him suspect that he is lying: cf. 12.35.4 *Nam quisquis narrat talia, plura tacet. Narrare* is also used of (false) rumours: 2.56.3; 3.9.1. Afer is therefore portrayed as a garrulous braggart. There might also be wordplay with the familiar expression '*quid narras?*' (cf. 3.63.13), an indignant reply: cf. Pl. *Cur.* 613; *Men.* 402; *Truc.* 284. Compare this epigram with 5.35, in which a braggart turns out to be a liar. By the end of the poem, Afer's selfishness somehow casts doubt on his wealth: if he is truly rich, he is ungenerous; but if he gives nothing to his friends, perhaps he is not that wealthy after all.

7. Wordplay between *ista* (*nomina*) and *meum nomen. Nomina* refers to the catalogue of debtors displayed by Afer (1–3), but also to loans, because it was usual to write the debtors' names in ledgers (see OLD *s. v.* 22 and Friedrich, 1908: 623).

8. Numeres oportet aliquid: Martial plays here with different senses of *numerare* in order to complain about Afer's unrewarding talkativeness. *Numerare* means 'to count', 'reckon' (OLD *s. v.* 1; cf. e.g. 6.34.8), Afer's mania. It also means 'to catalogue' (OLD *s. v.* 5): Verg. *G.* 4.347 *divum numerabat amores*; Ov. *Met.* 15.830. Finally,

it may also mean 'to pay' (OLD *s. v.* 6; cf. 11.62.2), thus anticipating the end of the epigram.

ut pati possim: *patior* is widely used by Martial in allusion to clients' humiliations: cf. 7.39.3; 12.29.8; 12.60.13.

9. cotidianam . . . nauseam: cf. 6 *totis diebus*. *Nauseam* literally means 'sickness', and figuratively a feeling of loathing: Petr. 78.5. *ibat res ad summam nauseam*; Sen. *Dial.* 2.10.2 *querellas nausiantis animi*; *Ep.* 16.3 *ut dematur otio nausea; Ep.* 24.26 *Nihil novi facio, nihil novi video: fit aliquando et huius rei nausea*. For the prosody and spelling of *cotidianam*, see Dunbabin, 1917.

refice: literally 'heal', cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.136; Ov. *Met.* 13.172; Cels. 3.11.2; Plin. *Nat.* 32.64. Cf. *B. Afr.* 34.6 *ex languore nauseaque reficere.*

nummis: contrasting with the ambiguous *aliquid* of the preceding line, *nummis* clarifies the poet's claim: he would be able to endure Afer's profit-reckoning if he shared some of it. Note the alliteration *nauseam-nummis* and the contrast between the small *nummis* and the exorbitant quantities of the first lines.

10. audire gratis: cf. 4.61.16 *Aliquando narra, quod velimus audire.*

38

Satiric epigram on a traditional erotic theme: reluctance increases desire, together with the motif of *virtus in medio*: cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.475–476 *Sed neque te facilem iuveni promitte roganti,/nec tamen e duro quod petit ille nega* (Gibson *ad loc.*). Martial had already dealt with this topic in 1.57. See Citroni (*ad loc.*) and Lier, 1914: 36–38 § 20 for literary antecedents, which include Ov. *Am.* 2.19.26; *Ars* 1.717; 3.579–80; *Rem.* 405; as well as Greek epigrams by Callimachus (*A. P.* 12.102); Philodemus (*A. P.* 12.173.5–6; see Sider, 1997: 101–103 for more passages); or Strato of Sardis (*A. P.* 12.200), who prefers τὸν μέσον (see González Rincón *ad loc.*).

A dual structure can be seen here and in most of these passages (cf. Mart. 4.42.11). Though on the same topic, Martial's epigram is clearly parodic: in the first line, the poet impersonates both the *magister amoris*, who teaches how to seduce, and the lover, who grants his partner the right to say no for a while. The wording is reminiscent of amatory poetry, especially Ovidian, but at the same time the aphoristic content is extremely conventional. The accumulation of sentimental amatory terms may evoke the poet's apparent mimicking of his lover's own words. In the pentameter, the *magister amoris* continues to defend a balance, but the familiar tone and the impatient repetition of the vocative expose the macho voice, annoyed with his lover's coy pose.

Further reading: Lausberg, 1982: 307.

1. 'Playing hard to get' is one of the principles of seduction: Ov. *Ars* 3.579–580 *Quod datur ex facili, longum male nutrit amorem:/Miscenda est laetis rara repulsa iocis; Rem.* 405 *sustentata Venus gratissima.*

Galla: she always tantalises the poet; she does not say no or grant anything (cf. 4.71): 2.25.1 (Williams *ad loc.*); 3.90. Martial presents her as his lover (cf. 3.51; 3.54; 7.18), but in some other passages she is a nymphomaniac of dubious reputation (2.34; 4.58; 7.58; 9.78; 10.75.1; 11.19), or a prostitute (9.4; 9.37). The name also appears in Juvenal's satires (1.125–126; see Ferguson, 1987: 101).

nega: euphemistic expression ('to refuse sexual favours'), usually with an implied object (2.25.2; 3.54.2; 4.71; 4.81), but not always (4.7.1 n.): cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.344–345; 3.476; *Met.* 13.741; Prop. 2.32.60 *Danae . . . non potuit magno casta negare Iovi*. For a particular use of the verb, see 4.12.2 (n.).

satiatur: the verb is normally applied to necessities such as thirst and hunger (6.35.3; 7.80.7; Phaed. 1.26.9). It may have both positive and negative connotations, as in this epigram (8.pr.; Tib. 2.1.51): cf. 1.57.4 *nec volo quod cruciat, nec volo quod satiat*.

gaudia: sexual pleasures (Adams, 1982: 196–7). The term may also refer metonymically to the object of desire: 9.36.2 *Phryx puer, alterius gaudia nota Iovis*; cf. Pl. *Bac.* 18; Verg. *A.* 10.325 *dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia, Cydon*; Ov. *Ep.* 18.43; TLL *s. v.* 1712.73ff. [Hey]. In Martial *torqueo* usually has a personal subject. The oxymoron (*gaudia torquent*) conveys the traditional idea that love is a bittersweet feeling.

torquent: love torments constitute an ancient literary motif: Catul. 85; cf. 76.10. This suffering usually derives from disdain (Tib. 1.8.49; 2.6.17; cf. Mart. 1.57.4), but it is inherent desire itself: Catul. 99.12; Prop. 3.17.11; Tib. 1.4.81; Ov. *Ars* 1.176; 2.124; 2.355; Mart. 3.69.6 *quem torquet amica;* 11.43.7 *Torquebat Phoebum Daphne fugitiva*; 12.96.3; cf. 6.71.5 *urit et excruciat dominum Telethusa priorem*.

2. Sed noli nimium, Galla, negare diu: this is not the only time Martial reproves a woman for taking his suggestions literally: cf. 4.81.5 *negare iussi, pernegare non iussi*. Note the alliteration of /n/, somehow parodying her rejection. The imperative with *noli* is not frequent in poetry.

nimium: 1.57.2 *nolo nimis facilem difficilemque nimis*.

39

Charinus is very proud of his silverware, but Martial subtly doubts its genuineness, is suspicious of its origin, and attacks his sexual behaviour. Structurally, this epigram is based on a catalogue of Charinus' silver: anaphora and repetition recreate the protagonist's tedious boasting; the Greek names suggest that he is a pedantic snob. Luxurious ostentation and pretentiousness are equated at the end with sexual depravation, by means of a double entendre (*argentum purum*). Compare with 6.50 (Grewing *ad loc.*).

Art collecting started in Republican times and gradually became a sign of elegance and sophistication. Already in the first century there was a booming art market, formed by collectors, dealers, and forgers (OCD[3] *s. Art, ancient attitudes to*, 178–179; for Roman copies of Greek works, see Richter, 1958). Moralist thinkers considered this a sign of decadence and immorality (Griffin, 1976: 91). See Cic. *Ver.* and Seneca, who criticises the man who *desiderat aureis fulgentem vasis supellectilem et antiquis nominibus artificum argentum nobile* (*Dial.* 12.11.3). He prefers *argentum grave rustici patris sine ullo nomine artificis* (*Dial.* 9.1.7). Martial echoes this art-collecting fad and combines the satire against excessive luxury with the theme of forgery (8.6; 8.34; Schöffel *ad loc.*; 12.69; cf. Petr. 52.1–4); or he mocks the would-be connoisseur, too poor to buy anything (9.59). Accordingly, Charinus' ostentatious catalogue at least questions the genuine nature of his silver.

Other themes subtly present are the *convivium* and the negative effects of oral sex (Obermayer, 1998: 216–218): one should not dine with *fellatores* or *cunnilingi* (3.17.5–6). Charinus' polluted silverware evokes the *propinatio*, a toast which consisted in drinking from the same cup (cf. Juv. 5.127–129), totally inadvisable if the fellow diner has a bad reputation: 2.15 *Quod nulli calicem tuum propinas,/humane facis, Horme, non superbe* (Williams *ad loc.*); 6.44.6 *Nemo propinabit, Calliodore, tibi* (Grewing).

In short, the attack is multi-layered: Martial mocks Charinus' affected speech, expresses doubts about the genuineness of his collection, and maliciously suggests that they come from some shady business (Juv. 1.75–76 *criminibus debent hortos, praetoria, mensas,/argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum*; see Courtney *ad loc.*); finally,

Martial seems to be refusing any invitation coming from him, thus disparaging his opulence.

Further reading: Siems, 1974: 133; Sullivan, 1989: 194–195; Obermayer, 1998: 216–218.

1. Argenti: metonymically, it can refer to silver objects (OLD *s. v.* 2; TLL. *s. v.* 525.76–526.81 [Prinz]), like tableware (TLL. *s. v.* 526.64–81): Pl. *Ps.* 162; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.61; Verg. *A.* 1.640; Sen. *Thy.* 913; Petr. 22.4; Mart. 8.34.1; 11.70.8; Juv. 7.133; 14.62; Apul. *Met.* 2.19.

comparasti: cf. Pl. *As.* 250 *argento comparando. Comparare* (TLL *s. v.* 2011.26–34; 2011.61–2012.51 [Mertel]) specifically means to store money or goods, as well as 'to collect' (OLD *s. comparo*[I] 3b: 'of a connoisseur'): V. Max. 2.9.4 *quod X pondo vasa argentea comparasset.* The verb denotes excess and luxury (cf. *genus omne*): see Cic. *Ver.*, especially 2.2.83.

2–8. Compare with Juvenal 8.100–104 and see Courtney (*ad loc.*) and Colton (1979: 451–452):

> plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat acervos
> nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
> et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque **Myronis**
> **Phidiacum** vivebat ebur, nec non Polycliti
> multus ubique **labor**, rarae sine **Mentore** mensae.

2. The antiquity and authenticity of Charinus' silver is called into question: 'if genuine, these articles of virtue were five hundred years old' (Post *ad loc.*).

solus: anaphora and repetition suggest that this is a free direct style: Charinus, like Afer in 4.37, is always bragging about his silver collection: cf. 3.26 *Praedia solus habes et solus, Candide, nummos,/ aurea solus habes, murrina solus habes,/ Massica solus habes et Opimi Caecuba solus,/ et cor solus habes, solus et ingenium./ Omnia solus habes—hoc me puta velle negare!—/ Uxorem sed habes, Candide, cum populo*; 6.50.4 *Argentum, mensas, praedia solus emit.* Compare also with Trimalchio's boasting:

> Ait Trimalchio: '**solus** sum qui vera Corinthea habeam'. Expectabam, ut pro reliqua insolentia diceret sibi vasa Corintho afferri. Sed ille melius: 'et forsitan' inquit 'quaeris, quare **solus** Corinthea vera possideam: quia scilicet aerarius, a quo emo, Corinthus vocatur' (Petr. 50.2–4).

Solus (OLD *s. v.* 6) denotes exclusivity, but it also suggests loneliness: in the light of the final line, nobody would like to drink from Charinus' silver cups.

veteres . . . artes: *ars*, metonymically, alludes to a work of art (TLL *s. v.* 673.9–26 [Klotz]): Cic. *Leg.* 2.4; Verg. *A.* 5.359; Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.5; *Ep.* 1.6.17; 2.1.242; Prop. 3.9.12; Ov. *Pont.* 2.9.44; *Tr.* 5.12.48; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.47 *Vidi artes veterumque manus variisque metalla. Veteres* implies antiquity and authenticity (Post *ad loc.*): cf. 14.193 {*Pocula archetypa*} *Non est ista recens nec nostri gloria caeli:/Primus in his Mentor, dum facit illa, bibit*; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.6.17 *argentum et marmor vetus*; V. Fl. 1.143 *poculaque, insignis veterum labor*; 1.261 *veteri . . . metallo*; Juv. 1.76 *argentum vetus.*

Myronos: Cf. *A. P.* 9.713–742; Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.12; 2.4.93; 2.4.135; *Brut.* 75; Ov. *Ars* 2.319; *Pont.* 4.1.34; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.66; 4.6.25; Juv. 8.102. Myron, a Greek sculptor born at Eleutherai, flourished in 470–440 BC (OCD^3 *s. v.*). His *Discobolus* (Quint. *Inst.* 2.13.10) survives in two Roman copies (Richter, 1950: 207–208; fig. 578ff.); his 'Athena and Marsyas' is also preserved in copies (Richter, 1950: 209–210; fig. 584–593). He worked mainly in bronze, but some literary sources, Martial included, mention silver crafts, especially embossing: Phaed. 5.pr.7 *Si marmori ascripserunt Praxitelen suo,/trito Myronem argento*; Mart. 6.92.2 *Myronos arte*; 8.50(51).1 *Quis labor in phiala? docti Myos anne Myronos?*

Only Martial uses the Greek genitive; significantly, the use of Greek terms and declensions in all these lines echoes Charinus' ridiculous affectation. As Adamik remarks, 'the greater part of Greek words occurs in satirical epigrams, with the intention of satirising extreme luxury, avarice, immorality and effeminacy' (1975: 175).

3. Praxitelus: Athenian sculptor of the fourth century BC, who mainly worked in bronze and, most successfully, marble: Plin. *Nat.* 34.69 *Praxiteles quoque, <qui> marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit, fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera*; cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.4; Prop. 3.9.16; Phaed. 5pr.6; Quint. *Inst.* 2.19.3; Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.26–27; V. Max. 8.11(ext.). Why does Martial catalogue him with silver craftsmen? For one thing, great ancient sculptors are frequently put together in Latin literature, regardless of their materials (cf. e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.12; *Priap.* 10.2–3); for another, his presence questions Charinus' words. The Greek genitive *-us* is only used here, but is preferable to *Praxitelis*

(defended by Renn, 1889: 52–53) for the reason given above *s. Myronos*.

manum: like *artes* and *labores (vid. infra), manus* is a metonym for the work of art (cf. OLD *s. v.* 20b; TLL *s. v.* 357.50–64 [Bulhart]): Verg. *A.* 1.455 *artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem*; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.47 *Vidi artes veterumque manus variisque metalla*; Petr. 83.1 *Zeuxidos manus*. It evokes, however, the ideas of craftsmanship and artistry: Mart. 3.40.1; 8.50.2; 9.59.16; 10.89.2; Apul. *Met.* 10.30. An analogy with *artes* (*supra*) and *labores* (*infra*) supports the choice of the plural, although the singular *manum* is more euphonic.

Scopae: sculptor and architect, from Paros, fourth century BC (OCD[3] *s. v.*). He is linked with Praxiteles, purportedly his rival, in Latin texts: Plin. *Nat.* 36.28 *Scopas an Praxiteles; Priap.* 10.2 *non me Praxiteles Scopasve fecit.* The ironic suggestion is that Charinus' antiques rival one another in quality. Scopas did not work in silver either, but marble (Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.6–7; Porph. *ad loc.*; Plin. *Nat.* 36.22).

4. Phidiaci toreuma caeli: Phidias was an Athenian sculptor of the fifth century BC, famous for his chryselephantine technique. Phidias' chisel is further mentioned in 6.13.1 *Phidiaco . . . caelo* (see Grewing *ad loc.*); 10.87.16 *donet Phidiaci toreuma caeli.* The adjective *Phidiacus* appears frequently: 3.35.1 *Artis Phidiacae toreuma clarum*; 6.73.8 *Phidiaca . . . manu* (cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.1.32; *Priap.* 10.3; Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.66); 7.56.3 *Phidiaco . . . Iovi* (cf. Prop. 3.9.15); 9.24.2 *Phidiacum . . . ebur* (cf. Juv. 8.103); 10.89.2 *Phidiacae . . . manus.* Friedländer thinks that *Phidiacus* is a general epithet for the art of silver vases (cf. 11.9.2 *Apellea . . . arte*). Richter, however, points out: 'even if actual bowls owned by Roman collectors may have been fakes, and very likely were, the belief evidently existed that they had made embossed silverware. For Charinus of Martial's epigram is not likely to have laid claim to the possession of bits of the Athena Parthenos or the Olympian Zeus, but he probably had a superb silver vase which passed as Phidias' handiwork' (1941: 382).

toreuma: *i. q. caelamen* (Apul. *Met.* 5.1); *caelatum* (Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.48). Pliny (*Nat.* 34.54; 34.56) tells us that Phidias was the first to fully exploit the art of embossing (*toreuticen*). This technique (RE VIA2 [1937] *s. toreutik* [G. Lippold] 1751–1752) was mainly used for silverware (Strong, 1966: 83–84), but not exclusively (Lippold: 1755–1758); yet in Latin the term is used mainly for the former: Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.38;

Pis. 67; Mart. 3.35.1; 8.6.15; 10.87.16; 11.11.1; 12.74.5; 14.94.1; 14.102.2. The *toreumata* were much appreciated both for their technique and their material: silver (Lippold: 1751; cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.128; Sal. *Cat.* 20.12; Suet. *Jul.* 47.1). See Croisille, 1982: 362–365.

5. Mentoreos . . . labores: Mart. 3.40(41) *Inserta phialae Mentoris manu ducta/lacerta vivit et timetur argentum*; 8.50(51).2 *Mentoris haec manus est an, Polyclite, tua?* (Schöffel *ad loc.*); 9.59.16 *pocula Mentorea nobilitata manu* (Henriksén *ad loc.*); 11.11.5 *Mentora frangis* (Kay *ad loc.*); 14.93 (Leary *ad loc.*). Mentor was the most famous *toreuta* in antiquity (Plin. *Nat.* 33.154 *maxime tamen laudatus est Mentor*), although he is hardly mentioned in Greek sources (Luc. *Lex.* 7); see RE XV1 (1931) *s. Mentor* [Lippold]. His coveted works (Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.38) were expensive (Plin. *Nat.* 33.147; cf. Varr. *Men.* 7.2; Prop. 1.14.2; 3.9.13; Juv. 8.103–104 *supra*). *Labor* also refers to a work of art (TLL *s. v.* 794.31–80 [Lumpe]), like *manus* and *ars*: Verg. *A.* 7.248; Ov. *Ars* 2.48; *Pont.* 4.1.29 *ut Venus artificis labor est et gloria Coi* (i.e. *Apellis*); Mart. 8.50.1 (*supra*); 9.44.2; 10.89.1 *Iuno labor, Polyclite, tuus*; 14.95 {*Phiala aurea caelata*} *Quamvis Callaïco rubeam generosa metallo,/glorior arte magis: nam Myos iste labor*; V. Fl. 1.143 (*supra*); Juv. 8.103–104 (*supra*).

habes: 3.26 (*supra*); 12.50.2; 12.69; Petr. 52.1 *habeo scyphos urnales . . . habeo capidem quam reliquit patrono* <*meo*> *rex Minos*; 52.2 (*supra*).

6. vera Gratiana: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 33.139 *Vasa ex argento . . . Furniana, nunc Clodiana, nunc Gratiana—etenim tabernas mensis adoptamus—, nunc anaglypta. . . .* The name of these objects was taken from their manufacturer (cf. 4.88.3 *argenti . . . Septiciani*).

vera: i.e. genuine, not fake: cf. **4.61.6**; 10.87.14.

7. quae Callaico linuntur auro: i.e. *vasa.* Gold was also used in tableware and house furnishing (RE VII2 (1912) *s. Gold* [Blümner] 1559–1560): in the epigrams one can find gold cups (10.49.4–5; 13.110; 14.95) and even gold chamberpots (1.37.1). In this case, they are gold-plated cups (Ov. *Med.* 7; Suet. *Nero* 31.2; *vid.* TLL *s. v.* 1456.82–1457.5 [Kemper]), different from inlaid *chrysendeta* (2.43.11; Williams *ad loc.*; 2.53.5; 6.94.1; Grewing; 11.29.7; 14.97; Leary *ad loc.*). See RE *s. Gold* (Blümner) 1574–1577.

Callaico . . . auro: 14.95.1 *Callaico . . . metallo* (Leary *ad loc.*); Sil. 2.602 *Callaico . . . auro*; 10.118 *Callaici . . . metalli.* Galician (NW Spain) gold was very well known: Mart. 10.17.3–4 *Accipe Callaicis quidquid*

fodit Astur in arvis,/aurea quidquid habet divitis unda Tagi; cf. Flor. *Epit.* 2.33; Plin. *Nat.* 33.78; 33.80; Sil. 3.345 *dives Callaecia*). In fact, Hispania was extremely rich in precious metals (Plin. *Nat.* 3.30; 4.112; Mela 2.86; Mart. 4.55.11 n.), especially gold: Strab. 3.146; Diod. S. 5.36.2. See RE *s. Gold* (Blümner) 1564. There are several variants for Galicia and Galician in Latin: *Gallaecia, Callaecia; Callaecus, Gallaecus, Gallaicus, Callaicus.* Martial and Silius Italicus prefer the latter: Mart. 10.17.3 *Callaicis . . . in arvis*; 10.37.4 *Callaicum . . . ad Oceanum*; 10.37.20; Sil. 2.397; 2.417; 3.353; 4.326; 10.118; 16.377; 16.382: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.461.

8. mensis . . . de paternis: cf. Juv. 6.355 *argenti superest quodcumque paterni* (*vid.* TLL *s. paternus* 696.45–697.3 [Zoppi]). Charinus claims that his silverware has been bequeathed by his father: this, however, makes the reader think that he is trying to conceal his slave origins.

anaglypta: (Gr. ἀνάγλυπτος) vessels carved in low relief (*vid.* Stephani, 1889: 17): cf. Plin. *Nat.* 33.139 (*supra*); Serv. *ad A.* 5.267 *aspera signis, hoc est,* ανάγλυφα.

9–10. Argentum . . . purum: double entendre based on the opposites *argentum caelatum* (engraved silver: cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.91; 2.2.35; 2.2.46; 2.2.129; 2.4.41; 2.4.51; 2.4.52; *S. Rosc.* 133; Verg. *A.* 10.527; Liv. 45.39.5; Plin. *Nat.* 33.148; 37.12) and *argentum purum* (not worked: cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.49; 2.4.52; Juv. 9.141; 10.19; Plin. *Ep.* 3.1.9; *vid.* TLL *s. argentum* 525.82–526.11 [O. Prinz]), as well as on the sexual connotations of (*im*)*purus* (*vid.* TLL *s. impurus* 726.53–727.28), especially related to oral sex (*os impurum*; cf. 6.50.6), fellatio (3.75.5; 9.63.2; 14.70.2) and cunnilingus (2.61.8; 11.61.14): cf. Cic. *Dom.* 26 *ex ore impurissimo Sex. Clodii*; Sen. *Ben.* 4.31.3; *Ep.* 87.16 (*loc. cit. infra*) (TLL *s. v.* 726.78–727.1). Charinus does not have *argentum purum*: all his silverware is carved, but also polluted by his foul mouth (cf. 1.77.6 *cunnum Charinus lingit*). It is also suggested that his friends may be the cause of this 'contamination' (6.50 *supra*; Obermayer, 1998: 216–218). Symbolically, there was a relation between oral sex and moral, political, and even economic corruption in antiquity (Richlin, 1993: 550): Sen. *Ben.* 2.21.5 *'Ego' inquit 'ab eo beneficium accipiam, a quo propinationem accepturus non sum?'*. Sexual depravity and enrichment seemed to go hand in hand: Sen. *Ep.* 87.16 *Nuper Natalis, tam inprobae linguae quam inpurae, in cuius ore feminae purgabantur, et multorum heres fuit et multos habuit heredes. Quid ergo? utrum illum pecunia inpurum effecit an ipse pecuniam inspurcavit? quae sic in quosdam homines quomodo denarius in cloacam cadit.*

For the *os impurum*, see 4.12.2 (n.), 4.17.3 (n.), 4.43.11 (n.) and Hofmann, 1956–57: 445.

Some *codices deteriores* read *culum* instead of *purum*, probably influenced by 6.37.5 *culum non habet*.

miror: 6.69.2; 8.35. Siedschlag classifies this epigram as *Regel-Ausnahme* (1977: 56–59) and links it structurally with 11.66. Martial shows the same nonchalant ironic attitude in 4.69.4. For the sense of *miror*, see TLL *s. v.* 1067.75–1068.13 (Bulhart) and Don. *Ter. An.* 750 *'miror' veteres pro 'nescio' ponebant, nam admiratio ab ignorantia descendit.*

Charine: the use of this Greek name is far from trivial: he is accused of being a *cunnilingus* (1.77; Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*; Jocelyn, 1985: 41–2; cf. 12.89) and a *cinaedus* (6.37.5; Grewing *ad loc.*). In 5.39 he feigns to be sick just to stir legacy-hunters and benefit from them; he is called *vir pessimus omnium* (7.34.2) and compared to Nero; he is portrayed as an envious effeminate man (8.61), so absurdly boastful about his riches that he must be a freedman or a parvenu (11.59).

The name Charinus was a stock name for the *adulescens* in comedy (Pl. *Mer.*; *Ps.*; López López, 1991: 62–63; Ter. *An.*). It also appears in Lucian. *Symp.* 1.4; 1.6; 2.1; 3.9; *DMort.* 15.1.8; *DMeretr.* 4.1.6; 4.1.9; 4.3.14; 4.4.4 (*vid.* RE III2 [1899] *s. Charinos* 7 [Stein]). As Grewing remarks, it is significant that the Greek stem of *Charinus* (cf. χάρις) is also present in the names of other exponents of sexual (and moral) depravation in Martial's epigrams: *Charidemus* (6.81; 11.87); *Charisianus* (11.88).

40

A protest against the decadence in patronage and social relations: Martial criticises the patrons' lack of generosity but also exposes, albeit subtly, the clients' selfish stances (Kleijwegt, 1999: 109–110). In the first couplet Martial evokes the time of his arrival in Rome, around AD 64, when the renowned patrons Cn. Calpurnius Piso and Seneca were still alive. Martial goes on to declare his preference for the addressee, Postumus: he was not as rich and important, but Martial preferred him and was his friend for a long time (3–6). Postumus is now wealthy and powerful, but does not repay Martial for his faithfulness (7–9). Betrayed, the poet blames Fortune, but she has also been deluded. According to Kleijwegt (1999: 110), Martial's persona in this epigram is far from innocent: he shows servile adulation in putting Postumus before the Pisos and the Senecas, as well as vanity in considering himself a worthy client of these families. Martial claims that he was a true friend, but in line 9 he admits that now he has to search for a new patron: he has been deluded for three decades. Kleijwegt rightly concludes that 'in this relation both client and patron are at fault. Martial has here adopted the (flawed) persona of a lowly client in order to show up the dishonest stances which patronage enforces upon both patron and client' (1999: 110).

This epigram should be compared with 1.99; 1.103; 2.24.

Further reading: Allen, 1969: 345–347; Grimal, 1989: 181–182; Kleijwegt, 1999. For patronage as a motif in the epigrams, see Mohler, 1931; Saller, 1983; Garrido-Hory, 1985; Garthwaite, 1998; for friendship, see Kleijwegt, 1998.

1–2. Cf. 12.36.8, where Martial mentions Seneca and Piso apropos of the decadence of patronage in contemporary times; for their generosity, see also Juv. 5.108–111 *nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis/a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat/largiri.*

C. Calpurnius Piso and several members of the Senecan family died in AD 65 after an unsuccessful conspiration against Nero; but are we to believe that Martial was ever under their protection? Traditionally, it has been taken for granted that Seneca favoured his

compatriot. The philosopher's ruin would explain Martial's late debut on the literary scene and his obvious aversion to Nero (Sullivan, 1991: 3). By contrast, Kleijwegt (1999) questions this biographical interpretation (*vid. infra*): Martial mentions Seneca and Piso here and in 12.36.8 precisely as paradigms of literary patronage in the recent past.

Elsewhere Martial uses the terms *atrium* and *domus* in relation to patronage: 5.20.5 *Nec nos atria, nec domos potentum.*

1. Atria: this can refer metonymically to the powerful, usually within a context of patronage: 3.38.11 *Atria magna*; 5.20.5; 9.100.2; 12.68.2 *atria . . . ambitiosa*; cf. Juv. 7.91 *tu nobilium magna atria curas?* The *atrium* symbolised wealth (12.50.7) and nobility, because they used to be adorned with statues of ancestors (2.90.6; Juv. 8.19–20; *Laus Pis.* 8–9; cf. *stemma*). The poetic plural (TLL. *s. v.* 1102.12–52 [Münscher]) usually alludes to the abode of gods, kings, or heroes (cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 2.483–4; 528; Ov. *Met.* 13.968). Martial uses it to refer to Nero's palace (*Sp.* 2.3 *invidiosa feri . . . atria regis*), but also to his patrons' homes: 1.70.12; 12.2.10.

Pisonum: the Pisos were one of the noblest families in Rome (Champlin, 1989: 119–123). Traditionally, this has been interpreted as alluding exclusively to Cn. Calpurnius Piso (RE III1 [1897] *s. Calpurnius* 65 [Groag], see RE VIIIA1 [1955] s. *Valerius* 233 (*Martialis*) [Rud. Helm] 55 and Friedländer *ad loc.*). Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.48) portrays Piso, the conspirator, as a popular, elegant, and generous patron. Similar qualities are stressed in the *Laus Pisonis*, probably dedicated to the same character (117–127; 133–134; *vid.* Champlin, 1989: 104–105). Piso died in AD 65, after a thwarted conspiration against Nero (Suet. *Nero* 36; Tac. *Ann.* 15.48–59). For this character, see Champlin, 1989; Nauta, 2002: 86 and n. 168–169.

stabant: *stare dicuntur qui vel quae vigent, in suo statu manent, incolumes sunt, dignitatem suam retinent* (Forcellini, *s. v.* IIII): Cic. *Fam.* 7.2; 13.29; Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.17; 5.14.21.

stemmate toto: *stemma* (Gr. στέμμα) is the family tree (Forcellini *s. v.* III): Pers. 3.28; Sen. *Ep.* 44.1; Plin. *Nat.* 35.6; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.44; 4.4.75; Mart. 5.35.4 (Canobbio *ad loc.*; cf. 8.6.3); Suet. *Nero* 37.1; *Galb.* 2.1. Like the *atrium*, it also symbolises nobility: Juv. 8.1 (Courtney *ad loc.*); 8.40.

2. et docti Senecae ter numeranda domus: cf. 1.61.7 *Duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum* (Howell *ad loc.*). *Ter numeranda* may allude to Lucius Annaeus, the father (whom Martial had not met), Lucius Annaeus Seneca, and his nephew, Lucan (cf. 7.21; 7.22; Galán *ad loc.*; 14.194; Leary *ad loc.*). Both died in AD 65 in the same circumstances as Piso. For the sense of *numerare*, see **4.29.7** (n.). According to others (Friedländer, Helm; Hofmann), Martial is alluding to Seneca and his two brothers, Lucius (or Marcus) Annaeus Mela (RE I2 [1894] *s. Annaeus* 11 [O. Rossbach]), Lucan's father, and Annaeus Novatus, later called L. Iunius Gallio Anneanus after his adoption by the senator L. Iunius Gallio (RE I2 [1894] *s. Annaeus* 12 [O. Rossbach]). Both were compelled to commit suicide after their brother's downfall.

Friedländer, Sullivan, Allen (1969: 347) and Grimal (1989: 181–182) support the idea that Seneca protected the newcomer Martial. Kleijwegt (1999) stresses the weakness of the traditional arguments, mainly the allusion to Seneca's protection and the belief that Martial's land in Nomentum was a gift from the philosopher. For him, the fact that the addressee and even the poet's mask are fictitious hardly contributes to an autobiographical interpretation; besides, as stated above, Seneca and Piso are mentioned in general terms, as paradigms of good patronage (note the plural). As regards Martial's Nomentan property (1.105; 2.38; 6.43; 7.93; 10.44; 10.48; 10.94; 12.57; 13.42), Kleijwegt refutes the accepted idea that it was a present from Seneca (see Friedländer, Citroni and Howell *ad* 1.105; Allen, 1969: 349): first, Martial never mentions a gift from the philosopher; second, Seneca's land was a huge productive plantation (Plin. *Nat.* 14.48–52), whereas Martial's was small and considerably less fruitful (7.31; 10.94; cf. 2.38; 12.57). Sound as Kleijwegt's argument is, a slight objection can be made: if the poet's persona is unreliable in 4.40, why are we to take Martial's complaints about his land seriously?

In any case, Senecan influence on Martial's thought and style is conspicuous (Grimal, 1989; Simmons, 1991), although this need not imply a personal relationship. The same applies to Lucan: although Martial was acquainted with his widow, Argentaria Polla, and protected by her (7.21–23; Galán *ad loc.*; 10.64), there is no evidence that this relationship went back to Lucan's lifetime (White, 1975: 284–286). Martial praises him in 14.194 (*vid.* Leary *ad loc.*; Reggiani, 1976: 133–138), and in 7.21–23 (Barwick, 1958: 296), which commemorate his birthday (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.7; Martin, 1939: 467–468;

Henriksén, 1998: 97–99). See Herrero Llorente, 1959: 21–22; Steele, 1924: 313–314; Castro-Maia, 1994: 83–85.

docti Senecae: for the death of Seneca in AD 65, see Tac. *Ann.* 15.62–64. He was a patron of the arts (Griffin, 1976: 292). *Doctus* is a characteristic epithet of philosophers (TLL *s. doceo* 1755.13–60 [Bulhart], cf. e.g. Hor. *S.* 2.4.3 *doctum . . . Platona*; Prop. 3.21.26 *docte Epicure*), though not exclusively: 4.86.3 (n.).

domus: in the specific sense of a patron's house, cf. 5.20.5. There might be an implied wordplay between *domus* and *dominus*, similar to *regnis* (l. 3) and (l. 9) *regem* (cf. **4.83.5**, for the joint use of the terms *dominus* and *rex*). In the same way as *atria* clearly refers to the nobility of the *Pisones*, *domus* subtly alludes to Seneca as a philosopher, inasmuch as it could specifically refer to a philosophical school: (TLL *s. v.* 198.1–14 [Hoffmann]; OLD *s. v.* 6): cf. Cic. *Ac.* 1.13; Hor. *Carm.* 1.29.14; Sen. *Ben.* 5.15.3; *Ep.* 29.11.

3. praetulimus: Grimal (1989: 181) wrongly interprets that Martial's friendship with Postumus was subsequent to Seneca and Piso's downfall. The verb, however, as Kleijwegt states (1999: 109), denotes an option, not a chronological sequence. Such an interpretation may be qualified: *praeferre* does not always indicate a choice, but simply greater esteem (OLD *s. v.* 6). Thus, Martial words could be paraphrased as 'in spite of having such powerful patrons, I always valued your friendship, regardless of your lower standing'.

tantis . . . regnis: *regnum* refers to the houses of those concerned (9.73.3; 12.57.19; cf. Cic. *Att.* 14.16), with a subtle allusion to patronage (cf. l. 9 *regem*).

Postume: this name appears in twelve epigrams, always in satirical contexts. He is a disreputable *basiator* (2.10; Williams *ad loc.*; 2.12; 2.22; 2.23; cf. 2.72; Barwick, 1958: 299–300), whose real identity Martial would not reveal (2.23.1–2 *Non dicam, licet usque me rogetis,/qui sit Postumus in meo libello*; Williams). In 2.67 the poet mocks his recurrent tag '*Quid agis?*'. In book IV Martial criticises his failure to repay any token of *amicitia* (cf. 4.26). In 5.52 he boasts of the gifts he has sent to our poet, and in 6.19 he acts as a patron well-versed in useless oratory. In 5.58 the *carpe diem* motif (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.1–2 *Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,/labuntur anni*), usually in the form of counsel to a friend (cf. 4.54 n.), acquires a somewhat aggressive tone, perceptible in the interrogatives, the repetition of *cras* and the name *Postumus*. In 4.40, the occurrence of the name in a very specific his-

torical context could help to support the idea that *Postumus* is a real person, even under a fictitious name.

Kleijwegt's suggestions are quite attractive. Postumus is the *cognomen* given to a posthumous child; *post* implies the notions of 'at last' or 'too late': 'Martial's *Postumus* can be envisioned as a man who holds back on his promise to deliver support' (1999: 109). Finally, the name is repeated again and again (l. 3, 5, 8, 10) to remind him of his failure to comply with social obligations (cf. 5.58.1 *cras dicis, Postume, semper*).

4. pauper eras et eques: for the sense of *pauper*, see **4.5.1** (n.). Four hundred thousand sesterces were required to join the equestrian order, so that *pauper* hardly implies absolute poverty: cf. 5.13.1–2 *Sum, fateor, semperque fui, Callistrate, pauper,/ sed non obscurus nec male notus eques*. The contrast between the term *pauper* and the noble houses of the first line is reminiscent of 2.90.1–4. For poverty and true friendship, see 11.44.3–4 and 6.50.1 (with sexual invective). A different viewpoint in 10.19.

sed mihi consul eras: cf. 12.2.10–11 *atria sunt illic consulis alta mei:/ Laurigeros habitat facundus Stella penatis*. Flattery is self-evident. The client's expectations made him prostrate himself before his 'friend' (cf. **4.78.6** n.).

5. Another obstacle for the autobiographical interpretation: either Martial is exaggerating or he was already Postumus' friend before coming to Rome: cf. 3.36.7. Lehmann (1931: 31) thinks that 3.36 and 4.40 were written for a second edition of these books around 93–94: Martial arrived in Rome in AD 64, so that in AD 88 he had been there for twenty-four years. It is not necessary to take his words literally: *ter denas* may allude broadly to this lapse of time, while the hyperbole may amplify the strenuousness of the client's life. In the epigrams, clients usually complain about their patrons' contempt after long years of servitude: 1.99.14; 2.30.3; 2.43.15 (*infra*); **4.67.2** (n.); 5.19.9 *Quis largitur opes veteri fidoque sodali . . .?*; 7.86.5; 8.14.7 *Sic habitare iubes veterem crudelis amicum*; 12.25.3. A lasting relationship should entail greater respect and affection: 8.18.3; 10.104.9–10.

Note the wordplay between *ter numeranda* (l. 2) and this line, with the repetition of *ter* and the verb *numerare*. Those patrons deserved Martial's respect for their merits; as regards his friendship with Postumus, Martial underlines its duration in adverse circumstances.

ter denas: cf. *Sp.* 28.12 *bis denas*; 7.14.9 *bis denos*; 12.18.16 *ter denos . . . per annos*.

numeravi: with time expressions, cf. 1.15.4 *numerat paucos . . . dies*; 3.6.1 *Lux tibi post Idus numeratur tertia Maias*; 7.9.1 *sexaginta numeret . . . annos*; 7.65.1 *te bis decumae numerantem frigora brumae*.

brumas: for the poetic use of *bruma* instead of *hiems*, see TLL *s. v.* 2208.23–84 (Bannier), cf. **4.57.9** (n.). It is a metonym for a year (TLL *s. v.* 2209.14–20; OLD *s. hiems* 2): Ov. *Fast.* 1.394; *Pont.* 4.13.40; Man. 3.607; Stat. *Theb.* 4.653; Mart. 5.34.5; 7.65.1; 10.104.9–10; 12.62.7 (see Stietzel, 1907: 51). Winter suggests friendship in adverse circumstances (Kleijwegt, 1999: 109). Martial might also be thinking of the Saturnalia, when friends exchanged gifts.

6. communis nobis lectus et unus erat: by mentioning the *lectus tricliniaris* (3.82.5; 3.93.24; 6.74.1; 8.67.6; TLL *s. v.* 1096.81–1097.37 [Steinmann]; Richter, 1926: 130–135), Martial is indirectly alluding to the *convivium* as a setting for friendship (cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.24.3; see Garnsey, 1999: 136–137). *Communis lectus*, a shared couch, suggests close friendship (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.6; Plu. *Mor.* 149a–b; Mart. 11.65.3–4; D'Arms, 1994). Although a fellow diner need not necessarily be a good friend (Sen. *Ep.* 19.11; Mart. 6.48; 7.86.10; 9.14.1–2), Postumus' limited means would not easily have attracted a selfish parasite.

communis: cf. Pl. *Mil.* 51; Quint. *Decl.* 301.11 *rogassem te per ius mensae communis*; Plin, *Pan.* 49.5 *non tibi semper in medio cibus semperque mensa communis?*; Juv. 8.177–178 *aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus/non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli*. The expression *communis lectus* appears in Mart. 11.23.6 *Communis tecum nec mihi lectus erit*; 12.91.1–2.

et unus: this seems to suggest poverty (Paley-Stone, 1888 *ad loc.*; Kleijwegt, 1999: 109), but it may also have ironic implications: the poet was the only guest, the only true friend.

7. Cf. 12.2.9–11 *Largiri, praestare, breves extendere census,/et dare quae faciles vix tribuere dei,/nunc licet et fas est.*

The repetition of *iam*, the parallelism (*plenus honorum/largus opum*), and even the Virgilian echoes evoke Martial's expectations aroused by Postumus' lucky turn. However, these are thwarted, as usual, because an increase in someone's fortune does not imply a better life, but rather results in meanness (l. 9 *nil facis*): 1.99; 1.103; 2.24;

4.51 (n.). For the difference between *donare* and *perdere*, cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1.30.

donare: for the vital importance of gift exchange in social relations and in the epigrams, see Augello, 1965 and Spisak, 1998.

perdere: cf. 11.76.4; it can mean 'squander' (TLL *s. v.* 1265.17–31 [Reineke]: cf. Pl. *Bac.* 738; Ter. *Hau.* 465), or be a synonym for *donare* in similar social contexts: cf. Sen. *Ben.* 1.2.1–2; 1.3.1 (cf. *perire* Sen. *Ben.* 1.1.1 and see Nauta, 2002: 24).

7–8. These two phrases stress Postumus' change of fortune both in economic and social terms: *pauper-largus opum; eques-plenus honorum.*

plenus honorum: cf. Liv. 3.69.4 *vita omni, plena honorum saepe gestorum, saepius meritorum*; 26.22.12 *duobus plenis iam honorum, Q. Fabio et M. Marcello*; Luc. 5.666–667 *quamvis plenus honorum/et dictator eam Stygias et consul ad umbras. Honorum* means 'esteem' and 'privileges', derived from social status (OLD *s. v.* 1–4). More specifically, *honos* can refer to a public office (OLD *s. v.* 5; e.g. Cic. *Flac.* 45; cf. *cursus honorum*: Cic. *Fam.* 3.11.2; Tac. *Hist.* 1.48), including a consulship (cf. l. 4: Ov. *Pont.* 4.4.25 *summi . . . honoris*).

8. largus opum: *largus* means 'rich' (cf. Verg. *A.* 11.338 *largus opum et lingua melior*; Serv. *ad loc. largus opum abundans opibus, dives, non qui multa donaret; vid.* TLL *s. v.* 974.6–18 [Heine]), although its implications of generosity are ironically present here (Paley-Stone, 1888 *ad loc.*; TLL *s. v.* 973.25–974.5). Notice the juxtaposition between *largus opum* and *expecto*, exposing the poet's naive expectations.

expecto . . . quid facias: Martial hopes that his newly-rich friend will now be generous to him in recognition of his friendship: cf. 2.24.5–6 (*Fortuna*) *dat tibi divitias: ecquid sunt ista duorum?/Das partem? multum est? Candide, das aliquid?*; 2.43.15–16 *Ex opibus tantis veteri fidoque sodali/das nihil et dicis, Candide,* κοινὰ φίλων?; 10.15.1–2 *Cedere de nostris nulli te dicis amicis./Sed, sit ut hoc verum, quid, rogo, Crispe, facis?*

9. For Kleijwegt, 'line 9 nicely picks up the search for a patron introduced at the beginning of the poem, although now it is beset with bitter disappointment' (1999: 109). In fact, looking for a new patron would involve enduring the obligations of a *novus amicus*: cf. 1.54; 3.36. Martial is now too old for that sort of thing (**4.78.10** n.) and has invested too much time in Postumus' friendship.

Nihil facis: Postumus continues to behave as he did when he was less prosperous: cf. 9.2.1. A jocular treatment of the same motif in 12.81.2–3: *Mittebat Umber aliculam mihi pauper;/nunc mittit alicam: factus est enim dives.*

serum est: there is subtle wordplay between *serum* and *Postumus* (*vid. supra*): 5.38.7 *Cras vives? hodie iam vivere, Postume, serum est*: cf. Apul. *Apol.* 36 *accipiat doctrinam seram plane et postumam.*

regem: *rex* denotes a patron, especially an arrogant one: 1.112.1 *dominum regemque* (cf. 4.83.5 n.); 2.18.5 *tumidi . . . regis* (Williams *ad loc.*); 2.18.8 *qui rex est, Maxime, regem non habeat*; 2.68.2; 3.7.5 *regis superbi*; 5.19.13 *tumidi . . . reges*; 5.22.14; 10.10.5; 10.96.13; 12.60.14; cf. Col. 1.pr.9; Juv. 1.136; 5.14 and *vid.* Forcellini *s. v.* XVIII. A good, generous patron is usually called a friend (even if the term could also be used ironically).

10. Hoc, Fortuna, placet?: 10.76.1 *Hoc, Fortuna, tibi videtur aequum?*; Luc. 8.686 *hac facie, Fortuna, tibi, Romana, placebas*; 8.793–5 *placet hoc, Fortuna, sepulchrum/dicere Pompei, quo condi maluit illum/quam terra caruisse socer?*; Apul. *Met.* 5.9 *Sic denique infit altera: 'En orba et saeva et iniqua Fortuna! Hocine tibi complacuit, ut utroque parente prognatae <germanae> diversam sortem sustineremus?'*

Postumus imposuit: Kleijwegt draws attention to the sonic component (***Pos**tumus im**pos**uit*) and wittily summarises the implications of the proper noun (*vid. supra*): '"Mr. Later" becomes "Mr. Fraud"' (1999: 110).

These could be Martial's own words, but Gilbert (1884: 517; 1886) attributes them to Fortune, equally let down by Postumus. The protagonist of 1.103 also deceives both his friend and the gods: 11–12 *In ius, o fallax atque infitiator, eamus:/aut vive aut decies, Scaevola, redde deis.*

imposuit: *imponere i. q. decipere, deludere, fallere*, TLL, *s. v.* 659.71–660.16 (J. B. H.): Mart. 3.57.1; 4.79.2; 5.36.2; cf. Sen. *Ben.* 4.34.2. Seneca employs the same verb for ingratitude; in Martial's epigrams the verb usually alludes to a swindle (Kleijwegt, 1999: 110 n. 19): if these words are pronounced by him, they subtly present his friendship not as one based on affinity but on interest, that is, as a long-term investment. See also 1.103.11–12; **4.88.9–10** (n.).

41

Satiric epigram on an affected *recitator*. He wears a scarf when he is about to recite poetry, feigning to be ill as a sort of *captatio benevolentiae*: cf. Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.8 *ita quaedam in his quoque commendatio tacita, si nos infirmos, imparatos, impares agentium contra ingeniis dixerimus*; 6.3.76; see Funaioli RE (I A I, 1914) *s. recitationes* 444. This could be taken to a ridiculous extreme: Tac. *Dial.* 20.1.11 *Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem?* A hoarse orator would not only fail to ingratiate himself with the audience, but would also deserve scolding: if he cannot talk, it would be better not to try (Post *ad loc.*): 3.18 *Perfrixisse tuas questa est praefatio fauces./Cum te excusaris, Maxime, quid recitas?*; 6.41 *Qui recitat lana fauces et colla revinctus,/hic se posse loqui, posse tacere negat* (Grewing *ad loc.*). The height of inveterate loquaciousness (Hofmann, 1956–57: 449–450) is the protagonist of **4.80**, who does not stop declaiming despite being feverish. In any case, hoarseness is an obstacle in any public reading or speech, as good voice modulation was essential for a successful *actio* (Post *ad loc.*; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.13 *Sed ne vox quidem nisi libera vitiis actionem habere optimam potest*).

Post (*ad loc.*) also suggests that Martial 'alludes not only to the possible physical disability of the man, but to the feebleness of his poetry': the audience should wear the scarf over their ears. Martial exploited ironically this same motif in 14.137: *Si recitaturus dedero tibi forte libellum,/hoc focale tuas adserat auriculas.* The poems might not be his (2.71.3–4); they could be even Martial's (1.29; 1.52; 1.63; 1.66; 1.72; 2.20; 10.102.3–4; 12.63.6–7), and the poor reading of the recitator would spoil them: 1.38 *Quem recitas meus est, o Fidentine, libellus:/Sed male cum recitas, incipit esse tuus.*

As regards structure, note the chiasmus: *vellera collo/nostris auribus . . . ista* (Post *ad loc.*). Epigram 4.50 has the same arrangement: a question in the hexameter followed by a sarcastic remark.

Further reading: Mans, 1994: 112.

1. recitaturus: 14.137.1 (see Leary *ad loc.*). Although not exclusively, *recitare* was the public reading of a literary work, both in prose

and verse (see 4.6.5 n.). Gradually, these readings had lost cultural relevance and become a mere social act, filling artists themselves with a sense of ennui: Juv. 1.3–4 *impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,/hic elegos?* (Courtney *ad loc.*). The satire against *recitatores* can be traced back to Horace (*Ars* 470–476; *vid.* Pennacini, 1989: 260; Funaioli RE *s. Recitationes* 444). Persius portrays them as impeccable and extremely worried about their voices (Pers. 1.15–18).

circumdas vellera collo: *vellus* (e.g. Verg. *A.* 4.459) may allude to a woollen garment (cf. 6.41.1), in the form of a scarf, similar to a *focale* (14.137), which was worn by the sick: Hor. *S.* 2.3.254–5; Fro. *Aur.* 1.9.5; Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.144; Sen. *Nat.* 4b.13.10. Post (*ad loc.*) remarks that this may also be a sign of affectation and effeminacy.

The end of the hexameter has Ovidian echoes: *Met.* 1.631 *circumdat vincula collo*; 9.459 *circumdet bracchia collo*: Martial is certainly parodying this poetaster's thwarted artistic aspirations.

2. conveniunt nostris auribus: 14.137.2. *Conveniunt* is clearly ironic, since it is a medical term: cf. Cels. 2.14.5; 2.15.4; 2.17.2; 2.19.2; 2.25.2; 3.7.2b; 3.22.5 etc.

auribus: cf. 4.86.1 (n.). Martial now imagines the audience (*nostris*) feigning an ear condition. Some other characters also pretend to have similar illnesses, but for different purposes: 12.89 *Quod lana caput alligas, Charine,/non aures tibi, sed dolent capilli*; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.144 *aurium ligamenta*. For remedies of this kind, see Plin. *Nat.* 28.76.

ista *γ*; illa *β*: This demonstrative pronoun is associated with the second person and has a certain pejorative meaning: Post *ad loc.*; cf. e.g. 4.37.7; 4.61.15.

42

Martial exquisitely describes an ideal *puer delicatus*, drawing attention to his physical appearance, which conforms to the Roman canon of beauty (cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 3.420–423; Petr. 126.15–16), and his sexual behaviour. The boy should come from Egypt, but only because Egyptians were thought to be more forward (3–4); yet he should not be black, but snow-white (5–6), with sparking eyes (7), long waving hair (7–8), a narrow forehead, a perfect nose (9), and red lips (10). These conventional elements are mitigated by the sporadic emergence of the poetic voice, who comments on his personal likes, and by the fact that the boy's physical appearance does not match his racial origins. This makes him a rare, exotic object. Afterwards, Martial focuses on his sexual conduct: there seems to be an inversion of roles (Richlin, 1983: 38), since the slave is the one who takes the initiative (11–12) in the mutual and exclusive relationship with his master (13–14). These are also idealised qualities. For the description of the ideal *puer* in Latin literature, see Richlin (1983: 34–44) and Obermayer (1998: 55–58), who analyses it from aesthetic, erotic and social viewpoints.

This description is set within an imaginary dialogue, which materialises in the last couplet: Flaccus, the addressee, realises that the portrait fully corresponds to his favourite, Amazonicus. The past tense makes it clear that Amazonicus no longer exists (or maybe that he has become a man). Consequently, the non-factual modality in the first distich becomes absolutely significant: it is not possible now to enjoy such a pleasurable boy. This might be an elegant, veiled epitaph (Obermayer, 1998: 47 n. 121; 58 n. 165). There is no allusion to the sepulchre or to the *mors inmatura*, but the mention of the owner is an essential element in slaves' funerary epigrams (cf. 6.28.3 *cari deliciae breves patroni*; 6.29.2). Flaccus' reply proves his familiarity with Martial, but it also makes it evident that the whole epigram is intended for his own praise: Amazonicus' rare beauty is a symbol of his master's taste and social status.

The exuberant style matches the object described. Repetitions of words (*roganti/rogare; puerum/puer hic; comae/comas*) and ideas (*Niliacis . . . oris/Mareotide; candidior . . . iste color*), and special care in the phonic component (cf. l. 5) and line structure characterise this poem.

Further reading: Shackleton Bailey, 1978: 277; Croisille, 1982: 538; Richlin, 1983: 34–44; Pitcher, 1984: 421; Sullivan, 1991: 208; Obermayer, 1998: 47 n. 121; 55–58. For Marchesi (1922), this passage is reminiscent of Petronius 126.15–16.

1. Si quis forte mihi possit praestare roganti: the adverb (*forte*) and the verb (*possit*) make it clear that the wish is unattainable (cf. l. 2 *velim*).

2. Cf. 1.57.1 *Qualem, Flacce, velim quaeris nolimve puellam.*

audi: the poem begins as an imaginary dialogue, cf. line 16 *dices*.

quem: this might be an interrogative adjective (*qui, quae, quod*) and so have an analogous meaning to *qualis* (cf. 1.57.1), but it may also be a form of *quis, quid*, which, used as an adjective, is generally a way of asking for a name. This semantic ambiguity anticipates the end of the epigram, as the description of the ideal *puer* comes to life: *Amazonicus*.

puerum: *puer* usually refers to slaves, especially *pueri delicati* (Garrido-Hory, 1981: 99; 1997: 310–311). The word is repeated several times: lines 2, 3, 13, 14.

Flacce: cf. 1.57.1; 1.59.4; 1.61.4; 1.76; 1.98.1; 4.42.8; 4.49.1; 7.82.4; 7.87.1; 8.45; 8.55.5; 9.33.1; 9.55.2; 9.55.8; 9.90; 10.48.5; 11.27; 11.80; 11.95.2; 11.98.1; 11.100.1; 11.101.1–2; 12.74.5; 12.74.10. Pitcher (1984) analyses all these epigrams and concludes that Flaccus is the same person, a friend and protector of Martial. This idea has been supported by Stein RE VI2 (1909) *s. v. Flaccus* 6; PIR^2 F 170 (with doubts about 1.98; 7.82; 9.33; 9.95; and 9.98); White (1972: 113–118; 1975: n. 46); Kay (*ad* 11.57); Howell (*ad* 1.59). Citroni (1975) wonders whether the Flaccus of epigrams 1.61 and 1.76, a Paduan poet, also mentioned in 9.55 and 10.48 and possible addressee of 4.49, is a separate character. Friedländer (*ad* 1.57), Izaac and Barwick (1958: 298) consider that the Flaccus of 1.61 and 1.76 is a different one, but say nothing about the rest. White (1972: 113–118; 1975: 297 n. 46) suggests he might be Calpurnius Flaccus (see also Henriksén *ad* 9.33; 9.90; Howell *ad* 1.57; Kay *ad* 11.21.1).

Pitcher sketches a coherent portrait of Flaccus: he may have been one of Stella's friends (4.6.5 n.; cf. 1.61; 9.55; Henriksén *ad loc.*; 10.48) and may even have introduced him to Martial. If Flaccus is to be taken as a single character, at the beginning he is seen as a young man interested in poetry (1.61; 1.76), to whom Martial addresses literary poems (4.49; 8.55). See also Duret, 1986: 3226. Despite their

differing socio-economic positions, the relaxed tone of the epigrams (1.59; 11.80; 12.74) shows that they were close friends (Nauta, 2002: 61). This familiarity is particularly conspicuous in erotic epigrams: Martial comments on his likes (1.57; 4.42; 11.100), or his friend's (11.27; 9.90; 11.101), and tells him risqué anecdotes (7.82; 9.33).

Other studies on the vocative *Flacce* are Cartault, 1903: 106–107 and Sergi, 1988.

3–4. Egyptian slaves were appreciated for their wit (Friedländer *ad loc.*; cf. 11.13.3 *urbis deliciae salesque Nili*) and sauciness (*vid. infra*). There are several *pueri Alexandrini* or *Aegyptii* at Trimalchio's dinner, undoubtedly a sign of luxury and sophistication (Petr. 31.3; 35.6; 68.3). For slaves as luxury goods, see Williams, 1999: 37–38.

puer hic nascatur: the deictic suggests that Martial is thinking of someone real. The reference to birth stresses the primary connotation of *puer*: youth.

Niliacis . . . in oris: cf. e.g. Ov. *Ep.* 6.23 *Haemoniis . . . oris; Rem.* 797 *Libycis . . . ab oris*; *Fast.* 4.379 *Libycis . . . in oris*. *Niliacus* is a favourite adjective of Martial's, and he uses it either in its proper sense (cf. e.g. 3.93.7 *Niliacus . . . corcodilus*) or as a metonym for Egypt (cf. 8.81.2). It evokes exoticism.

4. This is a powerful agricultural image: not only does *tellus* mean 'region' (cf. Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.7), but also 'earth', 'soil' (cf. *dare*): the image of the boy as a natural product is both beautiful and dehumanising.

nequitias: an erotic term (7.14.4; 9.67.2), especially alluding to sexual disinhibition (3.91.4; 9.67.2; Petr. 87.4; Obermayer, 1998: 57, n.163), but also to freedom of speech: 5.2.3–5; 11.16.7. Alexandrians were famous for their verbal brazenness: Quint. *Inst.* 1.2.7 *Gaudemus si quid licentius dixerint: verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis risu et osculo excipimus*; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.73–75. See Caes. *Civ.* 3.110 (Carter *ad loc.*), for the Roman conception of Alexandrian licentiousness.

scit: Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.115–6 *Pontica . . . tellus . . . scit.* A rare use of the verb: cf. Fro. *Aur.* 1.3.2 *putasne ullus dolor penetrare sciat corpus . . . meum?*

5–8. Martial presents a portrait as detached as possible from an Egyptian's, or rather an Ethiopian's: black complexion, short frizzy hair, flat nose. Egypt was one of the places from which Italy imported black slaves (RE IIIA1 [1927] *s. Sklaverei* [Westermann] 1004–1005),

either taken from more southern areas or natives (Snowden, 1947: 282–283). The slave's features, particularly complexion and hair, also correspond to his tender age (Garrido-Hory, 1997: 311). The portrait is comparable to Statius' description of the *delicatus* Glaucias:

> o ubi purpureo suffusus sanguine candor
> sidereique orbes radiataque lumina caelo
> et castigatae collecta modestia frontis
> ingenuique super crines mollisque decorae
> margo comae? (Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.41–45).

5–6. White luminous complexion (*candidus*) was an essential element in the description of beauty. Whiteness of skin is especially associated with catamites (e.g. 6.39.12). *Fuscus* denotes a dark complexion without pejorative connotations. La Penna (1992: 362) notices a playful echo of Virgil: Verg. *Ecl.* 10.38 *quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?* The defence of a dark complexion was a recurrent motif in Augustan poetry: Verg. *Ecl.* 2.17–18 *o formose puer, nimium ne crede colori:/alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur*; 10.39 *et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra*; Ov. *Ep.* 15.35–36 *candida si non sum, placuit Cepheia Perseo/Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae*. Black skin is said to be as attractive as white: *A. P.* 12.5; 12.165; 12.244; Prop. 2.5.41–42 *vidisti pleno teneram candore puellam,/vidisti fuscam, ducit uterque color*; Ov. *Am.* 2.4.39–40 *candida me capiet, capiet me flava puella,/est etiam in fusco grata colore Venus*; CIL 4.1520 CANDIDA ME DOCVIT NIGRAS ODISSE PVELLAS/ODERO SI POTERO, SED NON INVITVS AMABO.

That this African boy should be white is not a racist remark, as Obermayer suggests (1998: 57 n. 162), but a note of exquisiteness, in that his complexion would not be consistent with his origin (l. 6).

nive candidior: not only is a white complexion a sign of beauty, but also of youth: 1.31.6 *lactea colla*; 1.115.2–3; 8.55.14 (André, 1949: 353). *Candidus* is more appropriate than *albus*, because it adds a nuance of luminosity (Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.9–10; 3.9.2–3; 4.1.27; *Epod.* 11.27; *S.* 1.2.123; Prop. 2.3.9). A white complexion is usually compared with milk, ivory, or marble, but more frequently with snow: Hor. *Carm.* 2.4.3; 3.27.25; [Verg.] *Ciris* 399; Ov. *Am* 3.7.8 *bracchia Sithonia candidiora nive; Met.* 3.422–423 *eburnea colla . . ./niveo . . . candore*; 8.373; Mart. 1.115.3; 7.33.2; 7.50.3; 11.22.1; 12.82.7. Apart from its chromatic meaning, *candidus* connotes purity and innocence (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.41).

Mareotide: *Mareotis* was a lake near Alexandria (Curt. 4.7.9 *Mareotin paludem*; 4.8.1; Plin. *Nat.* 5.62 *Mareotim lacum*; Luc. 9.154 *pigra Mareotide*), which lent its name to the surrounding area (*vid.* RE XIV2 [1930] *s. Marea, Mareotis* [Kees]): Plin. *Nat.* 5.39; 5.50; cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.773 *Mareotica . . . arva*) and its famous wine (Verg. *G.* 2.91; Col. 3.2.24; Gratt. 313; Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.14; Plin. *Nat.* 14.39; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.24). Statius, Lucan, and Martial use *Mareotis* and *Mareoticus* metonymically as synonyms for *Aegyptius* and *Aegyptiacus* (8.36.3; 14.209.1; Luc. 10.117; Stat. *Theb.* 1.264; *Silv.* 3.2.103), but only Martial uses the name *Mareotis* as a metonym for Egypt.

fusca: this adjective is applied to a dark complexion (Snowden, 1947: 274–278): *Mor.* 32–3 *Afra genus . . . fusca colore*, Tib. 2.3.55 *comites fusci, quos India torret*; Prop. 2.33a.15 *fuscis Aegyptus alumnis*; 2.25.41–42; Amm. 22.16.23 *subfusculi* (Egyptians). *Fuscus* may imply a lighter hue, but also be equivalent to *niger* (*Mor.* 33; Mart. 4.62.1 *nigra Lycoris*; 7.13.2 *fusca Lycoris*), used as a euphemism (Ov. *Ars* 2.657–8; *Rem.* 327). *Fuscus* is sometimes applied to places with a black population: 9.35.7 *fusca Syene*; Prop. 4.6.78 *fuscaque regna* (TLL *s. v.* 1654.7–35 [Vollmer]).

7. lumina sideribus certent: bright eyes are often compared to stars: e.g. Prop. 2.3.14 *non oculi, geminae, sidera nostra* (cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.16.44); Ov. *Am.* 3.3.9 *radiant ut sidus ocelli*; *Met.* 1.499 *sideribus similes oculos*; 3.420 *geminum, sua lumina, sidus*; Petr. 126.16 *oculi clariores stellis extra lunam fulgentibus*; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.42. Sparkling eyes are central to descriptions of beauty both in Latin (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.15) and Greek poetry: *A. P.* 12.5.4; 12.196.

7–8. The Egyptian boy should have long, softly waving hair. Long hair is a characteristic of adolescence (1.31; Citroni, 1975: 101–105; 6.52.3; 7.29; 9.16; 9.17; 9.36; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 11.28 *teretis pueri longam . . . comam*), therefore a distinctive feature of a *puer delicatus* (3.58.31; 9.16.6; 12.64.1; 12.70.9; cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.421; Petr. 57.9 *puer capillatus*). In descriptions of the beloved, reference to hair is essential: Petr. 126.15; Apul. *Met.* 2.9.

molles . . . comae: *mollis* suggests softness: Tib. 1.8.9 *molles . . . capillos* (cf. Hor. *Ars* 33); Ov. *Pont.* 3.3.17 (Cupid's hair); *Met.* 14.554 *comae molles*; Stat. *Theb.* 9.375; *Silv.* 2.1.44–45. When opposed to *tortas* (the tightly curled, frizzy hair of the negro), *molles* means softly waving.

flagellent: the subtle touch of violence enhances the erotic image of the long hair over his neck. Similar uses of the verb can be found in Stat. *Theb.* 10.169 *sertaque mixta comis sparsa cervice flagellat*; Luc. 9.633–5. His loose hair (Hor. *Carm.* 2.5.23–24; 4.10.3) endows him with Apollonian beauty (Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.62; Prop. 4.6.31; cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.421; *vid.* **4.45.8** n.).

8. colla: the allusion to the neck (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.26; 3.9.2–3) and the hair is highly sensual (1.31.6; cf. Prop. 2.3.13; [Tib.] 3.4.27; Navarro *ad loc.*; Ov. *Am.* 1.5.10; 2.4.41; *Met.* 1.497; Apul. *Met.* 2.9; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.50). *Colla* is a standard poetic plural (TLL *s. v.* 1658.8–1659.17 [Probst]).

tortas . . . comas: *tortus* (and its derivatives), when applied to hair, means 'curly' (Tac. *Ag.* 11.2; Man. *Astr.* 4.722 *torti . . . crines*; 5.147; Mart. 8.33.19 *tortos . . . capillos*) and even 'frizzy' (Snowden, 1947: 281–282): *Mor.* 32–33 *Afra genus . . . torta comam*; Luc. 10.132 *torta caput*; Mart. *Sp.* 3.10 (*infra*); 6.39.6 *retorto crine Maurus*; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 2.189 *Aethiopas . . . barba et capillo vibrato. Torqueo* means 'to curl': Ov. *Ars* 1.505 *nec ferro placeat torquere capillos*; 2.304 *Torserit igne comam, torte capille, place*; Serv. *A.* 12.100. On the other hand, *torqueo* means 'to twist', so as to form a plait (Prop. 4.7.45), or bun: *Sp* 3.9–10 *Crinibus in nodum tortis venere Sygambri,/atque aliter tortis crinibus Aethiopes* (cf. Mart. 14.24.2 *figat acus tortas sustineatque comas*). Consequently, the boy should have loose, wavy (*molles*) hair. Artificially curled hair was associated with effeminacy: Ov. *Ars* 1.505. The ideal of natural beauty pervades this passage: cf. 2.36.1; *A. P.* 12.192.1–2. The rarity of his hair would enhance his own beauty. In Petr. 34 there are some *Aethiopes capillati*: Snowden explains that 'Waters (*Cena Trimalchionis*, 1902: 70) was probably near the truth in regarding the term *capillati* as indicating that these servants were not full-blooded Africans. That is, they were Negroes with hair not generally associated with the Negro and, consequently, worthy of note' (1947: 282).

9. Frons brevis: a narrow forehead was a sign of beauty: Hor. *Carm.* 1.33.5 *insignem tenui fronte Lycorida* (cf. Porph. *Ad loc. Tenui pro angusta et pusilla posuit; frons autem minor pulchriorem facit mulierem*); *Ep.* 1.7.26 *angusta fronte*; Petr. 126.15 *frons minima*; cf. Ciris 497 *patulae frontis* (Lyne, 1971: 240).

modus leviter sit naribus uncis: cf. Petr. 126.15 *nares paululum inflexae.* This *puer Aegyptius* should not resemble an Ethiopian and

have a flat nose (cf. 6.39.8 *At ille sima nare, turgidis labris*), nor have a very curved one (Ter. *Hau.* 1062; Pers. 1.41).

10. The physical description culminates in the mouth (Petr. 126.16), which evokes kisses, and therefore anticipates his sexual behaviour (lines 11–14).

Paestanis . . . rosis: the roses of Paestum, in Lucania, were the most valued in Italy: Verg. *G.* 4.119 *biferi . . . rosaria pesti*; Ov. *Met.* 15.708; *Pont.* 2.4.28 *Paestanas vincet odore rosas*; Prop. 4.5.61 *vidi ego odorati victura rosaria Paesti*; Col. *R.* 10.1.1.37; Mart. 5.37.9 *Fragravit ore, quod rosarium Paesti*; 6.80.6; 9.60.1; 12.31.3. Martial compares the colour of the boy's lips to roses (cf. 8.55.15; 11.56.12; Verg. *A.* 2.593 *roseo . . . ore*; 9.5; Sil. 7.448). His odour is also evoked, and so are his kisses (3.65; 6.34). Roses are symbols of sublime and ephemeral beauty.

rubeant: cf. 4.55.18 *rosis rubentem*. Crimson lips round off a perfect portrait: cf. Catul. 45.12 *illo purpureo ore saviata* (cf. 61.186 *ore floridulo*); Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.12 *purpureo bibet ore nectar*; Mart. 8.55.15; 11.56.12; Apul. *Apol.* 9.42 *rosis oris savia purpurei*. For *rubere* as a colour term, see André, 1949: 75–78. Red symbolises youth and beauty (André, 1949: 261).

11. Cf. 1.57 (Citroni *ad loc.* with an ample survey of literary sources; see also Prinz, 1912). In the first part of the pentameter, Martial wants the boy to take the initiative in sexual terms; in the second part, he wishes for a certain reluctance which will increase desire (4.38.1 n.; cf. 4.7 for a different attitude). This alternation is essential for a satisfactory relationship: Ov. *Am.* 2.9b.45–46 *et modo blanditias dicat, modo iurgia nectat;/ saepe fruar domina, saepe repulsus eam.*

As Citroni remarks, the line has an aphoristic structure: note the parallelism, chiasmus, and slight variation in *cogat.* Cf. Ov. *Am* 3.11b.52 *ut, quam, si nolim, cogar amare, velim.* Compare also with an epigram by Strato: *A. P.* 12.203 Οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φιλεῖς με, φιλῶ δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα·/εὔκολος, ἢν φεύγω· δύσκολος, ἢν ἐπάγω; as well as with another epigram by Martial himself: 5.83 *Insequeris, fugio; fugis, insequor; haec mihi mens est:/ Velle tuum nolo, Dyndime, nolle volo.*

nolentem . . . volentem: in the sexual field, euphemisms consisting of verbs like *possum, volo, nolo,* or *soleo* are used in isolation (an elided infinitive with a sexual meaning has to be understood; see Adams, 1981: 122–123): Ter. *Eu.* 813; Catul. 8.9 *nunc iam illa non*

vult: tu quoque, impotens, noli; Ov. *Ars* 1.274 *haec quoque, quam poteris credere nolle, volet*; CIL IV 1837 SI POTES ET NON VIS; Mart. 5.83.2 *velle tuum . . . nolle*; 11.58.1 *cum me velle vides*; Apul. *Met.* 8.3; cf. Auson. *Ep.* 56.1 *Hanc volo quae non vult, illam quae vult, ego nolo.*

cogat: another euphemism (*vid. supra*). In an erotic sense, it only appears here (TLL *s. v.* 1527.39–40 [Hey]), although there is a parallel in 7.58.4 (with an infinitive). This verb implies violence (cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 494), already anticipated in *flagellent* (l. 7). For its use with *nolle*, cf. Ter. *Ad.* 851 *etiam si nolit, cogam ut cum illa una cubet*; Ov. *Am* 3.11b.52.

nolit: cf. 5.46.1 *Basia dum nolo nisi quae luctantia carpsi*; 5.83.2 *velle tuum nolo. Nolo* with accusative of person means 'not to want', usually implying a preference (1.57.1–2; 2.36.2), or, as in this case, a refusal: Ter. *An.* 172 *uxorem nolit filius.*

12. liberior domino . . . suo: there is wordplay between the legal and erotic connotations of the two terms. *Liber* alludes to sexual freedom (OLD *s. v.* 11b; Hor. *Epod.* 17.57; Liv. 4.44.11; Ov. *Ars* 2.590; 3.604), which ironically is imposed, because the boy is not *liber* in legal terms and is forced to have sexual intercourse with his master. *Dominus*, the owner of a slave (TLL *s. v.* 1913.30–1915.3 [I. Kapp]), is a common form of address for the lover in amatory language (Ov. *Am.* 3.7.11 *et mihi blanditias dixit dominumque vocavit*; *Ep.* 8.8; 20.150; *Ars* 1.314; *Met.* 9.466; Apul. *Met.* 6.1; *vid.* TLL *s. v.* 1915.33–42). Martial played elsewhere with the meanings of this word and the motif of *servitium amoris*: 6.71.6 *vendidit ancillam, nunc redimit dominam*; 11.70.2 *Plorantis dominos vendere, Tucca, potes?*; 12.66.8 *Stant pueri, dominos quos precer esse meos* (TLL *s. v.* 1924.63 κάτ' ἀπροσδοκίαν *de servulis delicatis ad analogiam vocis dominae*).

13–14. Shackleton Bailey (1978: 277) emended the text and changed *et* to *nec*: if the boy has to behave as a *vir* with others (line 14), he may well have intercourse with his fellow slaves. According to him, *excludat saepe puellas* implies that he may often refuse them, that is, that he may have sex with them if he wants to. Neither the correction nor the interpretation are necessary. Lines 13–14 may be interpreted as a statement of reciprocally exclusive love: on the one hand, it is desirable that the boy may feel jealous of his fellow slaves (13); on the other, only the owner would derive pleasure from his *puer* (14). The boy's desirable sexual freedom (12) is only to be used

with his master: 'Die so stark ausgeprägte Libido des Puer soll voll und ganz dem Narrateur zugute kommen; er erhebt ein unmissverstandlichen monogamen Anspruch' (Obermayer, 1998: 58). Some scholars offer a joint interpretation of these two lines: 'keine Pedicatio dürch andere Männer, keine Pedicatio von anderen *Pueri*, und so irgendmöglich keine *Fututiones* von *Puellae*' (Obermayer); 'eviti di frequentare i *pueri*; frequenti poco le *puellae*: Marziale lo rechieda tutto per se' (La Penna, 1992: 362).

13. timeat pueros: traditionally interpreted as 'may he fear to have intercourse with other boys'. In my view, it may allude to jealousy of rivals. *Timere* does not usually carry this sense, unlike its synonym *metuere*: Ov. *Ars* 2.445 *fac timeat de te*; 1.751–754 *Heu facinus! non est hostis metuendus amanti;/Quos credis fidos, effuge, tutus eris./Cognatum fratremque cave carumque sodalem:/Praebebit veros haec tibi turba metus*; 3.659 *Questus eram, memini, metuendos esse sodales.*

excludat saepe puellas: the verb is reminiscent of amatory elegy and the *exclusus amator* motif (**4.29.6** n.). Its plain meaning 'to keep out' is found in Ov. *Am.* 1.6.31 (cf. Prop. 1.5.20; 1.16.8; Tib. 2.3.73–74 *exclusura . . . ianua*; Ov. *Ars* 3.588). A physical notion blends with the idea of unrequited love (Tib. 2.4.39; Ov. *Ars* 3.69). However, despite its elegiac echoes, *excludere* may literally mean 'do not let in': in this case, the boy does not grant them access to his master.

14. vir reliquis: *vir* means male adult (cf. 1.31.8; 4.7.6), with whom one could not have homosexual intercourse (4.43.1 n.). Concerning his age and social position he will be a *puer* for everyone, but as to sex, he will be a *puer* only for his master. Therefore this line simply means: 'let everyone consider him a grown-up, so that our exclusive relationship will be safe'. This interpretation may seem absurd, because it was the master who had exclusive access to his slave. However, the poet has presented this relationship as something natural and spontaneous.

uni sit puer ille mihi: cf. 9.90.7 *sic uni tibi sit puer cinaedus* (see Henriksén *ad loc.*). The expression *uni mihi* denotes exclusivity: cf. Tib. 1.2.9; [Tib.] 3.19.5–6 *Atque utinam posses uni mihi bella videri!/Displiceas aliis: sic ego tutus ero.*

15. 'Iam scio, nec fallis: nam me quoque iudice verum est': the imaginary response of the addressee has the flavour of conversational

language. There are similar accumulations of assertive expressions: 1.64.1–2 (Citroni *ad loc.*); 11.107.3.

Iam scio: a common phrase, already found in comedy (Pl. *Mer.* 736; Ter. *Ph.* 110). It marks the beginning of a speech, normally after a question. It draws attention to what is going to be said, generally a logical consequence of previous argumentation: cf. Mart. 1.23.4 *Iam scio, me nudum displicuisse tibi.*

nec fallis: *β*: falles *α*: facilis *γ*. *Fallis* is transitive and has an implicit object (*me*). The poet announced in the first line that he was about to describe an ideal boy. However, he has portrayed a real person. Flaccus recognises his former slave, as well as Martial's fascination with him. Consequently Martial insinuates a mild reproaching tone in his friend's imagined response, which illustrates their familiarity. Often in Martial's epigrams a slave sexually arouses the guests (9.25; 9.22.11–12) and provokes their envy. This enhances the eulogy of Flaccus (see page 309).

me iudice: used to express a personal opinion: cf. 4.64.35; 13.92.1.

verum est: cf. 1.64.1 (Citroni *ad loc.*); 2.69.6; 11.24.9; 11.62.2; 11.107.3.

16. It is surprising, as Obermayer (1998: 47 n. 121) remarks, that a real boy could match this ideal description. According to him, if Flaccus has ever had such a jewel, he could also fulfil Martial's wishes.

dices: *γ*: dicens *β*: dicis *α*. Martial uses the future *dices* to introduce his addressee's imaginary responses: *Sp.* 24(27).6; 2.63.4; 7.86.11 (Galán *ad loc*).

noster: the plural possessive is frequently used for the beloved (Catul. 43.7 *nostra Lesbia*; Prop. 1.8b.30 *Cynthia nostra*); here, the possessive keeps its original meaning, since Amazonicus was Flaccus' property; the plural may be taken as meliorative—these imaginary words of Flaccus' are Martial's own, but are ambiguous: Martial felt as close to the boy as his owner did.

Amazonicus: see Solin, 1996: 348. Pleasant-sounding and connotative name: it evokes *Hippolytus*, son of the Amazon (cf. 8.46), and his chastity (cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 232). As Tibullus argues, a boy's innocent look is most alluring: Tib. 1.4.14. La Penna (1992: 362) suggests that Flaccus may have had a slave called Hippolytus, but this explanation is unnecessary.

43

Satiric attack on sexual behaviour: rumour has it that Martial has called Coracinus *cinaedus* (homosexual). He denies it, and now accuses him of something worse (*cunnilingus*). Adult male homosexuality was immoral to the Roman mind, only surpassed by oral sex—especially cunnilingus (3.80; 3.81; 3.84; 3.88; 3.96; 11.45; 11.47; 11.61), which was seen as an unmanly act (7.67.17: cf. Gel. 1.5.1 *parum vir et ore quoque polluto*). A *cinaedus* is presented as an emasculated man (Pl. *Poen.* 1318), like a *cunnilingus*; yet the latter's behaviour was thought to be more shameful.

The poem is masterfully structured: Martial apparently defends himself against the libel accusation by repeating negative words (1–3 *non, nec*). He places the relevant words at the end of each line: *cinaedum, audax, libenter*. Line 4 subtly undermines the previous categorical denial by introducing a conditional clause. Likewise, repetition reinforces the insult (Salemme, 1976: 52) he seemingly intends to avoid. He stresses his denial with two sets of imprecations (5–8), the first pair alluding to death, or rather impotence, by poisoning; the second referring indirectly to castration. Martial swears that, if he is lying, these misfortunes should befall him. Like the introduction, the conclusion comprises three lines: indirectly present thoughout the poem, the final word confirms the poet's rude remark (*cunnilingus*). Repetition and parallelism progressively add new meanings and modulate the transition between the initial negation and the final assertion. Martial uses this same rhetorical technique in a composition on the same theme:

> Rideto multum qui te, Sextille, cinaedum
>   dixerit et digitum porrigito medium.
> Sed nec pedico es nec tu, Sextille, fututor,
>   calda Vetustinae nec tibi bucca placet.
> Ex istis nihil es, fateor, Sextille: quid ergo es?
>   Nescio, sed tu scis res superesse duas (2.28).

Gerlach defines this and similar epigrams as 'quorum expositio excusare videtur, conclusio incusat' (1911: 33); see also Kuppe, 1972: 144; and cf. 1.28; 1.85; 1.94; 2.3; 2.56; 4.53; 4.69; 4.84; 5.21; 11.62; 11.92.

There is a strong contrast with the preceding composition, an elegant description of a *puer delicatus*, in which sexual references were all indirect and euphemistic (*nequitias; liberior; nolentem cogat; nolit volentem; vir reliquis*). In this epigram, homosexuality is explicitly and dysphemistically attacked.

Further reading: Van der Vliet, 1902: 416–417; Ker, 1950: 17; Plass, 1985: 194–195; Greenwood, 1998a: 288–290; Obermayer, 1998: 127; Williams, 1999: 197–203.

1. Non dixi te . . . cinaedum: cf. 2.28.1–2 (*supra*). Martial denies an offence, by subtly slipping in a more abusive insult. Irony is reinforced by the repetition of negative words in lines 1–3 (*non, nec*), some of them in anaphoric position. Note the alliteration (as well as the similitude) ***C**oracinus/**c**inaedus*, and line 11 *cunnilingus*. There is wordplay between the proper noun and the word of abuse: *Coracinus* is a homograph of *coracīnus*, a fish (Plin. *Nat.* 5.51; Mart. 13.85): *cinaedus* is also an ichthyonym (Plin. *Nat.* 32.146).

cinaedus: this term of Greek origin (κίναιδος) usually designates the sodomite, the man willing to play a passive role in a homosexual relationship (6.37.5; Adams, 1982: 194; Williams, 1995: 536; 1999: 172–181; Richlin, 1993: 534), although in broader terms it may allude to an effeminate man (Petr. 21.2). It frequently appears in Plautine comedy (*Aul.* 422; *Mil.* 668; *Per.* 804; *Poen.* 1319; *St.* 772), especially as an insult (*As.* 627; *Men.* 513; *Poen.* 1318); in Catullus' sexual and political invective (10.24; 16.2; 25.1; 29.5; 29.9; 33.2; 57.1; 57.10); in satire (Lucil. 1.32; 3.1140; Petr. 21.2; 23.2; 24.2; 24.4; Juv. 2.10; 4.106; 6.2Ox1; 14.30); and the *Priapea* (25.5; 45.4; 46.2). In Martial's epigrams it occurs twenty-one times with the aforementioned meanings (Hofmann, 1956–57: 444), although sometimes it refers to a *puer delicatus* (2.43.13; 9.90.7; 10.98.2; 12.16.2). *Cinaedus* belongs to colloquial speech. It is documented frequently in Pompeian graffiti: see Varone, 1994: 126–127 and n. 214: CIL IV 1485a; 1772; 1802; 1825; 2312; 2332; 2334; 2338; 3114; 4082; 4201; 4206; 4703; 4917; 5001; 5064; 5156; 5268; 8146; 8531; 10043; 10086b; 10143.

The *cinaedus* is frequently equated with the *fellator* or *cunnilingus* (see Richlin, 1993: 550): Catul. 16.1–2 *Pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo,/Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi*; 57.1; Mart. 1.41.13; 3.73; 6.37.5; 6.50.3; 9.63; cf. 10.40 (Kuppe, 1972: 144); 12.35; *Priap.* 25.5 (*sceptrum*) *quoi dant oscula nobiles cinaedi*; CIL IV 1825 *cinaedus et fellator*; Apul. *Met.* 8.24–26

(*infra*). In fact, as Williams remarks (1999: 197), *cinaedus* is not an exact synonym for 'homosexual', but rather encompasses sexual practices considered unmanly (Williams, 1999: 209–218).

Its etymology is uncertain, but originally κίναιδος seems to have been a synonym for *saltator* (*vid.* RE XI1 (1921) *s. Kinaidos* [Kroll]: Pl. *Mil.* 668; Lucil. 1.32; Scip. *Orat.* 30.4; Var. *Men.* 353.1). Moreover, there is a strong link between the term κίναιδος and the priests of eastern religions (*vid. infra s.* 7–8).

Coracine: cf. 6.55 (Grewing *ad loc.*). Here I follow Tiozzo (1988): the name Coracinus is based on Greek κόραξ, Lat. *corvus* (for both terms, see André, 1967: 60; 62). Juvenal presents crows as a paradigm of obscenity (Juv. 2.63 *dat ueniam corvis, vexat censura columbas*). His scholiast explains: *Proverbium est corvorum de impudicis. Discrevit sexum per aves. Unde dicunt coire corvos per os et sic parere*. In fact, popular belief had it that crows copulated through their mouths (Plin. *Nat.* 10.33; cf. Arist. *GA*. 756b 13ff.), and hence Martial presents them as *fellatores*: 14.74.1 *Corve salutator, quare fellator haberis*? Tiozzo goes on to point out a further source of comicity, based on a false etymology of the homograph fish name (*coracīnus*, cf. 13.85; Gr. Κορακῖνος): cf. Athen. *Deipn.* 7.27.27 ὠνομάσθη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰς κόρας κινεῖν; cf. 7.81.33. Κόρας means 'eye-pupils', and 'girls'; κινεῖν means 'to move', also with sexual connotations (Bain, 1991: 63–67). Accordingly, *Coracinus* is a most appropriate name for a *cunnilingus*. Note that the element κινεῖν is also part of *cinaedus* (RE *s. v.* [Kroll] 459).

Apart from Tiozzo's suggestions, crows could be more closely linked with *cunnilingi*: they are always depicted as garrulous animals (14.74.1; 3.95.2; Ov. *Met.* 2.535); the *cunnilingus* is also talkative, due to an excessive use of his *lingua* and his boastfulness: 3.96; cf. 3.80. The crow is seen as a carrion-eating animal: Catul. 108.5; Hor. *Epod.* 1.16.48; Petr. 116.9. The *cunnilingus* Baeticus is analogously portrayed in 3.77. Lorenz (2004: 271) focuses on the black connotations of the name and in its sexual implications.

2. For repetition as an invective device, see Salemme, 1976: 52 and cf. 2.4.

3. mendacia . . . loquar: this phrase is very unusual in Latin (cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.6.17): *mendacium* collocates with *dicere* (Pl. *Am.* 198; *Bac.* 525; 957; Quint. *Inst.* 12.1.38) and *narrare* (Mart. 2.56.3; Sen. *Apoc.*

6.1). Martial has possibly chosen it to create a particular sound effect: ***qu**i lo**qu**a**r** liben**ter*** (cf. l. 2 ***tam tem**erarius*).

4. Small, albeit significant, *variatio: non/si*. The conditional, despite the oath, increases the irony and begins to undermine the first assertion.

5–6. This is a variation on the common oath formula *dispeream si/ne valeam si* (4.31.3 n.). The expression *habere iratum*, with gods' names in the accusative, is a curse formula: Liv. 40.10.2 *qui occisurus fratrem fuit, habeat etiam iratos paternos deos*; Sen. *Ep.* 110.2; Petr. 25.4 *Iunonem meam iratam habeam*; CIL IV 5382 IRATAM VENERE(M); 7716.3 IRATVM IOVE(M); 6.13740.8 DEOS SVPEROS ET INFEROS. There is also the expression *iratum invocare aliquem*: Liv. 2.45.14 *si fallat, Iovem patrem Gradivumque Martem aliosque iratos invocat deos*; Ov. *Ars* 3.376 *Invocat iratos et sibi quisque deos* (see Gibson *ad loc.*); Sen. *Con.* 2.2.9 *si mentiremur, illa sibi iratum patrem invocavit, ego socerum*. Other imprecations require the verb *esse*: Pl. *Am.* 392 *Tum Mercurius Sosiae iratus siet*; 934; Cic. *Nat.* 3.51; Petr. 58.2. Sometimes an elided form of the verb has to be understood: Cic. *Att.* 4.7.1 *illi di irati*. In this line there is a free accusative, probably due to the elision of a verb such as *invocare*. The object is not a deity, but poisoners' flasks and bowls, which reinforces the humour. *Iratus* can be applied to inanimate objects, though always personified: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.21.19–20 *iratos . . ./regum apices; Epod.* 2.6 *iratum mare*; Sen. *Ep.* 53.4.

This seems to have been taken from the context of eastern religions, whose priests will be mentioned in subsequent lines. In this respect, we must take into consideration a passage by Seneca, who catalogues several rites and customs (Costa *ad loc.*):

> Cum sistrum aliquis concutiens ex imperio mentitur, cum aliquis secandi lacertos suos artifex bracchia atque umeros suspensa manu cruentat, cum aliqua genibus per viam repens ululat laurumque linteatus senex et medio lucernam die praeferens **conclamat iratum aliquem deorum**, concurritis et auditis ac divinum esse eum, invicem mutuum alentes stuporem, adfirmatis (Sen. *Dial.* 7.26.8).

By comparison with lines 7–8, Martial seemingly alludes to impotence, rather than death, through poisoning: Ov. *Am.* 3.7.13 (Munari *ad loc.*; cf. Pers. 5.144–145); 3.7.27–28; *Evangelium Infantiae Arabicum* (Tischendorf) 19 *veneficio tactus uxore frui non poterat*. Some sterilising

plants are mentioned in Plin. *Nat.* 24.78; 25.70; 32.179 (*vid.* Richlin, 1997: 207). Hemlock was considered an anaphrodisiac (Plin. *Nat.* 25.151–155). Impotence, sterility, and castration endanger virility, which Martial claims for himself to the detriment of *Coracinus*.

Pontiae lagonam: Pontia was a famous poisoner who killed her own children: cf. 2.34.6 (Williams); 6.75 (Grewing); Juv. 6.638–9 *sed clamat Pontia 'feci,/ confiteor, puerisque meis aconita paravi'* (Courtney *ad loc.*). Juvenal's scholiast tells that she was Publius Petronius' daughter: she has been thought to be the daughter of Petronius Pontius Nigrinus, consul in AD 37, or, less likely, Petronius Arbiter (see Ferguson, 1987: 188; PIR[1] P 619). For poisons and poisoning, see Lippold, RE *Supp.* V 223–228 *s. Gift*; Schmidt, 1924: 54–57; Kaufman, 1932: 156–167. Other poisoners' flasks (*lagona*) are to be found in 4.69.3; 12.91.4.

calicem Metili: Sen. *Ep.* 67.7 *calix venenatus*. This poisoner is completely unknown.

7–8. Cf. Ov. *Ib.* 453–456 *Attonitusque seces, ut quos Cybeleïa mater/ incitat, ad Phrygios vilia membra modos;/ deque viro fias nec femina nec vir, ut Attis,/ et quatias molli tympana rauca manu.*

Two almost identical lines, with homoioteleuton: ***tumores/ furores***. The first has proved difficult to interpret, but should be related to the second. The allusion to Cybele's *furores* and the *tumores* of the *Dea Syria* refers to the raptures which compelled the priests of these mysteric religions to hurt and even castrate themselves. They are a complex allusion to the sacred eunuchs of Cybele and Atargatis. Both are sometimes called *cinaedi* (*vid.* RE *s. v.* [Kroll] 461): Firmic. 2.271.5 *gallos abscisos dicito et cinaedos*; 273.3.24 *cinaedos efficiet matris deorum tympanis servientes; Schol. Ar. Av.* 877; Luc. *Syr. D.* 35–40; Apul. *Met.* 8.24–29 (*vid. infra*); Firmic. 2.272.21; 270.28.

Despite the ritual and symbolic significance of castration, ultimately related to chastity (Alvar, 2001: 143), Roman authors abhorred the effeminate *Galli* and accused them of all kinds of perversions: Mart. 3.73; 3.81; 3.91.2; 5.41.3; 9.2.13–14; Juv. 2.109–116; 3.62–65; 6.511–516; Apul. *Met.* 8.29. These accusations were inherited by Christian literature: *Carmen contra paganos* 66. For attitudes towards mystery cults, see Turcan, 1989: 16–18; Alvar, 2001: 137–144. On Martial's view, see Burris, 1926 (but note that this passage does not allude to Isis).

Apart from the Romans' distrust of these foreign cults, the attacks

on *Galli* and other initiated eastern priests could derive from public confessions and penitence (Sen. *Dial.* 7.26.8; Plu. *De superst.* 7.168D): see Hijmans et al., 1985: 299–300. Apuleius describes one of these public acts of contrition: Apul. *Met.* 8.28 *semet ipsum incessere atque criminari, quasi contra fas sanctae religionis dissignasset aliquid.* Hijmans et al. compare this passage with purification rites in the cult of Isis: Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.51–54; Juv. 6.522–529. Juvenal's scholiast points out that the punishment was inflicted because of a sexual transgression. Many inscriptions have been found in Phrygia and Lydia containing confessions of religious observance failure, especially in sexual terms.

Succinctly, Martial's oath places the emphasis on irony: he aims to preserve his virility, while veiledly suggesting the degradation of his addressee.

Ker suggests that lines 7–8 may have originally followed line 1: 'The train of thought will then be: "I did not call you a *cinaedus*, Coracinus. I swear by this and that. I am not so rash, nor such a liar. If I did, may I be punished by this and that. But what did I call you? A small thing but one which etc."' (1950: 17). However, these lines are not simple oaths: both allude to possible punishments and form a compact unit with lines 5–6.

7. Syrios . . . tumores: Atargatis (Plin. *Nat.* 5.81; *vid.* OCD^3 *s. v.*) was known as the Syrian goddess (Συρία θεά, *dea Syria*). Like Cybele, she was a goddess of fertility. Her priests castrated themselves during a spring festival at Hierapolis, while dancing in a frenzied rapture (Luc. *Syr. D.* 15, 27, 41–51; Frazer, 1929: 221–222). Her worship became established in Rome: Nero, for instance, venerated her (Suet. *Nero* 56.1). Apuleius describes a group of worshippers who hurt themselves in the course of their ecstatic dances (Apul. *Met.* 8.27–8). *Tumores* may refer to their swollen wounds: Plin. *Nat.* 30.114 *tumor vulnerum*; Sen. *Oed.* 858. In my opinion, the clear parallelism with the following line suggests a similar interpretation: like *furor* (*vid. infra*), *tumor* may also be understood as *ira* (*vid. supra. iratum/-am*): Verg. *A.* 8.40; Sen. *Thy.* 519; Sil. 15.689 (OLD *s. v.* 3). For the cult of the Syrian goddess in Rome, see Turcan, 1989: 132–142.

This line has been interpreted differently, linking *tumores* with a ritual prohibition: the Syrian goddess worshippers were not allowed to eat fish; if they did, the goddess punished them with swollen feet

and stomach: Menand. in Porph. *De abstinentia* 4.15 (fr. 544 *CAF* 3); Plu. *De abstinentia* 10.170D. In this sense, Friedländer and Ker (1968 *ad loc.*) relate this passage with Pers. 5.186–187 *tum grandes galli et cum sistro lusca sacerdos/incussere deos inflantis corpora.* Ker (1950: 17 n. 3) adduces the Greek belief that lies could cause sores on the tongue, but this explanation does not take into consideration the context of this passage.

Adams (1983a: 99–100) and Obermayer (1998: 127 n. 150) point out that the Syrians were regarded as *cunnilingi* (Auson. *Epigr.* 87). Both take *Syrios tumores* as alluding to a disease consisting of the inflammation of the lymph glands, which was an alleged consequence of oral sex (see Rosenbaum, 1921: 247–249).

8. iuro per Berecyntios furores: the epithet *Berecynt(h)ia* belongs to *Cybele* (Verg. *A.* 6.784 *Berecyntia mater* [cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.789]; *A.* 9.82 *genetrix Berecyntia*) and everything related to her (Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.13–4; 3.19.18–9; 4.1.22–3; Ov. *Met.* 11.16; *Fast.* 4.181; Pers. 1.93; *vid.* RE III1 [1897] *s. Berekyntia* [Jessen] and *s. Berekyntes* [Ruge]). Βερεκύνθιος (DGE *s. v.*) is the name of a Phrygian land near the boundaries of Lydia and Caria, Βερεκύνθιος νόμος (Call. *Dian.* 246; *Berecyntius tractus*, Plin. *Nat.* 5.108; 16.71); as well as a Phrygian mountain (Βερεκύνθιος ὄρος).

The cult of Cybele arrived in Rome during the Second Punic War and spread quickly. See RE XI2 (1922) s. *Kybele* (Schwenn) 2271–2274; Turcan, 1989: 49–61; Alvar, 2001. For the castration of her priests, see Alvar, 2001: 188–196.

furores: divine rapture, ecstatic trance (cf. OLD *s. v.* 1b; TLL *s. v.* 1630.5–16 [Rubenbauer]): Stat. *Theb.* 1.328; 2.667; 7.651; Apul. *Apol.* 52; Flor. *Epit.* 2.7 *fanatico furore simulato dum Syriae deae comas iactat.* It can also mean *tumor* or *ira*, cf. TLL *s. v.* 1631.32–73. In Catullus 63 Attis' castration takes place in a frenzied trance (*furor*): 63.38; 78; 79; 92; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.243–244 *venit in exemplum furor hic, mollesque ministri/caedunt iactatis vilia membra comis*; 4.246.

9–11. These three lines delay the attack, which is concentrated in the last word.

9. Quid dixi tamen?: cf. l. 1 *non dixi*; l. 4 *si dixi.* For the choice of *quid*, see Van der Vliet, 1902: 416–417.

Hoc leve et pusillum: there might be a double entendre in *pusillus*, which is similar to *mollis* and *levis*, cf. 1.9.2 *Sed qui bellus homo est, Cotta, pusillus homo est.*

10. Cf. 9.57.11–12 *Res una est tamen: ipse non negabit,/culus tritior Hedyli lacernis*. Coracinus' fault is well known, but out of hypocrisy he demands an explanation for the attack: cf. 1.87.7–8.

11. Dixi te, **Coracine**, **cunnilingum**: *vid.* Hofmann, 1956–57: 443. Note the rearrangement of words, with the juxtaposition of the noun and a suitable insult (*Coracine, cunnilingum*). For the use of a dysphemistic term to end an epigram, see Montero, 1991a: 192–194.

cunnilingum: the compound term *cunnilingus* (Mart. 7.95.14; 12.59.10; 12.85.3; *Priap.* 78.2; CIL IV 4304; 5365) came from the expression *cunnum lingere* (cf. 1.77.6; 2.84.3; CIL IV 2400; 4304; 8898; *vid.* Adams, 1982: 134–5; Fortuny, 1986: 82; Varone, 1994: 78–80).

For the Roman mentality, oral sex—and especially cunnilingus—was a degrading activity: the insult *cunnilingus* was therefore the worst of offences: 1.77.6; 3.81; 7.67.17; 9.92.11; 11.47.8; 12.59.10; 12.85.3; see Forberg, 1884, chap. 5 (*De cunnilingis*); Richlin, 1983: 26–29; 93–94; 99; 108–109; 132; 246 n. 36; Sullivan, 1979: 294; 1991: 199–200; Krenkel, 1981; Galán Vioque, 1997: 87; Parker, 1997: 47–65 (especially 51–53); Martos Montiel, 2002. For Martial's sexual attitudes, see Sullivan, 1979; 1991: 185–210; Galán Vioque, 1997: 79–90; for the subject in Roman literature in general: Kiefer, 1971; Richlin, 1983; 1992; Hallet-Skinner, 1997; Robert, 1999; Williams, 1999.

44

Martial describes Mount Vesuvius, devastated after its eruption in AD 79 and reflects on the transience of life and beauty. Structurally, the poem can be compared to **4.25**: the first couplets itemise picturesque details, combining a realistic description with mythological elements (Szelest, 1974a: 300), while the last is a pessimistic reflection. Myth contributes to the ideal description of the place and also to the idea that death and misfortune are inexorable: even the gods, who so dearly loved the area, could do nothing to save it. Although Martial adopts an aesthetically detached stance from human suffering, the epigram is evocative of others on the inevitability of death (4.18; 4.32; 4.60.5–6; 4.63.3–4). The contrast between past splendour and present decay is built up by means of demonstratives in anaphoric position, past tenses (*presserat, amavit, dedere, erat*), time adverbs (*modo, nuper*), and asyndeton (line 7).

The Vesuvius eruption, which overwhelmed Pompeii, Herculaneum and the surrounding areas, attracted the attention of many writers in the Flavian period. Statius relates that his father wanted to compose a poem on the sad event (*Silv.* 5.3.205–208), and several times alludes to the eruption when describing Campania (*Silv.* 3.5.72–73; 4.4.79–80; 4.8.4–5). Valerius Flaccus uses its image in two pathetic similes (3.208–21; 4.507–511). The fate of Pompeii and Herculaneum became a paradigm of sudden misfortune (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.58–62). Marcus Aurelius uses it as an example of transience (4.48) and Boethius as an illustration of mishap (*Cons.* 1.4.1–10). Whereas other authors present the volcano as the destroyer of Pompeii and Herculaneum, in this epigram the mountain is also part of the devastated landscape, a victim of an inexplicable action on the part of the gods (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*). For the image of Vesuvius in Latin literature, see Mantke, 1985.

Further reading: Radke, RE VIIIA2 (1958), *s.* Vesuvius, 2434–2437; Corsaro, 1973: 192; Di Lorenzo, 2001; Gigante, 1989; Mantke, 1985: 284–286; Renna, 1992; Sullivan, 1991: 155–159; Watson-Watson, 2003: 332–336.

1. Note the alliteration (*viridis; umbris; Vesbius*) and the juxtaposition of *Vesbius* and *umbris*, which subtly anticipates its destruction.

Hic est: for the use of deictics in the epigrams, see Siedschlag (1977: 7–8), who relates this passage to some poems in the *Palatine Anthology* (53): the repetition of deictics links it with 7.666; the contrast between past glory and present ruin is a recurrent topic: *A. P.* 9.28 (Gow-Page, 1968 II: 469); 9.101 (ibid. 428–9); 9.151–155; 9.202; 9.203; 9.408 (ibid. 108–9); 9.421 (ibid. 43); 9.423–425. *A. P.* 9.151 (Gow-Page, 1965 II: 81), by Antipater, is structurally similar to Martial 4.44. Compare it also with Prop. 4.1. Moreover, *hic* in initial position is evocative of the beginning of epitaphs: Mart. 7.40.1 *Hic iacet* (cf. Tib.1.3.55); 12.52.3 *Hic situs est*; 10.61.1 *Hic festinata requiescit Erotion umbra* (see Siedschlag, 1977: 7, and cf. Mart. 1.114; 1.116; 6.52; 6.76.3; 7.96; 10.71.3).

pampineis . . . umbris: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.58 *pampineas . . . umbras; Copa* 31; *Priap.* 3.14; Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.71 *non hic pampinea dulcis latet uva sub umbra.*

viridis modo: a decade after its eruption, the previously green and fertile Vesuvius is dark. For the connotations of *viridis*, see André, 1949: 186–187.

Vesbius: this is the most widespread form attested in the manuscripts, but the term shows a certain degree of variation: *Vesbius* is used as an adjective from Columella (10.133 *Vesbia rura; Vesvia var. lect. recc.*); it is found in Silius Italicus (8.654; 17.593) and Valerius Flaccus (3.209, *var. lect.* Vesubius, Vesuvius); *Vesvius* appears in Statius (*Silv.* 4.4.79), who also uses the poetic form *Vesevi* (4.8.5; *var. lect.* Vesaevi, *vid.* Coleman *ad loc.*; cf. Verg. *G.* 2.224–5 *Vesaevo . . . iugo*; Serv. *ad loc.*; V. Fl. 4.507) and the adjective *Vesuvinus* (*Silv.* 2.6.62; 3.5.72; 5.3.205; cf. Sil. 12.152). *Vesuvius* is the favourite form in prose: Varro *R.* 1.6.3; 1.15.1; Vitr. 2.6.1; 2.6.2; Mela 2.70; Tac. *Ann.* 4.67; Plin. *Nat.* 3.62; 14.22; 14.35; Front. 1.5.21; Flor. *Epit.* 1.11; 2.8; Serv. *A.* 3.571; *G.* 2.224. Sisenna writes *Vessuvius* (53.2). Two forms are found in Greek: Βέσβιον (e.g. Dio Cass. 66.21; Strab. 1.2.18.19; 12.8.11.46; Appian. BC 1.166.9), Οὐεσουούιος (Diod. Sic. 4.21.5). For its etymology, see Renna, 1992: 33–34; 66–67 n. 14; Radke, RE.

2–4. These lines allude to vine-growing and wine production in the area (Plin. *Nat.* 14.10; 14.22; 14.35; 38; Col. 3.2.10; 3.2.27; *vid.* Renna, 1992: 35–36; 69–70, n. 41). Virgil and Columella stress the fertility of the region (Verg. *G.* 2.224–225; Col. 10.132–133), also described by Strabo (5.247; cf. 5.245 on the beauty of the landscape).

2. presserat: *premo* and *exprimo* mean 'press' the grapes (TLL *s. v.* 1173.22–31; 1181.22–34 [Pade]): Hor. *Epod.* 13.6 *vina pressa; Carm.* 4.12.14 *pressum . . . Liberum*; Tib. 1.5.24 *Pressa . . . musta*; 1.7.36 *expressa . . . uva*; 2.1.45 *pressos . . . liquores*), but also 'fill', 'overwhelm' (cf. OLD *s. v.* 16; TLL *s. v.* 1171.65.74; see Post (*ad loc.*): 'had filled to overwhelming'. The various connotations of the verb anticipate the idea of destruction: cf. *mergere* (l. 7); *premere* also means 'to shadow' (TLL *s. v.* 1172.15–29).

nobilis: i.e. 'famous' (OLD *s. v.* 2), but also 'of good stock': cf. 5.78.19 *nobiles olivae*; 13.104.2 *nobile nectar*; Plin. *Nat.* 14.75 *generibus uvarum . . . nobilissimis*.

madidos . . . lacus: *lacus* are barrels containing grape juice (TLL *s. v.* 863.76–864.49 [Van Wees]): Varr. *R.* 1.54.3; Col. 12.18.3 *lacus vinarii*; Plin. *Nat.* 18.317; Tib. 1.1.10; Ov. *Fast.* 3.558; 4.888; *Tr.* 3.10.72; Mart. 7.28.4. *Madidus* (Post *ad loc.*) is a proleptic adjective. It also (cf. OLD *s. v.* 6) anticipates the allusion to Bacchus and his entourage.

3. haec iuga: cf. 4.64.3; 6.73.4; 10.93.2.

quam Nysae colles: cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.132–133; Verg. *A.* 6.805 *Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris*; Sen. *Med.* 384 *Nysae iugis*. Nysa was the mount where Dionysus was born or raised (Hom. *Hymn.* 1.9; Mela 3.66; Serv. *Ecl.* 6.15) and the seat of his worship (E. *Ba.* 556). Its location was a matter of discussion in antiquity (NP *s. v.* 1074–1075; see Otto, 1963: 61–63).

plus Bacchus amavit: this clearly echoes the *Georgics*: Verg. *G.* 2.113 *Bacchus amat collis* (cf. Man. *Astr.* 2.20 *quod colles Bacchus amaret*). *Bacchus* is a personification of the vine and wine (TLL. *s. v.* 1665.78–1666.38 [Diehl]): Lucr. 2.655–657; Verg. *G.* 2.227–228; 4.129). *Amare* is a technical term in botany and agriculture (TLL *s. v.* 1956.3–19 [Otto]: Verg. *G.* 3.396; 4.124; Mart. 4.13.6 n.). The image of Bacchus on the side of the Vesuvius is further used by Ausonius: *Mos.* 207–8 *Liber, sulphurei cum per iuga consita Gauri/perque vaporiferi graditur vineta Vesevi*. For the worship of Bacchus in the area, see Peterson, 1919: 239–240. The relationship between Bacchus and Vesuvius is depicted in a Pompeian fresco showing the god and a stylised green volcano (*vid.* Renna, 1992: 42–43, fig. 5).

4. Satyri: these hybrid beings with goat legs (Lucr. 4.580 *capripedes*; Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.4) are part of Bacchus' entourage (Catul. 64.252;

Col. 10.427; Ov. *Ars* 3.157; *Met.* 11.89), dancing and singing around him: Verg. *Ecl.* 5.73 *saltantis Satyros*; Col. 10.428 *brachia iactantes*; Ov. *Met.* 14.637 *Satyri, saltatibus apta iuventus*. An important element in bucolic representations of nature (*Culex* 115–116), they belong to the countryside (Ov. *Met.* 1.193), and inhabit the popular imagination (Lucr. 4.480–481). The allusion to Satyrs links Bacchus and Venus (*vid. infra*), because they are famous for their wantonness: Ov. *Fast.* 1.397 *in Venerem Satyrorum prona iuventus* (cf. Col. 10.427 *lascivos Satyros*; Plin. *Nat.* 5.7; Sil. 3.103). Symbolically, wine is related to love, and both strongly suggest the *carpe diem* motif. Satyrs are widely portrayed in Pompeii, especially in the *villa dei Mysteri*.

dedere choros: *vid. supra*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.31 *Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori; Culex* 116 *et Satyri Dryadesque chorus egere puellae*. For the expression *dare choros*, cf. Pall. 36 (Ribbeck) *quid dubitatis hilareis dare choros?*; *Ilias* 881 *dantque choros molles et tympana dextera pulsat.*

5–6. Compare the direct allusion to Pompeii and Herculaneum with Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.164–165 *Veneri plorata domus neglectaque tellus/Alcidae.*

Veneris sedes: the settlers of Pompeii, founded in 80 BC by a nephew of Sulla, made Venus the patroness of the colony and gave it her name (Peterson, 1919: 246–254; CIL I 1252 COL(ONIA) VEN(ERIA) COR(NELIA); cf. CIL X 787), although the worship of *Venus Herentas*, of Oscan origin, existed already. In Pompeii the goddess was worshipped under the advocation of *Venus Fisica* or *Pompeiana*. She shares some attributes with *Fortuna* and *Felicitas*, for she is represented in tunic and *pallium*. The Temple of *Venus Pompeiana* was located behind the *basilica*.

Lacedaemone: Cythera, the first land the goddess walked on, is located opposite Lacedaemonia (Post *ad loc.*), where she was worshipped under the advocation of 'Goddess of the spear' (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*; cf. Paus. 3.15.10).

6. hic locus: this phrase has marked epic echoes: Verg. *A.* 2.30; 6.540; 8.46; Ov. *Met.* 15.18; cf. Tib. 2.5.56.

Herculeo nomine: nomine *α β*: numine *γ* Heraeus (cf. Prop. 4.7.82; Mart. 9.101.23). Both phrases, *Herculeum nomen* (Luc. 1.405; V. Fl. 3.600), and *Herculeum numen* (Prop. 4.7.82; Ov. *Met.* 15.47; Sil. 7.50) are found in poetry. Herculaneum (cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.711 *Herculeam urbem*; Sen. *Nat.* 6.1.2 *Herculanensis oppidi*), less than 8 km south-east of Naples, suffered the consequences of an earthquake in AD 63

and was later buried by the Vesuvius eruption. Its origins are mythically linked with Hercules, its eponym (cf. Dion. Hal. 1.44), widely worshipped both in the town (CIL X 1.1405; Peterson, 1919: 284–285) and its surrounding area (Peterson, 1919: 232–233 [in Pompeii]; 69–70 [Cumae]; 191–192 [Napoli]; 346–348 [Capua]). According to one version of the myth, Hercules had been there when travelling back from *Hispania*, thus naming several places such as Pompeii (Serv. *A.* 7.662 *veniens autem Hercules de Hispania per Campaniam in quadam Campaniae civitate pompam triumphi sui exhibuit: unde Pompei dicitur civitas*; Solinus 2.5; Isid. *Orig.* 15.1.51; cf. Dion. Hal. 1.43; *vid.* Maltby, 1991: 484) and Herculaneum (Dion. Hal. 1.44.1 Ἡρακλῆς . . . πολίχνην ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κτίσας, ἔνθα ὁ στόλος αὐτῷ ἐναυλόχει). For the choice of *nomine* instead of *numine,* see also Gilbert, 1884: 517.

7. The account of the eruption of the Vesuvius can be found in Plin. *Ep.* 6.16; 6.20; Dio Cass. 66.21–23. Tacitus alludes to this event by comparing past beauty and present desolation: *Ann.* 4.67 *prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret; Hist.* 1.2 *haustae aut obrutae urbes, fecundissima Campaniae ora.*

Cuncta iacent: *iacere* evokes death and it is very frequently used in epitaphs: 1.88.10; 4.59.6; 6.52.1 *Hoc iacet in tumulo raptus puerilibus annis* (cf. line 1 n.); 7.40.1. It is also used of destroyed cities (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*): Ov. *Ep.* 1.3 *Troia iacet*; V. Max. 3.2.ext.5 (cf. Gr. κεῖμαι: *A. P.* 9.250.3; 9.423.5–8). There are similar expressions in Ov. *Met.* 15.188–189 *lassa . . ./cuncta iacent*; V. Fl. 7.641–642 *cuncta iacebant/ agmina.*

flammis et tristi mersa favilla: cf. Petr. 120.1.77 *flammis et cana sparsa favilla.* Note the alliteration *flammis/favilla. Flamma* specifically refers to volcanic emissions: Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.80 *Trinacriis . . . flammis*; Lucr. 1.722; 6.681; Hor. *Epod.* 17.33; Verg. *G.* 1.473; *A.* 3.580; *Aetna, passim*; [Tib.] 3.7.196; Ov. *Tr.* 5.2.75; *Pont.* 2.10.23; *Ib.* 598; Luc. 5.99; Sil. 14.62. *Favilla* refers to ash in the same contexts: TLL. *s. v.* 380.53–65 (Ammann): Lucr. 6.690; Verg. *A.* 3.573; Plin. *Nat.* 3.88; Plin. *Ep.* 6.12; V. Fl. 4.509; Sil. 14.69; 17.595–596; Suet. *Vita Plinii, vi pulveris ac favillae oppressus est.*

Both *flamma* and *favilla* are symbolically related to death by virtue of their connection with funerary incineration (cf. 4.75.5 n. and TLL *s. favilla* 379.67–76): e.g. Verg. *A.* 2.431 *Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum*; Ov. *Met.* 13.604; *Tr.* 3.3.84; Petr. 120.1.77 (*supra*); Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.2. The same is true of the funereal connotations of *mergere* (cf.

Verg. *A.* 6.429 *funere mersit acerbo; vid.* TLL *s. v.* 835.18–28 *i. q. morti dare* [Rehm]). Compare it with Stat. *Theb.* 6.225–6 *flammis mergere; Silv.* 3.3.35 *merge rogis*; Prud. *Perist.* 13.84 *gurgite pulvereo*; Claud. 21.350 *pulvere*. *Tristis* has connotations of death: Verg. *G.* 4.256 *tristia funera; A.* 3.301; 6.223; [Sen.] Oct. 101 *morte tristi*; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.84 *maesta favilla*; Amm. 22.9.4 *miserabiles*.

8. nec superi vellent hoc licuisse sibi: 7.21.4 *debuit hoc saltem non licuisse tibi; A. L.* 2.1362.6 *hoc quoque non vellet mors licuisse sibi*. Even the gods, who destroyed the area, now grieve over it.

45

Votive epigram accompanying an offering to Apollo. Parthenius, an imperial freedman, prays for his son Burrus on his birthday, and so does Martial. This *genethliakon*, placed in the very centre of the collection, shows a perfect symmetry with the opening epigram (**4.1**): a birthday poem for Domitian. There Martial invoked the Emperor's favourite deities (Jupiter and Minerva); here the prayers are addressed to Phoebus, who symbolised beauty and eternal youth. Elsewhere Parthenius is said to be Apollo's favourite (12.11.4). The epigram is pervaded with symbolic images: incense represents transcendence; Daphne and Diana symbolise purity, as does Parthenius' name; even the offering indirectly alludes to another chaste maid, Leucothoe. The structure is markedly symmetrical: lines 1–4 are Parthenius' prayers for his son's life; lines 5–8 are Martial's good wishes to Phoebus if he grants the boy a long life.

Its votive nature and Apollo's presence connect this epigram with others in which a boy's hair is offered to the god, in a ceremony that marks the end of childhood: 1.31; 9.17 (cf. *A. P.* 6.198). The poet wishes the boy long-lasting beauty and youth and appeals to the god's healing virtues (9.17.1–2).

Further reading: for Roman birthdays, see OCD[3] *s. birthdays*; RE VII1 (1910) *s.* Γενέθλιος ἡμέρα (Schmidt), especially 1142–1144; Schmidt, 1908; Argetsinger, 1992. For the *genethliakon*, see Cesareo, 1929; Cairns, 1972: 113–4; 135–7; 167–9; 283; Burkhard, 1991 (on this epigram, pp. 118–119).

1. Parthenius offers incense and prays for his son. *Plena dat laetus* suggests abundance and fertility, as well as joy on the occasion of the child's birthday.

Haec tibi: for the use of demonstratives in votive epigrams, see Siedschlag, 1977: 6; cf. 1.31.1–2 *Hos tibi, Phoebe, vovet totos a vertice crines/Encolpos*; 3.29 *Has cum gemina compede dedicat catenas,/Saturne, tibi Zoilus, anulos priores*; 7.19.2.

pro nato: cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.589–92 *quotiens pro coniuge coniunx,/pro gnato genitor dum verba precantia dicit,/non exoratis animam finivit in aris,/inque manu turis pars inconsumpta reperta est! Nato* subtly alludes to birth (cf. *natalis*).

plena . . . acerra: incense offerings to Genius and other birth-related deities is a topos of the *genethliakon*: Tib. 1.7.53 *Sic venias hodierne: tibi dem turis honores*; 2.2.3 *urantur pia tura focis*; [Tib.] 3.11.9 *Mane Geni, cape tura libens votisque faveto*; 3.12.1 *Natalis Iuno, sanctos cape turis acervos*; Ov. *Tr.* 3.13.16 *micaque sollemni turis in igne sonet*; 5.5.11–12; Mart. 10.24.5 *Vestris addimus hanc focis acerram. Acerra* means an incense casket. For the expression *plena acerra*, cf. Verg. *A.* 5.745 *farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.2–3 *quid velint flores et acerra turis/plena*. Incense offering is highly symbolic, in the first passage of the afterlife and *pietas* (Aeneas offers it to his dead father); in the second, it is a thanksgiving offering. Incense is extremely symbolic in life-and-death cycles (cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.391–407), but it is also an ideal offering to Phoebus, who transformed Leucothoe into it (Ov. *Met.* 4.190–255). Burnt incense links the earthly with the celestial (Detienne, 1983: 100). Besides, among the Sabaeans it was ritually collected in summer and taken to the Sun-god temple (Thphr. *HP* 9.1.6; 9.4.6; Plin. *Nat.* 12.58; 60; 13.63; Detienne, 1983: 59–61): Sen. *Her. O.* 792–793 *splendescat ignis ture, quod Phoebum colens/dives Sabaeis colligit truncis Arabs*. See OCD[3], *s. Incense in Religion*; RE IA1 (1913) *s. Rauchopfer* (Pfisher); RE Suppl. XV (1978) *s. Weihrauch* (W.W. Müller) 757–761; Lilja, 1972: 31–57; 4.46.7 (n.).

2. Noteworthy is the prominent position of the names of the god, Phoebus, and the devout father, Parthenius. Besides, the juxtaposition of *Phoebe* and *Palatinus* is significant: Parthenius belongs to the imperial court (*Palatinus*); he is therefore closely related to the earthly Jupiter and his prayers may be more liable to be answered.

Phoebe: cf. 1.31.1. This name alludes to Apollo as a Sun-god (Gr. Φοιβός; see Ruiz de Elvira, 1982: 81–82). Sun and daylight are closely associated to life (cf. **4.1.1**); therefore, the invocation to Apollo is fully meaningful in a birthday poem (Galán *ad* 7.22.1–2). His many other facets make him an ideal guardian god for Burrus: he is forever young, a protector of the arts (perhaps like Parthenius himself), a patron of medicine, who could cure a potential illness, and a prophetic divinity, who can tell Burrus' future.

Palatinus: cf. **4.5.7** (n.). The epithet applies to the imperial house (5.5.1; 5.19.4; 8.28.22; 8.39.1; 8.60.1; 9.24.1; 9.39.1; 9.79.2; 9.86.7; 11.8.5; 13.91.1) and therefore to Parthenius (*vid. infra*). Notice that *Palatinus* is also one of Apollo's epithets (Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.17 *Palatinus . . . Apollo*; Prop. 4.6.11; Suet. *Aug.* 31.2; 52.1; Plin. *Nat.* 37.11; Calp. *Ecl.*

4.159 *Palatini . . . Phoebi*), since he had a temple on mount Palatine (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 29.1; 3).

Parthenius: (see R. Hanslik, *RE* XVIII4 [1949] *s. Parthenios* 19, (*Ti. Claudius*) *Parthenius*, CIL VI 8761). He was Nero's freedman and held an influential (**4.78.8**) office in Domitian's house (*a cubiculo*: Suet. *Dom.* 16.2; 17.2): see Boulvert, 1970 and Weaver, 1972, for imperial slaves and freedmen. Parthenius appears now for the first time in Martial's epigrams. Books V, XI, and XII are dedicated to him, as a poet, patron, and intermediary: 5.6.2 *Musae, Parthenium rogate vestrum*; 9.49.3 *vatis*; 12.11.1 *Parthenio dic, Musa, tuo nostroque salutem.* Poems 8.28 and 9.49 are thanksgiving compositions for a present.

Parthenius is a significant name, which makes the allusions to Daphne and Diana quite relevant.

3–4. Martial states the age of the boy in an ambiguous way, and proffers wishes for longevity, characteristic of the *genethliakon* (**4.1.3** n.). The emphatic accumulation of numerical expressions (*quinquennia, lustro, Olympiadas*) has an apotropaic force, in view of the high contemporary infant mortality rates (see Burn, 1953: 14; Parkin, 1992: 93–95). The three synonymous terms appear jointly in Ov. *Pont.* 4.6.5–6 *In Scythia nobis quinquennis olympias acta est;/iam tempus lustri transit in alterius.*

3. prima novo . . . quinquennia lustro: cf. *Ciris* 24 *tardaque confecto redeunt quinquennia lustro*; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.6 *quinquennia lustri*; 3.5.92 *Capitolinis quinquennia proxima lustris*; 4.2.62 *saepe coronatis iteres quinquennia lustris*; 5.3.253 *trinisque decem quinquennia lustris.* A silver line. *Quinquennia* is unique in Martial's work and simply denotes a five-year period (cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.292 *is tria cum primum fecit quinquennia*); *lustro* means the same, but it adds religious nuances (cf. **4.1.7** n.) and signals the beginning of a new period. Martial uses it several times as an age expression: 1.101.4 *Quarta tribus lustris addita messis erat*; 10.38.9 *Vixisti tribus, o Calene, lustris*; 10.71.5 *Bis sex lustra.* The juxtaposition (*prima novo*) stresses the boy's tender age and vulnerability, as well as the idea of renewing life. In fact, it is reminiscent of Verg. *A.* 4.584–5 and 9.459–60 *Et iam* ***prima novo*** *spargebat lumine terras/Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.*

prima . . . quinquennia: this may be a poetic plural, consequently referring to the boy's fifth birthday (Henze, RE III1 [1897] *s. Burrus*).

It may be a plural form: puberty allusions, along with the invocation to Phoebus, may suggest that he is approaching adolescence (he may be ten). However, Burrus has traditionally been thought to be younger in 5.6.6 (Friedländer *ad loc.*; cf. 6.38.1–4). Lehmann perceives a certain incongruity and concludes that this poem was composed later than 5.6, and included in a second edition, although he interprets that the boy is five.

signat: 'adorns' (cf. Ker 'crowns'). A passage by Ovid is subtly evoked: Ov. *Met.* 13.753–4 *pulcher et octonis iterum natalibus actis/signarat teneras dubia lanugine malas*. *Signare* there refers to the adolescent's down. Although Burrus might be a child (*vid. supra*), the ideal of adolescence pervades the whole poem, particularly the final couplet.

4. impleat: the verb appears in age expressions (TLL *s. v.* 634.71–635.15): Hor. *Ep.* 1.20.27 *me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembris*; Ov. *Ep.* 3.135 *sic omnes Peleus pater impleat annos*; 7.161 *Ascaniusque suos feliciter impleat annos*; *Met.* 9.338 *puerum, qui nondum impleverat annum*; Mart. 5.34.5. A further sense of *implere* ('to fulfil' a promise or prophecy: TLL *s. v.* 637.33–44) is to be borne in mind in view of the religious overtones of this poem.

innumeras . . . Olympiadas: five-year periods (OLD *s. v.* 2b): cf. 7.40.6 *Hic prope ter senas vixit Olympiadas*; 10.23.2 *Quindecies actas Primus Olympiadas*; Ov. *Pont.* 4.6.5. *Olympias* adds nuances of glory and physical splendour. Cf. **4.1.3** (n.) *Pylioque veni numerosior aevo*.

Burrus: *Burrus* (or *Pyrr(h)os* [cf. Cic. *Orat.* 160], Gr. Πυρρός) has mythical echoes: this was the name of Achilleus' son. Burrus reappears in 5.6.6 (*supra*).

5–8. Despite the Ovidian echoes, this passage is modelled on Tib. 2.5.121–2 *Adnue: sic tibi sint intonsi, Phoebe, capilli,/sic tua perpetuo sit tibi casta soror*. Tibullus' elegy was dedicated to Messalla, and this intertextual allusion thus somehow puts Parthenius on a level with the great patrons of the Augustan Age.

5. Fac rata vota patris: Fac rata *α β*: ferata *γ*: fer rata *Heinsius*. *Fac rata* is supported by an Ovidian passage: *Am.* 3.2.80–81. *Ratus* (OLD *s. v.* 2b) is applied to fulfilled prophecies or wishes. *Rata vota* appears in Mart. 9.17.3 *Hos tibi laudatos domino, rata vota, capillos*; Ov. *Ib.* 97 *peragam rata vota sacerdos*; Stat. *Theb.* 1.239; Auson. *Ephemeris* 3.58 *Da, pater, haec nostro rata vota fieri precatu*.

sic te tua diligat arbor: the tale of Apollo and Daphne, underlying this line, suggests the ideas of glory, especially because of the connotations of the laurel tree (cf. *Olympiadas*), as well as purity (cf. *Parthenius*; *certa virginitate soror*). Notice the juxtaposition *te tua*. For the connotations of *diligat*, see **4.13.9** (n.).

sic: cf. Tib. 2.5.63–4 *sic usque sacras innoxia laurus/vescar* (*vid.* Murgatroyd *ad loc.*). *Sic* is used in wishes, especially if they are conditional on the fulfilment of a prayer (OLD *s. v.* 8b and Hofmann-Szantyr: 331): cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9.30–31; 10.4; Prop. 3.6.2; Ov. *Am.* 2.13.12; *Ep.* 3.135–136; 4.16; *Pont.* 2.6.15–18; [Tib.] 3.6.1–2; Mart. 5.6; 5.7; 9.42; 10.61; 10.62; cf. 7.28; 7.72.

arbor: *α β*: uxor *γ*: the latter is probably an interpolation by analogy with *soror* (l. 6). This refers to Daphne, turned into a bay tree when fleeing Apollo and taken by him as his attribute: cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.557–8 *cui deus 'at, quoniam coniunx mea non potes esse,/arbor eris certe' dixit 'mea!'*; *Fast.* 3.139 *arbore Phoebi*. The bay tree anticipates the allusion to Apollo's hair: on the one hand, its evergreen branches evoke long hair (cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.354–355; 13.847 *turpis sine frondibus arbor*); on the other, it alludes metonymically to the wreath adorning the god's head (Ov. *Met.* 1.451).

6. gaudeat et certa virginitate soror: Tib. 2.5.122 *Sic tua perpetuo sit tibi casta soror* (*vid.* Murgatroyd *ad loc.*; cf. Apol. *Arg.* 2.708–710). Phoebe or Diana, Apollo's virgin sister, is also mentioned in the tale of Daphne (*vid. supra*): Ov. *Met.* 1.476 *innuptae . . . aemula Phoebes*; 486–7 *'da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime,' dixit/'virginitate frui! dedit hoc pater ante Dianae'*. For Diana's virginity, cf. e.g. Hom. *Od.* 5.123; 18.202; Call. *Hymn.* 3.6 δὸς μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάσσειν; Hor. *Carm.* 3.22.1; Verg. *A.* 4.511; Ov. *Met.* 12.28–29; Sen. *Phaed.* 405.

Virginity is implied in the name *Parthenius*, whereas *gaudeat* is reminiscent of *laetus* in line 1.

gaudeat . . . virginitate: Ov. *Met.* 1.487 *virginitate frui*; Serv. *Ecl.* 10.70 *virginitate gaudens*.

et certa: Giarratano states in his critical apparatus: *g. Aeterna v. Castiglioni*. The suggestion could be supported by the following: Tib. 2.5.122; Ov. *Met.* 1.486–7 *perpetua . . . virginitate; Tr.* 4.2.14 *perpetua servant virginitate focos*; Tib. 2.5.64 *et aeternum sit mihi virginitas* (cf. Call. *Hymn.* 3.6. *supra*); Verg. *A.* 11.582–4 *sola contenta Diana/aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem/intemerata colit.*

soror: Diana is frequently alluded to as *Phoebi soror*: Verg. *A.* 1.329;

Ov. *Met.* 5.330; Sen. *Her. F.* 136; 905–906; *Oed.* 44; Stat. *Theb.* 2.237; 8.271.

7. perpetuo sic flore mices: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.149 *annos perpetua geres iuventa. Micare* is applied to stars: cf. Cic. *N. D.* 2.110; Verg. *A.* 9.189; Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.46; Ov. *Ep.* 18.152. *Flos* refers to beauty (TLL *s. v.* 932.15–31 [J. Kapp]; 935.46–56, cf. [Sen.] *Oct.* 550) and youth (TLL *s. v.* 934.60–935.46: Lucr. 4.1105 *flore aetatis*; Ter. *Eu.* 319; Cic. *De orat.* 3.12 *vitae flore*; Verg. *A.* 7.162; Man. 4.822 *perpetuos . . . flores*; Sen. *Phaed.* 620). Apollo is portrayed as a beautiful adolescent (cf. line 8); besides, *flos* alludes to the down of puberty (TLL *s. v.* 933.50–65): Pac. *Trag.* 362; Verg. *A.* 8.160 *tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas*; Luc. 6.562; Stat. *Theb.* 5.228; 6.585; *Silv.* 2.6.45. The wish is extended to the child, whose adolescence was foreshadowed in line 3 (*signat*).

7–8. sic denique non sint/tam longae Bromio quam tibi, Phoebe, comae: cf. Tib. 2.5.121 *Adnue: sic tibi sint intonsi, Phoebe, capilli.* Long hair is characteristic of youth (cf. e.g. [Tib.] 3.4.27) and symbolises vigour. Apollo and Bacchus rival each other in adolescent beauty: Tib. 1.4.37–8 *Solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuventas,/nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum*; cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.14.31 *Formosae periere comae—quas vellet Apollo,/quas vellet capiti Bacchus inesse suo!; Met.* 3.421 *et dignos Baccho, dignos et Apolline crines.*

Apollo's portrait remained invariable: young, smooth-faced, beautiful, and long-haired, he represents the ideal ephebe (*LIMC* II 1, 363–3464; II 2, 182–353): Enn. *Trag.* 28 *crinitus Apollo* (cf. Verg. *A.* 9.638); Tib. 2.3.12 *intonsae comae*; Prop. 3.13.52 *intonsi . . . dei*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.2 *intonsum . . . Cynthium; Epod.* 15.9 *intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos*; Ov. *Met.* 1.450 *longo . . . crine*; 1.564 *utque meum intonsis caput est iuvenale capillis; Fast.* 2.106; *Tr.* 3.1.60 *intonsi . . . dei*; [Tib.] 3.10.2 *Huc ades, intonsa Phoebe superbe coma; Priap.* 36.2 *Phoebus comosus.* The representation of Dionysus changed around 430 BC. Until that time he was portrayed as a bearded adult; now his appearance resembles Apollo's (*LIMC* III 2, 433; 442; 453; III 2, 296–456): cf. e.g. Ov. *Ars* 1.189; *Met.* 4.17–18 *tibi enim inconsumpta iuventa est,/tu puer aeternus; Fast.* 3.773 *sive quod ipse puer semper iuvenisque videris; Pont.* 2.9.31 *intonso . . . Baccho*; Sen. *Her. F.* 472–3 *Non erubescit Bacchus effusos tener/sparsisse crines*; *Phaed.* 753–4 *Liber . . ./intonsa iuvenis perpetuum coma.*

Both gods are frequently mentioned together: Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.3; Ov. *Ep.* 15.23–24; Mart. 10.35.20; *Priap.* 20.3–4. Both are related to art and inspiration (*vid.* RE *s. Apollon* [Wernicke] 36): [Tib.] 3.4.44 *Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque favent*; Ov. *Ars* 3.347 *O ita, Phoebe, velis! ita vos, pia numina vatum,/insignis cornu Bacche, novemque deae!*; Luc. 5.72–73 *Parnasos . . ./mons Phoebo Bromioque sacer.*

8. Bromio: Bacchus was mentioned in the preceding poem in relation with the devastated Vesuvius. It is quite significant that, in a poem about life, Phoebus should defeat him symbolically.

46

Sabellus, a barrister, is proud of the vulgar presents he has received in the Saturnalia. The epigram has a tripartite structure:

1–4. Introduction: note the accumulation of words denoting pride.

5–17. Motley catalogue of Saturnalian presents, consisting mainly of food and spices. These are either of low quality or sent in a small quantity. He also receives some other unrefined gifts related to them: an earthenware pottery set and a napkin. His satisfaction ridiculously contrasts with the quality of the gifts.

> Nine of these gifts are described in the *Xenia*, while the *synthesis* occurs in the *Apophoreta*. Their arrangement in this epigram roughly parallels their order in the *Xenia*: Epigrams 13.6–13 deal with legumes and cereals: *far* and *faba* are specifically described in 13.8 and 13.7 respectively; frankincense and pepper are described in 13.4 and 13.5; Lucanian sausages are the subject-matter of 13.35; then follow Lybian figs (13.23), onions (13.34), cheese (13.30–33), and olives (13.36). The gifts not described in the *Xenia* or *Apophoreta* (*venter Faliscus, defrutum, coclea, mappa*) are listed in other Saturnalian epigrams or are closely related to other gifts described (see e.g. the varieties of musts in 13.106 and 108). Strikingly, these four appear in Statius' Saturnalian catalogue: *silv.* 4.9.

18–19. Ironic finale, based on the double meaning of *fructuosiora*.

Boastfulness is a recurrent theme in this book (4.37; 4.39; 4.61). This epigram, however, shows a less aggressive tone, since it lacks the client's reproaching intent or sexual invective (4.39); it is a Saturnalian *tour de force*, which will be mirrored by **4.88**. Whereas here Martial ridicules Sabellus' pride in humble gifts, there a similar catalogue will illustrate the idea that small presents are preferable to nothing (cf. 5.87.4). Gift-giving epigrams, amounting to 25% of Martial's poems (not taking into account books XIII and XIV: Spisak, 1998: 243), also abound in book IV: 4.9; 4.10; 4.14; 4.19; 4.28; 4.56; 4.72; 4.82; 4.88. Saturnalian gifts are a favourite theme, since most of the books were published during the Saturnalia (Citroni, 1989), and they are often linked with the topic of the meanness of patrons: epigram 7.53 (Galán *ad loc.*), for instance, is a complaint about Umber's sending the poet cheap second-hand gifts; see also e.g. 5.19.11–14; 5.84.7–8; 8.71.

Solicitors' fees paid in kind are a widespread satirical motif: Pers. 3.73–76 *disce nec invideas quod multa fidelia putet/in locuplete penu, defensis pinguibus Vmbris,/et piper et pernae, Marsi monumenta clientis,/maenaque quod prima nondum defecerit orca*; Juv. 7.119–121 *quod vocis pretium? siccus petasunculus et vas/pelamydum aut veteres, Maurorum epimenia, bulbi/aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagonae.*

Further reading: for Saturnalian gift-giving, see Leary, 2001: 4–8; N.-P. *s. v. Geschenke*; Citroni, 1989; Spisak, 1998. For this epigram, see Croisille, 1982: 540.

1. Saturnalia: this festival in honour of Saturnus began to be celebrated on 17th December. In Republican times the Saturnalia lasted three days (17th–19th), which were subsequently extended to five (see 4.88.2 n.). Apart from official celebrations, it was a time of licentious merriment and gift exchange. For a thorough and updated introduction to this festival, see Leary, 1996: 2–8.

Sabellum: see Kajanto, 1982: 186. This is a frequent name in the poet's epigrams: he is either a sodomite (3.98; 6.33) or an insufferable poetaster (7.85.2; 9.19; 12.43; see Duret, 1986: 3227–8). The repetition of his name in lines 1, 2, 5, and 19 has a parallel in 12.39, where Martial also plays with *bellus* and *belle*. The name also occurs in Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.49.

2. fecerunt: the verb breaks the impression of *divitem Sabellum* (l. 1) as forming a single phrase. The past tense makes it clear that the Saturnalia are over.

merito: 8.75.16; 9.45.8. *Merito* denotes a logical consequence (TLL *s. v.* 824.68–825.13 [Bulhart]) and here it is used ironically.

tumet: 'is proud': cf. Phaed. 1.3.4 *tumens . . . superbia*; Sen. *Ben.* 5.6.1; Mart. 4.11.1 *tumefactus*; 5.8.6 *iactat tumido superbo ore*. Secondarily, it suggests physical swelling, as a result of too much eating or drinking: Juv. 3.293 *cuius aceto, cuius conche tumes.*

3. praedicat: the barrister ridiculously proclaims his happiness (and the gifts received), in the manner of a *praeco* (TLL *s. v.* 552.47–63 [Ramminger]); cf. Pl. *Bac.* 815; Cic. *Quinct.* 50; *Ver.* 2.3.40; *Off.* 3.55.

4. inter causidicos beatiorem: for the pejorative connotations of *causidicus*, cf. **4.8.2** (n.). There is a double meaning in *beatus* ('happy'

and 'rich') and a vague echo of Hor. *Epod.* 2 (for the influence of Horace upon Martial, see Szelest, 1963; Huxley, 1972; Duret, 1977).

5. Hos fastus animosque: both terms mean 'pride' and are often used in the plural: *fastus* (TLL *s. v.* 329.65–330.25 [Ammann]: Mart. 1.70.13; 4.29.5; 7.39.2; 11.2.3; 12.75.7; in the special sense of 'displays' in 3.82.32); *animus* (TLL *s. v.* 104.46–57 [Klotz]: Pl. *Aul.* 167; Cic. *Man.* 66 *animos ac spiritus; Clu.* 109; *Flac.* 53; *Dom.* 141; Liv. 6.11.6; Verg. *A.* 4.414; 11.366).

6. farris semodius fabaeque fressae: 10.15.5 *Quando fabae nobis modium farrisve dedisti*? Both are victuals for poor peasants and workers, as well as cattle fodder (Col. 9.1.6 and *vid. infra*). Notice the alliteration of /f/.

farris: *far* means both emmer, a kind of wheat (*triticum dicoccum*: TLL *s. v.* 276.54–278.12 [Wulff]), and the flour obtained from it (TLL *s. v.* 278.12–75): they were used both for the human diet (TLL *s. v.* 277.52–76; André, 1981: 51–57) and for feeding animals (TLL *s. v.* 277.77–83): e.g. Var. *R.* 2.6.4. This kind of flour was the main ingredient of the traditional *puls* (André, 1981: 60–61; Plin. *Nat.* 18.83–84; Varr. *L.* 5.105; V. Max. 2.5.5; Apic. 5.1.1–4; Cato *Agr.* 85), a kind of porridge: 13.8.1 {*Far*} *Imbue plebeias . . . pultibus ollas* (Leary, 2001: 54–55, cf. Philum. Med. 2.121.22 *pultes, quae de farre fiunt*; Mart. 5.78.9; 13.35.2; Juv. 11.58; 14.171).

Far is sent as an inexpensive gift in Mart. 10.15.5 and Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.31 *nec asperum far?*

semodius: a unit of weight, half a *modius* (Varr. *L.* 5.171 *se valet dimidium, ut in selibra et semodio*), that is, 8 *sextarii* (Maecian. *Iur.* 81). A *sextarius* was equivalent to 546 ml. This is a technical term (Cat. *Agr.* 10.5; 11.3; 54.1; 125.1; 162.1; Col. 2.10.35; 6.3.4; 6.3.5; 7.5.8; 8.9.3; 11.2.99; 11.2.101; Plin. *Nat.* 18.87; 18.89; 18.98; 18.104; Var. *R.* 3.8.3), rarely used in poetry (cf. Mart. 7.53.5; Juv. 14.67; see Stephani, 1889: 71).

fabae fresae: beans (*Vicia faba L*) were basic in the Roman diet. Like *far*, they were eaten by poor people (13.7; 13.9; 5.78.10; Hor. *S.* 2.3.182), workers (Mart. 10.48.16 *faba fabrorum*) and countrymen (Hor. *S.* 2.6.63–64; Plin. *Nat.* 18.101). They could even be used as cattle fodder, especially porcine (TLL *s. v.* 5.16–31 [Wulff]]: Mart. 3.47.12; Cato *Agr.* 60; Varr. *R.* 2.1.17; 2.4.17; Col. 7.4.2). They were not eaten by the Pythagoreans or the *Flamen Dialis* (Cic. *Div.* 1.62;

2.119; Plin. *Nat.* 18.118–119; Gel. 4.11.3; 10.15.12). They are sent as gifts in 7.53.5 *semodiusque fabae cum vimine Picenarum*; 10.15.5 (*supra*). More details can be found in RE III1 (1897) *s. Bohne* [Olck]; André, 1981: 35–36 and Leary, 2001: 52.

Beans could be ground (*frendere*) and become *lomentum* (Apic. 1.6.1; Plin. *Nat.* 18.117; 36.133), a kind of flour useful for cooking bread (Plin. *Nat.* 18.117) or *puls* (*puls fabata*; André, 1981: 35). The expression *faba fresa* is also used in Cato *Agr.* 90.1; Col. 6.3.5. (*semodius fabae fresa*); 6.10.1; 6.24.5; 7.3.22; 7.10.4; 8.6.1; Plin. *Nat.* 27.40; Cels. 5.18.21 (see TLL *s. v.* 4.39–63 [Wulff], cf. Col. 11.2.50 *fabam conterere*; Plin. *Nat.* 19.40 *faba fracta*; 20.89 *trita*; Cels. 2.33 *farina . . . fabae*; 5.28.19 *farinam ex faba*).

7. et: the anaphora in lines 7–10 parodies Sabellus' excitement.

turis piperisque: cf. 3.2.5; Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.12. Frankincense and pepper are two of the first gifts in the *Xenia* collection (13.4; 13.5; Leary *ad loc.*).

turis: incense, an aromatic substance extracted from several kinds of *Boswellia*, was highly appreciated in antiquity. Romans imported it mainly from Arabia (Ov. *Fast.* 4.569; Mela 3.79; Plin. *Nat.* 6.104; 12.51; 12.62). The region of Saba was famous for it: Verg. *G.* 1.57 (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 87.20); 2.117; *A.* 1.417; Plin. *Nat.* 6.154; V. Fl. 6.138; Serv. *ad Verg. A.* 1.417; *G.* 1.57; 2.115. It was used in sacrifices (Serv. *A.* 9.641), as offerings, in the worship of Ceres (V. Max. 1.1.15; Ov. *Fast.* 4.410) and other deities, as well as in private religion (Pl. *Aul.* 24; 385; Tib. 1.3.34; Ov. *Fast.* 2.631; *Pont.* 2.1.32; Juv. 12.89–90). It was also burnt in funerary rites: Luc. 8.729; 9.1091; Mart. 10.26; Stat. *Theb.* 6.60. For other uses, in cosmetics and medicine, see RE Suppl. XV (1878) *s. Weihrauch* 768–772 (W. W. Müller). An expensive substance, it could make a valuable gift: cf. Pl. *Truc.* 540; Mart. 7.72.3 *Nec turis veniant leves selibrae*; 13.4 (Leary *ad loc.*). More details in OCD[3], *s. Incense in Religion*; RE IAI (1913) *s. Rauchopfer* (Pfisher); RE Suppl. XV (1978) *s. Weihrauch*; Lilja, 1972: 31–57.

piperis: see Miller, 1969: 80–83; RE XIX2 (1938) *s. Pfeffer* (Steier). Pepper had been known in Rome for a long time. It was specially imported from India and was considered a luxury until the first century AD. Domitian even built *horrea piperataria*. Pepper was used in cooking (Apicius uses it generously; see André, 1981: 207) and as a table condiment (kept in *piperatoria*). For the price of the various kinds, see Plin. *Nat.* 12.28 and Schmidt, 1979: 105. Martial mentions it as

a condiment in 7.27.7; 13.5 (Leary *ad loc.*); 13.3.2, and as a gift in 10.57 *Argenti libram mittebas; facta selibra est,/sed piperis. Tanti non emo, Sexte, piper.*

tres selibrae: *selibra* is a unit of weight, half a *libra* (Varr. *L.* 5.171 *supra*). Martial is the only poet to use the term, with short /e/: 1.99.15 *Constemus tibi plumbea selibra*; 5.19.11 *Saturnaliciae ligulam misisse selibrae*; 7.72.3 (*vid. supra*); 8.71.8 *Post hunc in cotula rasa selibra data est*; 10.15.8 *Argenti venit quando selibra mihi?*; 10.57.1 (*vid. supra*).

8. Lucanica ventre cum Falisco: Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.35 *non Lucanica, non graves Falisci* (*vid.* Coleman *ad loc.*); Mart. 13.35 {*Lucanicae*} *Filia Picenae venio Lucanica porcae* (Leary *ad loc.*); Varr. *L.* 5.111 *quod fartum intestinum crassundiis, Lucan<ic>am dicunt, quod milites a Lucanis didicerint, ut quod Faleriis Faliscum ventrem*; Cic. *Fam.* 9.16.8; Amm. Marc. 28.4.28 *Lucanius*; Diocl. *Edic. de pret.* 4.15ff. These are two types of sausages (RE XIII2 [1927] *s. Lucania* [Honigman] 1543; VI2 [1895] *s. Falisci* [Hülsen] 1972–1973), made of meat and condiments stuffed into animals' intestines. Apicius gives the recipe for *Lucanicae*:

> [lucanicarum confectio:] teritur piper, cuminum, satureia, ruta, petroselinum, condimentum, bacae lauri, liquamen, et admiscetur pulpa bene tunsa, ita ut denuo bene cum ipso subtrito fricetur. Cum liquamine admixto, pipere integro et abundanti pinguedine et nucleis inicies in intestinum perquam tenuatim productum, et sic ad fumum suspenditur (2.4.1).

Lucanica survives in present-day Greek (λουκάνικο) and Arabic (*lak̥ānik̥, nak̥ānik̥*): see André, 1981: 137, n. 50. Leary (2001: 85) explains that the *Lucanicae* were made of pork—a typically Saturnalian meat—especially the worse parts; it is thus not surprising to find them in a catalogue of shoddy presents.

9–10. The following two lines have a parallel structure: they describe two sweet goods (must and dried figs), qualified by an adjective (*nigri, gelata*), and their container (*lagona, testa*), with an adjective of provenance (*Syra, Libyca*).

9. et nigri . . . defruti: Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.38–9 *vel passum psithiis suis recoctum,/dulci defruta vel lutosa caeno?* The *defrutum* (or *defritum*) is a very sweet must (Cels. 2.20), resulting from boiling down grape juice (cf. Plin. *Nat.* 14.80 *quod ubi factum ad dimidiam est, defrutum vocatur*; Col.

12.21 *Mustum quam dulcissimi saporis decoquetur ad tertias et decoctum, sicut supra dixi, defrutum uocatur*): Cels. 2.18; 2.20; 2.24; Verg. *G.* 4.269. Grape juice boiled to make *defrutum* was generally the worst, and the least appropriate for making into wine (André, 1981: 163). *Niger* suggests that must became darker in the boiling process, due to the loss of water. Besides, it has negative connotations: it must be borne in mind that *niger* usually collocates with poisons (OLD *s. v.* 6) and that bad wines are often compared to them (see 4.69 n.).

Syra . . . lagona: Syria was renowned for its glass industry (OCD[3], *s. Syria*, p. 1465; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 36.190–192), especially after the invention of glassblowing in the first century BC (Harden, 1979: 322–325), which contributed to a fall in the price of this material and its subsequent widespread use. *Syrus*, instead of *Syrius*, is often a noun, less frequently used as an adjective (OLD *s. v.* 2): Hor. *Carm.* 1.31.12; Juv. 3.62.

10. et ficus Libyca gelata testa: Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.28 *prunorum globus atque cottanorum?* (Coleman *ad loc.*); Mart. 7.53.8 *et Libycae fici pondere testa gravis* (Galán *ad loc.*); 13.28. Friedländer explains that *gelata* alludes to a preserving technique (*Art gelée*, cf. TLL s. *gelo* 1731.9–10, quoting this unique passage). The term is also used of curdling (*lac gelatum; caseus gelatus*): Col. 7.8.7; 10.397. Columella (*R. R.* 12.15) describes the drying of figs (*fici sicci, fici aridae*), which turn into a compact mass (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.28 *globus*). This is preserved in pots (12.15.2; 12.15.5; cf. Cato *Agr.* 48.2 *crates ficariae*; Plin. *Nat.* 15.34 *vasa fictilia, in quis ficum aridam libeat adservare*; 15.82). Figs could also be preserved in honey (Apic. 1.20) and boiled-down must (RE VI2 [1909] *s. feige* 2133 [Olck]), hence perhaps the association with the *defrutum* in the preceding line.

Figs were part of a frugal diet (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 76.1), as well as the nourishment of slaves (Cato *Agr.* 56; Plin. *Nat.* 15.82) and peasants (Col. 12.14; Athen. *Deipn.* 2.55a; 2.60c). For the use of figs in the human diet and as animal fodder, see RE *s. feige* (Olck) 2135–2137. For their price, see RE *s. feige* 2134–2135.

Libyca is applied to figs in Mart. 7.53.8: Columella mentions Libyan fig trees (5.10.11). African figs in general were highly appreciated in Rome: see RE *s. feige* 2119–2120; Petr. 35.3; Plin. *Nat.* 15.69. The adjective here, however, is applied to the pot, not to its contents. *Testa*, an earthenware jar, occurs as a vessel for figs and the like also

in 4.88.6 *testa . . . quae cottana parva gerit*; 5.18.3 *senibus testa cum Damascenis*; 7.53.8.

11. Onions and snails, which were thought to have aphrodisiac properties, are sometimes mentioned together: Alex. 279; Theoc. 14.17; Athen. *Deipn.* 2.63e; Petr. 130.7 *mox cibis validioribus pastus, id est bulbis cochlearumque sine iure cervicibus, hausi parcius merum.*

bulbis: *Muscari comosum Mill.* (André, 1981: 20–21; see some recipes in Apic. 7.12). As Saturnalian presents, they appear in Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.30; Mart. 13.34; Juv. 7.120. For their aphrodisiac properties, see McMahon, 1998: 108–122 and cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.422; *Rem.* 797; Mart. 3.75.3; 13.34 (see Leary *ad loc.*).

cocleis: (Gr. κοχλίας) in Greece snails were eaten at least from the fifth century BC: see Galen 6.668–669 (Περὶ κοχλίου). Their consumption in Rome is documented from Varro on (André, 1981: 125). They could be reared in *coclearum vivaria* (Plin. *Nat.* 9.173). Apicius gives some recipes (7.16). They were inexpensive (cf. Diocl. *Edict. de pret.* 6.46; 6.47) and were not considered a delicacy (Plin. *Ep.* 1.15.2 *Paratae erant lactucae singulae, cochleae ternae, ova bina, halica cum mulso et nive*; Petr. 130.7; Mart. 13.53.2; 14.121.1). As gifts in the Saturnalia, they also appear in Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.32–33. More details can be found in André, 1981: 125–6 and in RE IIA1 (1921) *s. Schnecke* (Gossen-Steier) 591–592.

caseoque: cf. *Silv.* 4.9.36. Cheese was an essential food in the Roman diet. For breakfast (*ientaculum*: Mart. 13.31; Apul. *Met.* 1.18) or as a starter (*gustatio*: Mart. 11.52.10), it was an affordable product: Suet. *Aug.* 76.1; Diog. Laert. 6.36; Diocl. *Edict. De pret.* 5.11; 6.96. For different types of cheese, see Mart. 13.30–33 (Leary *ad loc.*). See further RE X2 (1919) *s. Käse* (Kroll); André, 1981: 152–155.

12–13. Olives were essential on the Roman table (1.43.8), as part of the *gustatio* (11.52.11–12; 13.36.2), or as dessert (5.78.17–19; 13.36.2), but not as a main course (1.103.7): in that case they were poor people's food (9.26.6; Hor. *Carm.* 1.31.15 *me pascunt olivae; S.* 2.4.64). They could be sent as presents (7.31.4; 9.54.1). They appear as a poor quality gift here and in 4.88.7 and 7.53.5, despite their provenance: in 4.88.7 they are good olives, but no longer fresh (*rugosarum*); in all these passages they are sent in small quantities. More details in Leary, 2001: 86–87; RE XVII2 (1937) *s. Ölbaum* (A. S. Pease).

12. Piceno . . . a cliente: *Picenum*, a region in central Italy, was famous for its olives: 5.78.19–20 *Succurrent tibi nobiles olivae,/Piceni modo quas tulere rami*; 7.53.5 (Galán *ad loc.*); 9.54.1 (Henriksén *ad loc.*); 11.52.11 (Kay *ad loc.*); 13.36.1 (Leary). *Cliens* is here a lawyer's client (8.76.4). For its various meanings in the epigrams, see Garrido-Hory, 1985: 382–383.

venit: cf. 1.43.8 *Nec de Picenis venit oliva cadis. Venire* often appears in the context of gift-giving (7.72.3; 7.86.6–8; 10.15.8; 14.125; 14.148), especially if presents are sent from abroad: 13.31.2; 13.35.1; 13.36.1; 13.82.1; 13.84.1; 13.107.1; 14.99.1; 14.199.2.

13. parcae cistula non capax olivae: 13.36 {*Cistella olivarum*}. A ridiculous amount of a quality product (*vid. supra*).

parcae . . . olivae: cf. 9.26.6 *vilis oliva. Parcus* may mean 'economical', but here it alludes to a small quantity (OLD *s. v.* 3), cf. *non capax*. For the use of *parcus* with a singular noun, cf. 8.33.12.

14–16. These three lines allude to the same present, since *toreuma* should be interpreted as being in apposition to *synthesis*. Noteworthy is the ironic use of Greek words (*synthesis, toreuma*) to describe Hispanic goods of low quality.

14. crasso figuli polita caelo: caelo *γ*: ceno *β*. *Caeno* is the *lectio facilior*, since *crassus* is often applied to mud, clay, and the like: e.g. Cato *Agr.* 92.1 *crasso luto*; Col. 12.46.6; Verg. *G.* 2.110 *crassis paludibus. Luteum* (16) could also have influenced the change. *Caelo*, on the other hand, does not mean 'chisel' here, but rather a potter's tool (TLL *s. v. i. q. scalprum figuli*; see Richter, 1979: 274), though this meaning is only documented in Martial. Notice, however, that this pottery will be called *toreuma* in line 16, not without irony. *Polita* certainly does not refer to a smooth surface, but, ironically, to a finished work. *Crasso* is exactly the opposite of *politus*: it means 'coarse', 'unrefined' (Hor. *S.* 2.2.3 *crassa Minerva; Priap.* 3.10; Quint. *Inst.* 1.10.28 *crassiore . . . musa*).

15. septenaria synthesis: (Gr. σύνθεσις) a set of matching pottery: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.44–5 *aut unam dare synthesin (quid horres?)/alborum calicum atque caccaborum?* See Stephani, 1889: 17; cf. 4.66.4 (n.). *Septenaria* means 'consisting of seven': cf. Fron. *Aq.* 41 *fistula septenaria.*

Sagunti: Saguntum (modern Sagunto, 25 km north of Valencia) was famous for its pottery (see Dolç, 1953: 58–71): Plin. *Nat.* 35.160: *maior pars hominum terrenis utitur vasis. Samia etiam nunc in esculentis laudantur. retinent hanc nobilitatem et Arretium in Italia et calicum tantum Surrentum, Hasta, Pollentia, in Hispania Saguntum, in Asia Pergamum.* Nevertheless, this kind of ceramic was not much appreciated, at least by Martial and Juvenal: 14.108 {*Calices Saguntini*} *Quae non sollicitus teneat servetque minister,/sume Saguntino pocula facta luto*; 8.6.1–2 *Archetypis vetuli nihil est odiosius Eucti/—Ficta Saguntino cymbia malo luto* (Schöffel *ad loc.*); Juv. 5.29 *Saguntina . . . lagona.* In Dolç's words (1953: 60): 'Marcial sólo ve en esta vajilla su basta factura y módico precio'.

16. Hispanae luteum rotae toreuma: cf. 14.102.2 *Sed Surrentinae leve toreuma rotae*; Tib. 2.3.48 *Fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota.*

The *rota* is the potter's wheel (*rota figularis*): Pl. *Epid.* 371; Hor. *Ars* 22; Sen. *Ep.* 90.31 *rotam figuli, cuius circuitu vasa formantur* (Peacock, 1982: 28–29). *Toreuma* (Gr. τόρευμα, -ατος) means an engraved vase (cf. Cic. *Pis.* 67; Mart. 3.35.1; 8.6.15; 12.74.5; 14.94.1) or other engraved objects (Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.128; 2.4.38. Suet. *Jul.* 47.1; Apul. *Fl.* 7); but it also has an abstract, or rather, collective meaning: cf. 14.102.2. It should be understood, then, as being in apposition to *synthesis* (Gilbert, 1884: 517). Sabellus is given engraved earthenware ceramics (Peacock, 1982: 148). In any case, *toreuma* alludes to engraving, especially on silver (cf. 4.39.4 n.): as in 14.94.1 and 14.102.2, the term is used ironically, like *caelo* in line 14.

Luteum means 'earthenware' (8.6.2 *Ficta Saguntino cymbia . . . luto*; 14.108.2 *Sume Saguntino pocula facta luto*), and also 'coarse' (9.50.6): Fro. *Aur.* 4.12.6 *Scis ut in omnibus argentariis mensulis perguleis taberneis protecteis vestibulis fenestris usquequaque ubique imagines vestrae sint volgo propositae, male illae quidem pictae pleraeque et crassa, lutea immo, Minerva fictae scalptaeve.*

17. et lato variata mappa clavo: napkins were common Saturnalian gifts: Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.25 *vel mantelia luridaeve mappae* (Coleman *ad loc.*); Mart. 4.88.4 *missa nec a querulo mappa cliente fuit*; 5.18.1 *Decembri mense, quo volant mappae*; 7.53.4; 7.72.2; 10.87.6. The *mappae* were small tablecloths (Porph. *ad Hor. S.* 2.4; Serv. *G.* 4.376) used as napkins (Hor. *S.* 2.8.63; *Ep.* 1.5.22; Var. *L.* 9.47; Petr. 32.2; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.31; Juv. 5.27) and taken to the dinner by the guests themselves (Mart. 12.28.11, 21–22). They were useful for carrying small presents offered by the

host (Petr. 60.7) or even left-overs (Petr. 66.4; Mart. 2.37.7; 7.20.8; 7.20.13). There is a napkin thief in Mart. 12.28.

This particular napkin is showy and vulgar: it is coloured or patterned (*variata*: cf. Catul. 64.50), and has a purple band (*lato clavo*), of the kind that senators used to wear on their togas: cf. Petr. 32.2 *pallio enim coccineo adrasum excluserat caput circaque oneratas veste cervices* ***laticlaviam*** *immiserat* ***mappam*** *fimbriis hinc atque illinc pendentibus*. See also Amm. 16.8.8.

18–19. It is not surprising (2 *merito*) that Sabellus is so happy: 'his usual harvest was even less impressive' (Shackleton Bailey, 1993).

Saturnalia fructuosiora: Martial ironically plays with the two meanings of the adjective: the original, related to *fructus* and natural produce (TLL *s. v.* 1371.78–1372.60 [Bacherler]), and the secondary, related to *lucrum* (TLL *s. v.* 1372.61–83), cf. line 1 *divitem*.

decem: for the indefinite meaning of *decem*, see **4.66.4** (n.).

Sabellus: cf. 1.1.

47

Brief humorous description of an encaustic painting of Phaethon. Several epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology* wittily associate materials (or techniques) and artistic themes (Lausberg, 1982: 211–217): *A. P.* 9.748; 9.752 (Gow-Page, 1965 II: 168–169); cf. *Epigr. Bobiensia* 20; 16.257; cf. *A. P.* 9.751; 16.14; *A. L.* 347 (SB 342). Martial's epigram echoes them thematically and structurally. The hexameter describes the painting, alluding both to its theme and technique; there follows a question in the pentameter. The key to the poem is *encaustus* and *dipyrum*, an erudite wordplay.

Martial wrote further epigrams on objects of art, often with comparable satiric intention: 6.92 (Grewing *ad loc.*); 3.35. Epigrams 5.40 (Stégen, 1959: 28–30) and 1.102 have been interpreted as attacks on bad painters (see Durand, 1946: 257–258; Gessler, 1946; 57–58; Stégen, 1959; Citroni, 1975: 312; Watson-Watson, 1996: 586–588).

The theme of this particular painting links it with **4.49**, which gives examples of mythological topics foreign to epigram. The object could also have been one of the worthless gifts catalogued in the previous epigram (**4.46**).

Further reading: Valmaggi, 1901: 251: Lausberg, 1982: 215; Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 168. For ancient painting techniques, see Laurie, 1910; Swindler, 1929: 425–426; Borda, 1959; Reinach, 1981; on encaustic in particular, see Schmid, 1926; Aletti, 1951; Borda, 1959: 391–392.

1. A group of *Apophoreta* describe paintings or statuettes of mythical characters (14.173 *Hyacinthus in tabula pictus*; 174 *Hermaphroditus marmoreus*; 175 *Danae picta*; 177 *Hercules Corinthius*; 178 *Hercules fictilis*; 179 *Minerva Argentea*; 180 *Europe picta*; 181 *Leandros Marmoreus*). For these and similar epigrams, see Lehmann, 1954; Croisille, 1982: 346–348.

encaustus: (Gr. ἔγκαυστος; *vid.* Stephani, 1889: 17). Fire or heat are necessary in encaustic techniques: coloured wax was applied with a red-hot cauterising iron (*cauterium*)—or with a paintbrush (*penicillus*) if the wax had been heated; other surfaces, such as ivory, could be painted with a red-hot burin (*cestros*): cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.275 *picta coloribus ustis*; Plin. *Nat.* 1.35a.61 *qui encausta cauterio vel cestro vel penicillo pinxerint*; 35.149.

Wax was used especially on board, canvas or ivory (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.831 *tabulam . . . coloribus uris*; Plin. *Nat.* 35.122; 123; 36.189; Apul. *Apol.* 14 *cera inustum*; Borda, 1959: 391): it offered a wide range of colours and protected them from oxidation. Famous preserved encaustic paintings are those found in Fayyum, dating from the first and second centuries AD (Pratt, 1946: figs. 1–4); there is also a picture of an encaustic painter displaying his tools (Swindler, 1929: fig. 636; Borda, 1958: 387).

Although it is a technical term, its juxtaposition with *Phaethon* humorously evokes his ill fate: in fact, Greek ἔγκαυστος can mean 'hot' (DGE *s. v.* 2: cf. Ps. Steph. 250.32.36). Compare it also with Catul. 64.291 *flammati Phaethontis*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.25 *ambustus Phaethon*; *Culex* 128.

Phaethon: son of the Sun (Ov. *Met.* 1.750–2.328), he was unable to control the horses of his father's chariot. He was killed by Jupiter's thunderbolt near the Eridanus (4.25.2 n.). The thematic choice suggests that the work deserves a similar end: cf. 5.53.1–4 *Colchida quid scribis, quid scribis, amice, Thyesten?/Quo tibi vel Nioben, Basse, vel Andromachen?/Materia est, mihi crede, tuis aptissima chartis/Deucalion vel, si non placet hic, Phaethon*; cf. Cic. *Quint.* 1.44 *sed de hoc scripsi ad te in ea epistula quam Phaethonti dedi.* Besides, Phaethon is the epitome of the thoughtless bold individual: it is very subtly suggested that the painter has set himself to a task above his capacity.

Book IV contains two further allusions to the hero: **4.25.2**; **4.32.1**.

For artistic representations of Phaethon in antiquity, see *LIMC* VII 1: 350–354; VII 2: 311–313 and 779.

tabula: *tabulae pictae* is the name given to paintings (cf. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 133; *Ver.* 2.1.45; 2.1.55; 2.1.58; 2.1.60; 2.2.50; 2.2.83; 2.4.1; 2.4.8; 2.4.122; 2.4.132; Liv. 42.63.11; 43.4.7; 45.39.5; Sal. *Cat.* 11.6; Lampr. *Heliog.* 27.5.2; Mart. 12.69.1). They frequently feature mythical stories: cf. Pl. *Men.* 143–144 *Dic mi, enumquam tu vidisti tabulam pictam in pariete,/ubi aquila Catameitum raperet aut ubi Venus Adoneum?*; Ter. *Eu.* 584 *suspectans tabulam quandam pictam: ibi inerat pictura haec, Iovem/quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum*; Petr. 83.3–4; Mart. 14.173.

2. quid tibi vis?: for the scolding tone of the question, cf. **4.5.2** (n.). The epigram abandons its descriptive mood and turns into a satiric attack on a bad painter.

dipyrum $\beta\gamma$ (*vid.* Stephani, 1889: 17): dipyron ς (Valmaggi, 1901: 251): δίπυρον Shackleton Bailey. *Dipyrum* is a *hapax legomenon* in Latin. It is a Greek term (δίπυρος) roughly equivalent to *encaustus*, but adding further nuances (for instances of wordplay presupposing a knowledge of Greek, see Joepgen, 1967: 116 n. 1): Thiele (1916: 256 n. 1) explains that the point of the poem is this Greek term, which is applied to bread and means 'baked twice' (DGE *s. v.* 2: Arist. *Pr.* 928a.11); as a noun, it is a kind of bread or cake (Alc. Com. 2 (= Eub. 17); Alex. 178.10). It is not found in Latin as such, but Spanish 'bizcocho' (DRAE *s. v.* 2 'pan sin levadura que se cuece por segunda vez para que se enjugue y dure mucho tiempo') clearly derives from *bis coctum* (e.g. Philum. 2.115.24 *panis bis coctus*). However, there is a Latin bread name derived from πῦρ, *autopyrum* (Petr. 66.2 *panem autopyrum*; Plin. *Nat.* 22.138; Scrib. Larg. 227), which supports the *lectio* of the manuscripts *dipyrum*; yet Valmaggi points out that Martial usually employs Greek declensions (he adduces *Erotion* and *Tyron*, but there are further examples: 4.49.5 *Daedalon*; 4.49.6 *Polyphemon*; 4.55.6 *Rhodon*; 8.21.5 *Cyllaron*; 8.44.7 *Colosson*; 8.63.1 *Thestylon*; 8.63.2 *Hyacinthon*; 9.11.13 *Eiarinon*; 9.59.9 *hexaclinon*; 9.59.11 *Corinthon* (= 10.68.11); 9.86.4 *Linon*; 9.90.9 *Cypron*; 12.50.5 *hippodromon*; 14.207.1 *ceston*).

The allusion to baking is part of an understated joke: the painter (*pictor*) is pejoratively likened to a baker (*pistor*): cf. 8.16; 12.57.5. A similar wordplay in Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.72 '*non Pisonum sed pistorum*'.

Invective against a *pathicus*, who ridiculously cries after having sex, not because he feels shame or remorse, but because his pleasure is over. Martial frequently censures sodomites (2.51; 2.54; 2.62; 3.71; 3.95.13; 5.41; 6.37; 6.50; 6.56; 6.91; 7.10.1–2; 9.69.2; 11.88). Obermayer (1998: 175–177) analyses the rhetorical structure of this epigram. The final line echoes the first, *variatio* resulting in chiasmus: line 1 begins with an allusion to sexual joy (*percidi gaudes*) and ends with an emotional reaction (*percisus . . . ploras*), whereas line 4 firstly alludes to tears (*fles*) and ends with a further allusion to anal sex (*percidi desieris*). Lines 1–3 are based on antithesis (*gaudes-ploras; vis fieri-facta doles; paenitet-obscenae pruriginis*), which is resolved in the final question. The alliteration of /p/ is noticeable and has a clear function, as does the repetition of the verb *percido*. His lustful desires (*gaudes, vis fieri; pruriginis*) contrast with his childish whimpering (*ploras, doles, paenitet, fles*).

Further reading: for the introduction I have closely followed Obermayer, 1998: 175–177. For homosexuality in the epigrams, see Obermayer, 1998: 145–189; 232–254, and also **4.43.1** (n.).

1. For antithesis in Martial, see Siedschlag, 1977: 29–35 and cf. **4.36.1** (n.). This is not the only time Martial presents himself as watching sexual intercourse and revealing deviations, always with satirical intent: cf. 1.94.1; 9.69.1.

Percidi: *percidere* originally means 'to hit very hard' (Forcellini IV *s. v.* 1; OLD *s. v.* 1), but in epigram and the *Priapea* it is equivalent to *pedicare* (6.39.14; 7.62.1; 9.47.8; 11.28.2; 12.35.2; *Priap.* 13.1; 15.6; Forcellini IV *s. v.* 3; Vorberg, 1965: 469; Rodríguez, 1981: 104; Fortuny Previ, 1988: 103–104), especially in homosexual intercourse (cf. CIL IV 2319 *l*; Adams, 1982: 146–147; cf. *os percisum* [2.72.3] = *irrumatio*). Due to its strong connotations of violence, its contrast with *gaudes* suggests masochistic tendencies (see Adams, 1982: 145–149 for similar metaphors).

Papyle: $\beta\,\gamma$: Pamphile ς (*vid.* Renn, 1888–1889: 58–59). *Pamphile*, a common name in Terence's plays, is the *lectio facilior*. Papylus

appears in 4.69; 6.36.1 (Papyle *α γ*: Pamphile *β*); 7.78.4; 7.94.2. The name is frequently associated with sexual deviations (Obermayer, 1998: 175–176): in 6.36 (Grewing *ad loc.*) there is an allusion to self-fellatio; his bad breath in 7.94 (Galán *ad loc.*) exposes his sexual practices.

There might also be wordplay between this name of Greek origin (παπύλος, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 36.34) and Latin *papula* (*vid. infra* s. *pruriginis*).

ploras: this is neither a manly nor an adult attitude: Cic. *Tusc.* 2.58 *quid est enim fletu muliebri viro turpius?*; Sen. *Dial.* 12.16.5 *feminarum lacrimis*; Hor. *Epod.* 6.16 *inultus ut flebo puer?*; Liv. 2.33.8 *muliebri puerilique ploratu*; cf. Liv. 5.21.11; 5.42.4. Crying could be the expected consequence of the first meaning of *percidere*, 'to hit': cf. 14.54. The verb is often used with double meaning, as in **4.58**; **4.65**; 6.63.8. As it usually appears in mourning contexts (4.58.2; 6.63.8; 7.14.3; 10.51.4; 14.77), it is worth remembering that dying is a well-known metaphor for sex and orgasm (Adams, 1982: 159: Prop. 1.10.5; Apul. *Met.* 2.17; Auson. *Cent. Nupt.* 120; 131) and that *plorare* implies moaning (Serv. *A.* 11.211 *'plorare' cum voce flere*). In other contexts crying is a metaphor for ejaculation (Adams, 1982: 30 and n. 3: Lucil. 8.307; *Hist. Apoll. Tyr.* 34; *A. P.* 12.232.5).

2. fieri . . . facta: cf. *percidi . . . percisus*. *Facere* and *fieri* are standard sexual euphemisms (Adams, 1981: 123–124; 1982: 204).

doles: this is the key to the poem by virtue of its ambiguity. It is immediately followed by *paenitet*, for which it may be a synonym (TLL *s. doleo* 1824.52–1825.13 *de male vel perperam facto poenitentiam agere*). It may also have a physical meaning (TLL *s. v.* 1821.1–27 [Lackenbacher]): cf. 3.71.1 *Mentula cum doleat puero, tibi, Naevole, culus*; 11.40.6; 12.89.2. However, Papylus does not feel shame or physical pain, but rather grief (TLL. *s. v.* 1825.14–1826.14): cf. line 4.

3. obscenae pruriginis: cf. Auson. *Ep.* 106.6 (Kay). On the one hand, *prurigo* means soreness or itchiness (OLD *s. v.* 1, cf. Cels. 2.7.22; 2.8.18: 2.8.37; 5.28; 8.10.1; 8.10.7; Plin. *Nat.* 20.178; 23.20; 25.136; 26.120; 27.18; 28.71; 28.233; Samm. 6.t. etc.), possibly as a result of anal penetration. On the other hand, *prurigo* (OLD *s. v.* 2) also means 'sexual desire': Mart. 11.73; *Priap.* 27.3; Juv. 6.327 (cf. *ulcus*, Mart. 11.60.2; *scabies* 6.37.4; *prurire*: Catul. 16.9; 88.2; *Priap.* 26.4; Mart. 1.35.11; 3.93.19–20; 5.78.27; 6.37.3 [a *cinaedus*]; 9.73.6; 9.90.8; 10.67.6; 11.81.4; 12.95.3; 14.203.1; see Rodríguez, 1982: 109; Fortuny

Previ, 1988: 107). For a similar wordplay, cf. 14.23 {*Auriscalpium*} *Si tibi morosa prurigine verminat auris,/arma damus tantis apta libidinibus*.

Obscenae may also have two meanings: it may refer to the *partes pudendae* (especially the anus, cf. e.g. Ov. *Ars* 2.584 *partibus obscenis*; *Rem.* 429; Sen. *Ep.* 70.20; OLD *s. obscenus*[1] 3) or to unacceptable sexual practices (Serv. *G.* 1.151 *obscenae libidinis*; OLD *s. obscenus*[1] 4). Martial applies it to homosexuals (6.50.3) or prostitutes (11.61.4). As a noun, it means 'pervert' (OLD *s. obscenus*[2]): Juv. 2.9; 6.513; Sen. *Ben.* 2.21.1; *Dial.* 2.15.1.

magis: for its adversative meaning, see **4.49.3** (n.).

4. Papylus' only aspiration is to be sodomised.

fles: for the use of *flere* in the same contexts as *plorare* and *dolere* (*vid. supra*), cf. 1.33.1; 1.78.3; 4.59.1; 6.28.10; 6.68.1; 7.14.5; 7.47.5; 9.86.4; 11.91.3.

quod precidi desieris: for the passive voice infinitive with *desinere*, see OLD *s. v.* 2b.

49

Martial frequently adopts a self-effacing stance and is proud of calling his poems *lusus* and *iocos*; but if these terms are used by others to ridicule his work and not acknowledge its quality, they become an intolerable offence. If anyone dares to say that epigrams have no literary value, and are mere (*tantum*) pastimes, he will face Martial's indignant response: his poetry enjoys the audience's favour (11.50), because it caters for people's real-life interests (10.4). Major works may achieve fame and glory, but his epigrams will be read and enjoyed by everyone (8.3).

Martial reshapes the *recusatio*, a rejection of epic themes—both taken from myth or history—in favour of other types of poetry. This was a recurrent topic in Augustan poetry: Hor. *Carm.* 1.6; 2.12; *S.* 2.1.10–20; *Ep.* 2.1.245–270; Verg. *Ecl.* 6.3.6–12; Tib. 2.4.15–16; 19–20; Prop. 1.9.9–12; 2.1; 3.3; Ov. *Am.* 1.1; 2.1; 3.1. Martial despises the themes of epic and tragedy, but does not exploit other elements of the *recusatio*: here he does not humbly claim to be unable to write seriously, and adopts a highly critical—even aggressive—attitude. He does not use *praeteritio* to eulogise the works of others: he is unlike the Augustan poets, who 'were apologetic in rejecting the higher genres, not aggressive as Callimachus had been' (McKeown, 1989: 10). Martial's attitude, like that of Callimachus, seems an act of self-defence. In his *Aitia* (1.1f.) the Greek poet defends himself against his envious critics, who scorn him (1); he calls them ignorant and enemies of the Muses (2; cf. Mart. **4.49.1** *nescit*) and vindicates refinement in poetry, rather than grandiloquence: 19 (cf. Mart. **4.49.7–8**). See Cameron (1992: 308–311) on the prologue of the *Aitia* and Spisak (1994) on its partial influence on Martial. Significantly, Callimachus rejects the themes and style not only of epic poetry (*Hymn.* 2.105–112; *Epigr.* 8 = *A. P.* 9.566), but also of tragedy (Thomas, 1979: 179–195): *Epigr.* 28 (= *A. P.* 12.43); 48 (= *A. P.* 6.310); 59 (= *A. P.* 11.362). He disapproves of the monotony of certain topics repeated *ad nauseam*: his *recusatio* implies a search for originality. In addition, Martial verges on a satirical mode, as the poem is strongly reminiscent of Persius' fifth satire (cf. Juv. 1.1–21). Ovid, too, eschewed

tragedy in favour of lighter poetry: *Am.* 3.1.67–68 *exiguum vati concede, Tragoedia, tempus!/tu labor aeternus; quod petit illa, breve est.*

A further parallel of epigrammatic *recusatio* is offered by Strato (*A. P.* 12.2): in his poetry the reader will not find the death of Priamus and the tales of Medea or Niobe, nor that of Philomela, Procne and Tereus, but Cupid in the company of Bromius and the Graces.

Traditionally, this epigram has been interpreted as an attack on Statius (*vid.* e.g. Corsaro, 1973: 173 n. 5). However, it should be borne in mind that Martial is not only criticising mythological epic, but also, and more clearly, the subject-matter and style of tragedy (cf. Pers. 5.5ff.; see Dams, 1970: 194–195). For the alleged rivalry between Martial and Statius, see Heuvel, 1937; Delarue, 1974: 539–543; Hardie, 1983: 57; Henriksén, 1998; see also Fontán (1987) for their different poetic principles.

This epigram overtly contrasts with **4.14**, in which Martial modestly accepted the traditional genre hierarchy. Hutchinson remarks that this duality is one of the most remarkable features of Martial's work: sometimes, 'in the courtliness of social communication he will accept the idea of hierarchy within poetry'; in this poem, however, 'Martial contrasts his own artistry with the crude false sublimity of high poetry (including the *Metamorphoses!*)' (1993: 23–24). This epigram may further be linked with **4.29**, an analogous dialogue about poetry with another friend.

Further reading: for this epigram, Citroni, 1968: 274–275; Dams, 1970: 194–195; Quadlbauer, 1970: 187; Maurach, 1972: 65–66; Corsaro, 1973: 173; Garson, 1979: 12; Muth, 1979: 219; Sullivan, 1987a: 178–179; Sergi, 1989; Salanitro, 1991: 21; 1998: 476; Muñoz Jiménez, 1994: 108–109; Spisak, 1994: 300–305; 1997: 359–360; Boyle, 1995: 85–86; Gómez Pallarès, 1995: 78–79; Holzberg, 2002: 125–128. For *recusatio*, see Nisbet-Hubbard, 1970: 81–83; 1978: 179–181; Thomas, 1979: 180–195; Ball, 1983: 183; Hopkinson, 1988: 86–87; 98–101; McKeown, 1989: 7–11; Murgatroyd, 1994: 134–135; Merli, 1996: 396–397. See also Wimmel, 1960 and Sullivan, 1991: 56–77. For *recusatio* in satire, see Bramble, 1974: 12–13.

1. Nescit . . . quid sint epigrammata: it is highly significant that Martial chooses the technical term instead of the vaguer *carmina, versus, pagina, libellus*: he is going to define his genre. He uses the term essentially in prologues or introductory epigrams: cf. 1.pr. *epigrammaton linguam*; 15; 2.pr.; 5; 8.pr.; 18; 9.pr.; 1.1.2 *Argutis epigrammaton libellis* (cf. 1.117.3); 1.5.1 *tu das epigrammata nobis*; 2.1.1. *Epigramma* appears elsewhere, when allusions are made to its characteristic

shortness (1.110; 2.77.1; 3.83.1; 6.65.5)—or that of the book of epigrams (1.118; 2.1.1)—, vocabulary (3.69.1), humour (11.42), or mordacity (7.25.1). According to Medina Rincón, the use of *epigramma* suggests Martial's awareness that his genre has Greek roots (cf. 4.23.3); on the other hand, its use in absolute terms indicates that 'las señas de identidad del epigrama como género están suficientemente marcadas' (1994: 756). For the history of the term, see Puelma, 1997 (especially pages 206–212).

crede mihi: cf. *Sp.* 17.4; 1.3.4; 1.15.11; 1.41.2; 2.32.7; 5.52.7; 6.23.2; 6.27.10; 9.99.9; 10.90.5; 12.36.6. This is a common Latin expression which places the speaker in an authoritative position (e.g. Ov. *Ars* 3.653).

Flacce: *vid.* **4.42.2** (n.).

2. lusus . . . iocosque: 1.35.13 *Parcas lusibus et iocis rogamus*; 6.85.9–10 *Pectore tu memori nostros evolvere lusus,/tu solitus totos, Rufe, tenere iocos*; Plin. *Ep.* 8.21.2 *graviora opera lusibus iocisque distinguo*; Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.61–62 *scis vetus hoc iuveni lusum mihi carmen,/et istos, ut non laudandos, sic tamen esse iocos*. In non-literary contexts they also appear together: 1.14.1 *lususque iocosque leonum*; 2.4.6 *Lusum creditis hoc iocumque?*; *Priap.* 44.2; Sen. *Dial.* 4.10.1; 5.11.2; 9.17.6; *Ep.* 18.15; 95.33; V. Max. 5.1.ext.3. See Medina Rincón, 1994: 757.

lusus: the term usually denotes minor poetic genres (TLL *s. v.* 1890.64–1891.34 [Plepelits]): Mart. 1.3.10 *neve notet lusus tristis harundo tuos*; 1.4.7 *Innocuos censura potest permittere lusus*; 11.16.7 *nequitias nostri lususque libelli*; Ov. *Ars* 3.809; *Tr.* 2.223 *lusibus . . . ineptis*; Tac. *Dial.* 10.4 *epigrammatum lusus*; Plin. *Ep.* 4.14.1; 7.9.10; 8.21.2; 9.25.1; Porph. *ad Hor. Carm.* 1.32.1–2 *Sic poetae fere verecund<e> carmina sua lusus vocant.* Just like *iocos*, it alludes to the light-hearted nature of epigram: cf. *Priap.* 1.1.

iocos: cf. **4.8.11** (n.); **4.14.12** (n.).

3. Ille magis ludit: *ludere*, like *lusus* (Mart. 8.3.2; Catul. 50.2; Verg. *Ecl.* 6.1; *G.* 4.565; Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.538), usually refers to minor genres, that is, lyrical, elegiac, bucolic, or satiric poetry, as well as comedy (TLL. *s. v.* 1782.1–56 [Plepelits]). Light though minor poetry can be, according to Martial's poetic principles, nothing is more frivolous than those mythical stories unrelated to everyday life. Occasionally, *ludere* is linked to epic poetry—or other writings, either juvenile works (Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.54–57) or works composed in the author's spare time

(Gel. pr. 4; cf. Alc. Avit. *Ep.* 51). For the meanings of *ludere* and its Catullan echoes, see Swann, 1994: 55–59.

magis: with an adversative value: cf. Catul. 68A.30 *id, Manli, non est turpe, magis miserumst*; Verg. *Ecl.* 1.11; Prop. 2.4.1 (2.3.53). See Hofmann-Szantyr: 497–498.

scribit: cf. 5.53.1 *Colchida quid scribis, quid scribis, amice, Thyesten?*; 9.50.4 *Qui scribis Priami proelia, magnus homo es?*

prandia saevi/Tereos: Procne served her husband Tereus the flesh of their son Itys, in revenge for the rape of Philomela (Hom. *Od.* 19.518–524; Paus. 1.41.8–9; Apollod. 3.14.8; Hyg. *Fab.* 45; Ov. *Met.* 6.636–674): cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.175–176 *saevique marita/Tereos*. Horace (*Ars* 186) mentions this story in a catalogue of themes for tragedy, as does Persius, who relates this tale to that of Thyestes (*vid. infra*): 5.8–9 *si quibus aut Procnes aut si quibus olla Thyestae/fervebit saepe insulso cenanda Glyconi* (Kissel *ad loc.*); cf. *A. P.* (Strat.) 12.2.3 μηδ' Ἴτυν ἐν θαλάμοις καὶ ἀηδόνας ἐν πετάλοισιν; Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 41c. Apparently, Sophocles wrote a tragedy based on them (Pearson, 1963 vol. II: 221–239).

The genitive *Tereos* appears in Mart. 14.95.1. Elsewhere, in prose (Hyg. *Fab.* 45.3: 244.4; Plin. *Nat.* 4.47; 10.71) or poetry (Verg. *Ecl.* 6.78), *Terei* seems to be favoured. There is a tendency in this epigram towards the Greek declension (*Daedalon, Polyphemon*), probably as a means of underlining the gap between myth and everyday life. For the function of Greek words in the epigrams, see Adamik, 1975.

prandia: unlike *convivium*, this is a non-poetic term, absent from major genres, but present in comedy (e.g. Pl. *Cist.* 10; *Men.* 174; *Rud.* 904), satire (Hor. *S.* 2.4.22; Pers. 1.67; 1.134; 5.18) and epigram. It usually refers to an unrefined meal: 6.64.2; 13.13.1 *fabrorum prandia*; 14.81.1. See also 5.49.9; 9.72.3; 11.18.27; 13.30.2; 14.67.1. The use of *prandium* contributes to the ridiculisation of myth-oriented epic and tragedy. Compare it with Verg. *Ecl.* 6.78–79 *aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus,/quas illi Philomela* ***dapes****, quae dona pararit*. In a similar context, *prandium* appears in 10.35.6 (*infra*).

4. aut cenam, crude Thyesta, tuam: Atreus served his children to his brother Thyestes (*Schol. In E. Or.* 4; 12; Hyg. *Fab.* 88.1–2), which became the subject-matter of several tragedies by Seneca, Ennius, Accius and Varius, as well as Sophocles (Pearson, 1963 vol. I: 91–94) and Euripides (Jocelyn, 1961: 418). Horace mentions this tale in relation to the principle of avoiding gruesome scenes onstage:

Ars 186 *aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus*; cf. Hor. *Ars* 91 *dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae*; Pers. 5.8–9 (*supra*); Tac. *Dial.* 3.2. In his *recusatio*, Horace claims not to be able to write about the murders of the house of Pelops: *Carm.* 1.6.8 *nec saevam Pelopis domum*. Martial presents this episode as a paradigm of the trite mythical tale: 5.53.1 *Colchida quid scribis, quid scribis, amice, Thyesten?*; 10.4.1–2 *Qui legis Oedipoden caligantemque Thyesten/quid nisi monstra legis?*; 10.35.5–6 *Non haec Colchidos adserit furorem/diri prandia nec refert Thyestae*. For a humorous use of this tale, cf. Mart. 3.45.1 *Fugerit . . . cenamque Thyestae*; Pl. *Rud.* 508–9 *Scelestiorem cenam cenavi tuam,/quam quae Thyestae quondam aut posita est Tereo*; see Otto, 1971: 348.

The apostrophe can be compared to Ov. *Am.* 2.18.22 *scribimus et lacrimas, Phylli relicta, tuas*. *Cena*, like *prandium*, is a non-poetic term (Watson, 1985: 436).

crude: Ovid applies the epithet to Atreus (*Pont.* 1.2.119), in the sense of 'savage', 'cruel' (OLD *s. v.* 7; TLL *s. v.* 1236.24–35 [Hoppe]); Martial uses it of Thyestes, but with a different meaning: *crudus* (OLD *s. v.* 3b) is, by enallage, one suffering from indigestion (TLL *s. v.* 1236.44–60; Mart. 3.13.4; 12.76.2), a further grotesque touch. Salanitro (2002: 563), however, defends the first meaning in the light of a passage by Servius (*A.* 11.262 *Atreus et Thyestes fratres fuerunt in se invicem saevi*), but the juxtaposition *cenam/crude* favours a grotesque reading.

Thyesta: *edd.*; Thyeste *codd.* The vocative *Thyesta* can be found in Cic. *Tusc.* 3.26 and Sen. *Thy.* 783.

5. aut puero liquidas aptantem Daedalon alas: cf. 10.4.5 *exutusve puer pinnis labentibus?* Ovid tells the story of Daedalus and Icarus (*Ars* 2.35–96; *Met.* 8.183–235; see also Apollod. 3.15.8; Pl. *Men.* 97; X. *Mem.* 4.2.33; Paus. 9.11.4–5; Diod. Sic. 4.77.9; Hyg. *Fab.* 40; Serv. *A.* 6.14).

liquidas . . . alas: Ov. *Ars* 2.85 *Vincla labant, et cera deo propiore liquescit* (cf. *Met.* 8.227 *tabuerant cerae*). *Liquidas* refers proleptically to melted wax: the story was so well known that Martial could give the adjective to *alas* (cf. *liquida cera*: Col. 12.52.16; Plin. *Nat.* 26.163; Luc. 3.684; see Hofmann-Szantyr: 413–414). Post (*ad loc.*) suggests that the prolepsis also anticipates Icarus' tragic destiny: drowning in the sea.

aptantem: Ov. *Ars* 2.65 *Dum monet, aptat opus puero* (cf. *Met.* 8.209 *ignotas umeris accommodat alas*). For similar uses of *aptare*, see TLL *s. v.* 324.21.27 (Prinz): cf. Verg. *A.* 2.389; Sen. *Ben.* 3.25.1; *Med.* 85.

Daedalon: the Greek accusative is also present in Ov. *Met.* 8.261.

6. pascentem Siculas aut Polyphemon ovis: gigantic one-eyed Polyphemus had flocks and lived in Sicily. The Cyclops story can be read in the ninth book of the *Odyssey*; cf. Verg. *A.* 3.628–681; Hyg. *Fab.* 125.3–5. His ill-fated love is the theme of Theocr. *Idyl.* 11 and Ov. *Met.* 13.750–897. Euripides wrote a satyrical drama called *Cyclops*, and the story could have been the subject-matter of many other works: cf. 7.38 (Galán *ad loc.*).

The accusative *Polyphemon* also appears in Ov. *Met.* 13.772; 14.167.

7–8. Cf. Call. *Iamb.* 215 ἥτις τραγῳδὸς μοῦσα ληκυθίζουσα; Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.12–14 *fidibusne Latinis/Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa,/an* ***tragica desaevit*** *et* ***ampullatur*** *in arte?*; see Thomas, 1979: 189.

A nostris . . . libellis: cf. Call. *Aet.* 1.19. The Priamel contrast between others and the first person is also present in Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.5; 1.6.17; 2.12.13–14; Man. 2.57; Verg. *Ecl.* 6.3.9–11; Prop. 2.1.19 *non ego . . . canerem*; Ov. *Am.* 2.18.1–4 *Carmen ad iratum dum tu perducis Achillen/primaque iuratis induis arma viris,/****nos****, Macer, ignava Veneris cessamus in umbra,/et tener ausuros grandia frangit Amor.* As regards the expression, cf. Mart. 10.3.9 *Procul a libellis nigra sit meis fama.*

procul: cf. Tib. 2.4.15–16 *Ite procul, Musae, si non prodestis amanti:/Non ego vos, ut sint bella canenda, colo.*

vesica: the term means 'bladder', and is applied to objects made of animal bladders (see Leary *ad* 14.62), such as pouches: Cato *Agr.* 157.14 *indito in vesicam*; Larg. 132 *vesica abditum.* It may also be used as a toy, a balloon: Hor. *S.* 1.8.46 *displosa sonat quantum vesica*; Var. *Men.* 25 *anima ut conclusa in vesica, quando est arte religata,/si pertuderis, aëra reddet*; Ov. *Met.* 15.303–4 *extentam tumefecit humum, ceu spiritus oris/tendere vesicam solet.* Martial began the poem by defending himself and accusing other artists of frivolity (*lusus*, *ludit*). Here *vesica* means bombastic style: it is simply filled with air. Compare Pers. 5.13 *nec stloppo tumidas intendis rumpere buccas* (Harvey and Kissel *ad loc.*). Quintilian uses an analogous simile applied to prosody (*Inst.* 9.4.66). In this context the meaning of *vesica* ('blister', OLD *s. v.* 3) is quite close to *tumor* (*vid. infra s. tumet*).

8. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.140 *tragoediae . . . adfectatus tumor*; Gel. 2.23.21 *verba tragici tumoris.*

Musa . . . nostra: 'my poetry': cf. **4.8.12** (n.) and 2.92.2; 9.26.8; 9.99.1.

tumet: this alludes both to arrogance (cf. 4.46.2 n.) and affected, grandiloquent language (Hor. *Ars* 94 *tumido . . . ore*; Sen. *Con.* 9.2.26; 9.2.27; 10.1.14 *sententias . . . tumidas*; Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.18; 10.2.16; 10.4.1; 12.10.73; Tac. *Dial.* 18.4): cf. Catul. 95.9–10 *parva mei mihi sint cordi monumenta Philitae:/at populus* ***tumido*** *gaudeat Antimacho*; Pers. 5.19–20 *non equidem hoc studeo, pullatis ut mihi nugis/pagina* ***turgescat*** *dare pondus idonea fumo* (Kissel *ad loc.*).

insano syrmate: the *syrma* (Gr. σύρμα) was a long-trained robe worn by tragic actors: Corn. Sev. *Poet.* (Morel) *tragica . . . syrma*; Val. *Com.* 1 *quid hic cum tragicis versis et syrma facis?*; Juv. 8.228–9 *Thyestae syrma*; 15.30–32; Apul. *Apol.* 13 *uti me consuesse tragoedi[i] syrmate*; Porph. *ad Hor. Ars* 278 *Aeschylus primus tragoedi[i]s coturnos et syrma et personam dedit.* Like the *cothurni* (3.20.7; 5.30.1; 8.3.13), it symbolises tragedy: 12.94.3–4 *Transtulit ad tragicos se nostra Thalia coturnos:/aptasti longum tu quoque syrma tibi.*

Insanus is sometimes applied to intemperate speech (TLL *s. v.* 1834.83–1835.7 [Lumpe]: Cic. *Brut.* 233; Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.45; Suet. *Aug.* 86.2; Mart. Cap. 8.809 *irrisoria semper lepidaque versutia inter insana semper deridebas vatum tumores*), although here it clearly refers to the extravagant cruelty of tragic plots. In terms of dramatic genre, the epigram could be compared to mime and comedy (Elmore, 1912; Pociña, 1974: 444). Martial is not the first to contrast his poetry with tragedy: Callimachus (*supra*), Persius (5.5–18), and Ovid (*Am.* 3.1; cf. *Rem.* 375) are his forerunners.

9–10. Official fame and critical approval mean nothing if they are not accompanied by the reader's favour:

Lector et auditor nostros probat, Aule, libellos,
  sed quidam exactos esse poeta negat.
Non nimium curo: nam cenae fercula nostrae
  malim convivis quam placuisse cocis (9.81).

Sic tua laudentur sane: mea carmina, Sexte,
  grammaticis placeant, ut sine grammaticis (10.21.5–6).

An iuvat ad tragicos soccum transferre coturnos,
  aspera vel paribus bella tonare modis,
Praelegat ut tumidus rauca te voce magister
  oderit et grandis virgo bonusque puer? (8.3.13–16)

'Illa tamen laudant omnes, mirantur, adorant': cf. 6.60.1 *Laudat, amat, cantat nostros mea Roma libellos.*

confiteor: cf. 3.31.1; 9.50.3.

ista legunt: cf. 1.1.1 *Hic est quem legis ille*; 3.9.2 *Non scribit, cuius carmina nemo legit*; 3.95.7 *Ore legor multo notumque per oppida nomen/non expectato dat mihi fama rogo*; 5.13.3 *sed toto legor orbe frequens*; 5.16.2 *Qui legis et tota cantas mea carmina Roma*; 5.60.5; 7.88.1–4; 7.97.12 *uni mitteris, omnibus legeris*; 8.61.3 *orbe cantor et legor toto*; 9.97.2 *me Roma legit.* For Martial's relationship with his readers, see **4.29.2** (n.).

ista: see Hofmann-Szantyr: 182.

Invective addressed to Thais, the *fellatrix* of **4.12**, who is always saying that the poet is old. As old age usually implies sexual impotence, Martial has to defend himself from this attack against his virility. By playing with the widespread idea that fellatio was the only remedy for impotence, he asserts his masculinity and threatens her with *irrumatio* (*vid.* Richlin, 1981), thus drawing attention again to her sexual preferences.

As regards structure, notice the parallelism between the lines and the final position of the obscene verb (cf. 4.84.4 n.).

Further reading: Plass, 1985: 195–196. Forberg, *De figuris Veneris*, chapter III *De irrumando*; Krenkel, 1980; Richlin, 1981; Adams, 1983.

1. Thai: 4.12.1 (n.).

senem: for old age and impotence, cf. e.g. Cic. *Sen.* 47; Juv. 10.204–208; *Priap.* 76.1–2; 83.4–5; Mart. 11.46 (see Kay *ad loc.*, for the sources of this motif); Bertman, 1989. Subtly, the poet suggests that Thais is too unattractive to arouse him sexually: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 8 (see Watson, 2003: 287–293).

subinde dicis: cf. 1.117.2. The adverb is used frequently by Martial: 1.106.1; 2.26.2; 5.39.6; 10.104.12; 11.63.2.

2. Martial may be parodying two philosophical passages: Cic. *Sen.* 24 *nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere*; Sen. *Ep.* 12.6 *nemo tam senex est ut inprobe unum diem speret.*

irrumandum: see **4.12** (n.); **4.17.3** (n.); Adams, 1982: 125. *Irrumatio* and *fellatio* refer to the same act from different viewpoints. The *irrumator* plays the active role and, unlike those who practise *fellatio*, is not disapproved of: cf. CIL IV 10030 MALIM ME AMICI FELLENT QUAM INIMICI IRRVMENT. Oral sex is presented as the only alternative for the impotent: Mart. 11.46.5–6 *Quid miseros frustra cunnos culosque lacessis?/Summa petas: illic mentula vivit anus* (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 44.1 *pronior sane ad id genus libidinis et natura et aetate*; Hor. *Epod.* 8.19–20; Watson, 2003: 308). However, it is not always effective: 3.75.5–6 *Coepisti puras opibus corrumpere buccas:/sic quoque non vivit sollicitata Venus*. Furthermore,

the verb *irrumare* had acquired a secondary meaning and was a menacing insult (Richlin, 1981: 40–46; Adams, 1982: 126–130; 1983: 313–314), especially if the recipient was a man (Adams, 1983: 314). Apart from a word of abuse (cf. e.g. 3.83.2), *irrumatio* can be a metaphorical way of silencing someone (cf. 3.96.3 *si te prendero, tacebis*; 12.35.4; 14.74), for instance, Thais, who is always insulting the poet.

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When Caecilianus was poor, he was carried in a litter by six slaves; then he struck it rich: now, he goes on foot. Two opposing social behaviours are censured: ostentation of a non-existent socioeconomic status (1–2) and concealment of wealth, a sign of avarice (3–4). The poet ironically asks the gods for an improvement in Caecilianus' standard of living (5–6).

Martial frequently attacks extravagant displays of wealth, as in the case of freedmen (2.16; 2.29; 2.58; 5.79; 11.37), especially if the showy characters are just pretending (2.29; 2.57; 2.74). In book V there are several epigrams on the *Lex Roscia theatralis* (5.8; 5.14; 5.23; 5.25; 5.27; 5.35; 5.38; 5.41): most of them criticise false ostentation (cf. Malnati, 1988: 133–141). Book IV also abounds in boastful men (**4.37**; **4.39**; **4.46**; **4.61**). In contrast, wealth must be kept secret, for fear of thieves and borrowers. Worry, miserliness, and riches go hand in hand: Hor. *Carm.* 3.16.17–18 *crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam/maiorumque fames*; Juv. 14.303–304 *tantis parta malis cura maiore metuque/servantur: misera est magni custodia census*; see Tosi, 2000: 805. Consequently, the rich live worse than the poor: Thphr. 30.18; Hor. *Carm.* 3.16. 28 *magnas inter opes inops* (cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 168); *S.* 1.1.95–99; Juv. 14.135–137 *sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas,/cum furor haut dubius, cum sit manifesta phrenesis,/ut locuples moriaris, egentis vivere fato?*; the richer one is, the stingier also: Juv. 14.138–140 *interea, pleno cum turget sacculus ore,/crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crevit,/et minus hanc optat qui non habet*; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.211–212; Sen. *Ben.* 2.27.3. The *avarus* (Thphr. *Char.* 30) is a frequent type in epigrammatic literature: *A. P.* 11.166; 11.168; 11.309; 11.397; Mart. 1.98; 2.43; 2.46; 5.32; 12.53. The idea of the well-off miser is explored in 1.103 (Citroni); 2.24; **4.40**. He does not show his wealth, let alone share it, which makes his friends complain about his selfishness.

Epigram **4.83** focuses on Naevolus' opposing social behaviours. Contrast between past and present situations is the theme of 1.30; 1.47; 1.94; 1.112; 3.70.1–2; 4.7; 5.21; 5.23; 6.50; 8.16; 8.74; 9.70; 9.88; 9.95; 11.87; 12.70.

Further reading: Malnati, 1988; Spisak, 1998.

1. sex milia: cf. 4.76.1 (n.).
Caecilianus: see 4.15.2 (n.).

2. cf. 6.84.1 *Octaphoro sanus portatur, Avite, Philippus.*
ingenti . . . hexaphoro: (from Gr. ἕξ and φόρος) a litter carried by six men. This specific meaning is only found in Martial (Stephani, 1889: 18): 2.81.1 *Laxior hexaphoris tua sit lectica licebit* (Williams *ad loc.*); 6.77.10 *Non debes ferri mortuus hexaphoro* (cf. 6.77.4 *Quid te Cappadocum sex onus esse iuvat?*). A large litter is a sign of wealth, since it requires a greater number of slaves: 6.84.1 (Grewing *ad loc.*); 9.2.11 (Henriksén *ad loc.*); cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.27 *Nam, ut mos fuit Bithyniae regibus, lectica octaphoro ferebatur*; *Q. Fr.* 2.9.2; Sen. *Dial.* 2.14.1; Apul. *Apol.* 76 *vectabatur octaphoro, vidistis profecto qui adfuistis, quam improba iuvenum circumspectatrix, quam inmodica sui ostentatrix*; Juv. 1.64–68 *cum iam sexta cervice feratur/hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra/et multum referens de Maecenate supino/signator falsi, qui se lautum atque beatum/exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerit uda?* (Courtney *ad loc.*).
late vectus es: he was carried to and fro in order to show off: cf. Sen. *Dial.* 10.12.6 *Ne illos quidem inter otiosos numeraverim qui sella se et lectica huc et illuc ferunt et ad gestationum suarum, quasi deserere illas non liceat, horas occurrunt.*

3. bis decies: cf. 4.37.3 (n.).
tribuit: cf. 1.103.4 *riserunt faciles et tribuere dei.*
dea caeca: Fortune is traditionally said to be blind (Otto, 1971: 142): cf. e.g. Men. *fr.* 417 (Kock) τυφλόν τε και δύστηνον ἐστιν ἡ τύχη; *Monost.* 718 τυφλόν τε και δύστηνον ἀνθρώποις τύχη; Cic. *Phil.* 13.10 *Fortuna ipsa quae dicitur caeca*; *Amic.* 54 *Non enim solum ipsa Fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos, quos conplexa est; Rhet. Her.* 2.36 *Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi* (Pac. *trag.* 366); Ov. *Fast.* 6.576; *Pont.* 4.8.16 *Fortunam, quae mihi caeca fuit*; Plin. *Nat.* 2.22; Sen. *Phaed.* 978–980 *Res humanas ordine nullo/Fortuna regit sparsitque manu/munera caeca peiora fovens; Phoen.* 632 *Fors caeca versat*; Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.9; Apul. *Met.* 7.2 *caecam et prorsus exoculatam esse Fortunam, quae semper suas opes ad malos et indignos conferat nec unquam iudicio quemquam mortalium eligat*; 11.15 *Fortunae caecitas; Caton. Disticha* 4.3. See Tosi, 2000: 393.

Compare this with **4.40.10** (*hoc tibi Fortuna placet?*): Martial reproaches Fortune for having smiled on someone undeserving.

4. sinumque/ruperunt nummi: cf. 10.15.3–4 *Mutua cum peterem sestertia quinque, negasti,/non caperet nummos cum gravis arca tuos*. *Rumpere* means to 'burst': cf. 7.20.13 *mappa . . . iam mille rumpitur furtis*; 10.14.5; Verg. *G.* 1.49. The *sinus* was the hanging fold of the toga used as a pocket, for small objects (2.6.7; 3.2.6; 5.35.7; 6.60.2; 7.20.14) and money: 5.16.8; cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.10.18; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.79.

factus es, **ecce**, **pedes**: *pedes*, 'pedestrian', usually functions as a predicative adjective (cf. OLD *s. v.* 1). As a noun, it appears in the expression *equites peditesque*, meaning the whole of society: Cic. *Leg.* 3.7; Liv. 1.44.1; Hor. *Ars* 113. *Ecce* draws attention to an unexpected turn: Caecilianus could have become an *eques* (cf. 4.67). *Pedes* means that he has abandoned his litter, that is, his ostentatious luxury, and symbolically alludes to an inferior socioeconomic position. For the use of *ecce* after a time clause with *postquam*, cf. 7.94.2 and Verg. *A.* 4.152.

5. Quid tibi pro meritis et tantis laudibus optem?: as Collesso (*ad loc.*) remarks, his merits and virtues are frugality and thrift. The question and emphasis (*meritis, tantis laudibus*) are clearly ironic: cf. 1.99.16 *Quid dignum meritis precemur istis?*; 1.20.3 *Quid dignum tanto tibi ventre gulaque precabor?*; 7.24.7 *Hoc tibi pro meritis et talibus inprecor ausis*; 11.73.5 *Quid precer, o fallax, meritis et moribus istis?* Cf. 7.23.3 (in a serious context) *Quid tanta pro luce precer?*; 8.61.8 *Quid inprecabor, o Severe, liventi?*

6. Di reddant sellam, Caeciliane, tibi: cf. 1.103.12 *aut vive aut decies, Scaevola, redde deis*. Martial wishes Caecilianus an improvement in his way of life, that is, a return to poverty. Some commentators (e.g. Collesso) interpret that Martial wishes him an illness: some epigrams are, in fact, based on the play between a litter, a stretcher, and a coffin (2.81; 6.77; 9.2.11–12). *Sella*, however, does not seem to have such connotations; it simply means a type of conveyance: cf. 3.36.4 *per mediumque trahat me tua sella lutum*; 9.22.10; 9.100.3; 10.10.7; 11.98.12.

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Sexual invective against Hedylus (a sodomite in 9.57), based on the meaning of *ficus* (Adams, 1982: 113; Buchheit, 1960): piles were thought to be the consequence of anal sex (cf. 1.65.4; Citroni *ad loc.*; 6.49.11; Grewing *ad loc.*; *Priap.* 41.4; Juv. 2.13), although they may also be caused by riding: 14.86 {*Ephippium*} *Stragula succincti venator sume veredi:/nam solet a nudo surgere ficus equo*. Both ideas are combined in this epigram: the first line focuses on an unusual mount—with possible sexual undertones; in the pentameter there is a rather obscure and long-debated wordplay between *ficus, caper*, and *caprificus*.

Further reading: Buchheit, 1960: 218–223; Joepgen, 1967: 131–133; Giegengack, 1969: 83; Siems, 1974: 121–122; Shackleton Bailey, 1978: 277; 1989: 135; Obermayer, 1998: 74–78; Zajcev, 1998; Eden, 2001: 319–321.

1. It has been discussed whether the line is to be taken literally or metaphorically. The allusion to a bizarre means of transport subtly links this line to the previous epigram.

Gestari iunctis: *gestari* means 'riding' or 'being conveyed' in a vehicle (TLL *s. v.* 1968.30–56 [I Kapp-G. Meyer]): Mart. 1.12.8; 1.82.5; 7.76.4; 12.17.3; Plin. *Ep.* 9.36.5. Eden (2001) suggests that, like *equitare* (cf. **4.31.10** n.), *gestari* could have sexual connotations (see also Obermayer, 1998: 75 n. 258). *Iunctis* refers here to yoked animals (TLL *s. v.* 653.80–654.84 [V. Kamptz]), although elsewhere it has sexual overtones (TLL *s. v.* 658.60–659.10): *Sp.* 5.1; Juv. 6.448. Eden interprets that Hedylus is having sexual intercourse with more than one at a time (*symplegma*: cf. 11.81: see Kay, 1985: 238).

Hedyle: cf. Gr. ἡδύς (see Giegengack, 1969: 83 and Solin, 1982: 878; 1996: 455). Obermayer (1998: 74–78) bases his interpretation of this epigram on a joint reading of the three poems addressed to this character: in 1.46 he is the poet's *puer delicatus*; in 9.57 Martial accuses someone called Hedylus of sodomy. According to Obermayer there is a developing relationship between the poet and this character: this epigram is a rebuke for his sexual behaviour.

capris: this is an *aprosdoketon*, since one would have expected *equis*: cf. 1.12.8 *Gestatus biiugis Regulus esset equis*. *Caper*, unlike *hircus*, refers

to a castrated billy-goat, and metaphorically to a eunuch: 3.24.14 *Dum iugulas hircum, factus es ipse caper*; Gel. 9.9.10 *enim M. Varrone is demum Latine 'caper' dicitur, qui excastratus est.* Just like *hircus*, it is a paradigm of sexual activity (cf. **4.4.4** n.; Hor. *Epod.* 10.23; Serv. *in Verg. Ecl.* 3.8; see also Hor. *Carm.* 3.15.12; Ov. *Met.* 13.791). According to Buchheit (1960, *vid. infra*), this company would turn the passive Hedylus into an active homosexual. Eden, however, links *capris* with *hircosus* (cf. 9.47.5): Hedylus would then be a young lad having intercourse with two adults. Zajcev (1998: 202–3) quotes some passages alluding to unusual draught animals: cf. 1.104 (Citroni *ad loc.*); Lampr. *Heliog.* 28.1–3 *Canes quaternos ingentes iunxit ad currum et sic est vectatus intra domum regiam, idque privatus in agris suis fecit. processit in publicum et quattuor cervis iunctis ingentibus. iun[c]xit sibi et leones, Matrem magnam se appellans. iun[c]xit et tigres, Liberum sese vocans eodemque habitu agens, quo dii pinguntur, quos imitaba[n]tur.* Zajcev claims that, like the eccentric Heliogabalus, Hedylus may have travelled in a cart drawn by goats, on which Martial would have based his sexual attack. Toynbee (1973: 166) describes some artistic representations of goats as draught animals, although there are also literary testimonies (Athen. *Deipn.* 5.200ff.): Dionysus travels on a goat cart (in the House of the *Vetii*, Pompeii); Cupid mounts a he-goat (Mart. 8.50.9–14; *A. L.* 186–188). Besides, a cart drawn by goats or similar animals seems to have been a toy for children (*A. P.* 6.312; Gow-Page, 1965 II: 98; Toynbee, fig. 83).

Among the eccentricities of Heliogabalus, it is said that he was carried naked on a cart drawn by women (Lampr. *Heliog.* 29.1–2). Domitius Calderinus suggests that *capris* may refer to women in this epigram. In that case, the interpretation would not differ much from Buchheit's (*vid. infra*): Hedylus would have turned from a *pathicus* into a *fututor* (cf. 7.57; 11.87).

Finally, *caper*, like *hircus*, may refer to bad body odour: Catul. 69; Ov. *Ars* 3.193. This is the key to Obermayer's interpretation (*vid. infra*).

2. qui modo ficus eras, iam caprificus eris: Friedländer explains that *ficus* is equivalent to *ficosus*. Shackleton Bailey (1989: 135) refutes this idea and emends the text into *erat . . . erit*, in the light of manuscript *L*, *codex optimus* of the second family (*erat . . . eris*). If Shackleton Bailey is right, the corruption may have been the result of the

influence of the second person in the first line (cf. *desinis*), as well as similar passages: 1.112.2 *iam mihi Priscus eris*; 3.78.2 *iam Palinurus eris* 3.43.2; 4.7.2. *Qui*, however, must refer to Hedylus.

Both *ficus* and *caprificus* mean both the tree (fig-tree and wild fig-tree) and their fruit: TLL *s. ficus* 651.41–652.48; 652.49–653.52 (Vollmer); *s. caprificus* 359.29–60; 65–79 (Stadler). Therefore, as the fig tree has plenty of figs, Hedylus (*ficus*) suffers from haemorrhoids (*ficus*; TLL *s. v.* 654.6–18): Cels. 6.32; CLE 50c; Mart. 1.65.4; 6.49.11; 14.86.2; Marcell. *Med.* 31.16 *ad ficos, qui in locis verecundioribus nascuntur*; Plac. *Med.* 11.7 *ad ficos, qui in ano nascuntur*; Diosc. 1.32 *utilis ficibus ani*; cf. Juv. 2.13). According to Adams (1982a: 40–41), this is an example of anatomical terms used *pars pro toto*.

In view of the erotic connotations of the name *Hedylus* and its other occurrences (cf. 1.46; 9.47), the interpretation of *ficus* is straightforward and alludes to his passive sexual role. Buchheit (1960) argues that this change (from *ficus* to *caprificus*) implies his transformation into an active partner (from a *pathicus* into a *pedicator*; see also Siems, 1974: 121–122). Change in sexual orientation is the theme of other epigrams such as 7.57 or 11.87. Buchheit's interpretation is based on a botanic procedure called *caprificatio* (cf. Col. 11.2.56; Plin. *Nat.* 15.80), consisting in attaching wild figs to the cultivated fig-tree in order to fertilise it. Zajcev (1998) explains that, in the same way as Gr. σῦκον may allude to female genitalia and συκῆ may refer to a prostitute, *ficus* could be equivalent to *meretrix*. Hedylus may have been a gigolo or male prostitute. Martial warns him that he may lose his source of income (Zajcev, 1998: 203). The interpretations of Buchheit and Zajcev entail a change of sexual roles and are valid if *capris* is read as eunuchs or castrated men (less likely as women). Eden (2001: 320) leaves the wordplay unexplained. Obermayer (1998: 75) takes *ficus* as a metaphor for *culus*, metonymically representing Hedylus' passive role. In Greek σῦκον may allude to the female genitals and the anus, although this is not documented in Latin, according to Adams (1982: 113). However, Martial compares some slaves with a fig-tree field (12.33.2) and the anus of a *puer delicatus* with a kind of fig (12.96.9–10). Nevertheless, Obermayer's account of the wordplay is far from convincing: 'Die Warnung bezöge sich in diesem Fall darauf, das der bislang passive Hedylus durch intensiven sexuellen Kontakt mit "stinkenden Böcken" deren Geruchannnähme, sich also verschlechtern würde von einen pathicus (*ficus*) zu einem

stinkenden *Pathicus* (*capri-ficus*). "Bockgestank" stünde in diesem Falle weniger für den Geruch der Achselhöhle als viermehr für den des männlichen Genitals' (1998: 75 n. 258).

If this is not a meaningless wordplay, Buchheit's interpretation is the most plausible and coherent: if *caper* alludes to a eunuch, a change of sexual role is necessary on the part of Hedylus. If *caper* refers to an adult (as Eden and Obermayer believe), there could be a further interpretation of the term *caprificus*. Pliny the Elder explains that the wild-fig never reaches maturity: Plin. *Nat.* 15.79 *caprificus vocat<u>r e silvestri genere ficus numquam maturescens*. It is possible that the key to the epigram is *nisi desinis*: if Hedylus does not stop having intercourse with adults, he cannot be said to have matured in sexual terms, since he is still behaving as a *puer*. The poet, then, would be advising him to put an end to this behaviour. This epigram would thus be, as Obermayer's suggests, a transition from 1.46, where Hedylus is a *puer delicatus*, to 9.57, where he is a *cinaedus*.

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Invective against a Cynic. Attacks on philosophers are recurrent in ancient literature, especially in comedy, satire and epigram (Pertsch, 1911: 23; Brecht, 1930: 18–27; Autore, 1937). They are the butt of Martial's criticism, mainly due to the lack of consistency between what they preach and what they do, particularly in sexual terms: 1.24; 1.96 (Citroni *ad loc.*); 9.27; 9.47 (Henriksén *ad loc.*). It is not philosophy itself but hypocrisy that is being censured. The Cynic par excellence, Diogenes, was an ambiguous character: he was admired for his frugal way of life, independence and freedom of speech, as well as his consistency (Billerberck, 1996); he was condemned, however, for his provocative anti-social behaviour (Krueger, 1996). His followers were usually criticised for their slovenliness and for taking pleasure in poverty, sometimes verging on an exhibitionistic pose:

> Illud autem te admoneo, ne eorum more qui non proficere sed conspici cupiunt facias aliqua quae in habitu tuo aut genere vitae notabilia sint; asperum cultum et intonsum caput et neglegentiorem barbam et indictum argento odium et cubile humi positum et quidquid aliud ambitionem perversa via sequitur evita . . . Frugalitatem exigit philosophia, non poenam; potest autem esse non incompta frugalitas (Sen. *Ep.* 5.1; 5.5).

Cynics and other philosophers were expelled from Rome under Vespasian (Dio Cass. 66.13–14). In fact, their doctrine was highly subversive (Sherwin-White *ad* Plin. *Ep.* 3.11.2). Domitian also banished them later, in AD 93 (Suet. *Dom.* 10.3–5; *vid.* Jones *ad loc.*; Tac. *Agr.* 2.2; Dio Cass. 67.13.2–3). Eusebius in his *Chronica* mentions a previous expulsion in AD 88–89 (*Domitianus rursum philosophos et mathematicos Roma per edictum extrudit*; see e.g. Toynbee, 1944: 58), but this is unsupported by further evidence. It is significant that this epigram begins with two clear allusions to Domitian's building policy: the attack against the Cynic must be taken as a sign of adherence to the established regime.

Structurally, this epigram is based on a *cumulatio* of details conforming to the traditional depiction of Cynics (Clay, 1996), strung together in a series of relative clauses introduced by the first verb in the epigram, a verb of perception:

– their attributes (3): a pouch, representing their asceticism, and the walking stick, as they are wanderers and foreigners everywhere (Clay, 1996: 366);
– their physical appearance: long beard (3), slovenliness (4), ragged dirty cloak (5);
– their urban existence: Cynics sheltered in public buildings (1–2) and satisfied their needs in the open (5–6).

The final couplet exposes the gap between appearance and reality (cf. 1.24; Burnikel, 1980: 45 n. 6). The closest parallel is an epigram by Loukillios, consisting of the customary portrait and the κυνικός-κύων pun:

Εἶναι μὲν κυνικόν σε, Μενέστρατε, κἀνυπόδητον
καὶ ῥιγοῦν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει καθόλου·
ἂν δὲ παραρπάξῃς ἄρτους καὶ κλάσματ' ἀναιδῶς,
κἀγὼ ῥάβδον ἔχω, καὶ σὲ λέγουσι κύνα (*A. P.* 11.153).

Kruuse summarises the content of both epigrams as follows: 'A. P. XI, 153: Tu resembles à un chien (jeu de mots), toi le philosophe. M. IV, 53 Tu resembles à un philosophe, toi le chien' (1941: 251).

According to Salemme (1976: 77–80), the achievement of this poem is not the description of the Cynic, which is far from original, or the final wordplay, but its attention to detail, its innovative expressions, and echoes from Augustan literature. Noteworthy also is the contrast between the dishevelled character and the architectural environment, as well as the connotations of the name of the addressee (*Cosmus*).

Further reading: Prinz, 1911: 31–32; Cèbe, 1966: 265–267; Salemme, 1976: 77–80; Rodríguez Almeida, 1985–1986. For the relationship between Martial's and Loukillios' epigrams, see Kruuse, 1941: 250–252; 294; Burnikel, 1980: 43–48. For the Cynic movement, Billerberck, 1996; Krueger, 1996; for the Cynics in Rome, Griffin, 1996; for the traditional image of the Cynic, Clay, 1996. See also Goulet-Gazé, 1990.

1–2. Cynics lived as beggars and took shelter near public buildings: cf. D. Chr. 4.13.

1. Hunc quem . . . vides: the deictic with a verb of perception is frequently used in epigrams consisting of a lengthy description ending in a final denunciation (Siedschlag, 1977: 35): cf. 2.29; 2.57; 2.74; 5.51; 6.74. According to Burnikel (1980: 43), the deictic antic-

ipates the aggressive tone prevailing in the rest of the poem. The Cynic does not have a name, perhaps as a further sign of contempt (cf. 1.96.14), or just because he represents a common type (*saepe*). *Vides* makes it clear that the description will be mainly visual.

1–2. intra penetralia nostrae/Pallados: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.114 *inter penetralia Vestae*. A temple of Minerva built by Domitian under the Palatine, close to the *templum divi Augusti* (Gsell, 1894: 101–102; Scott, 1936: 174). Platner (1965: 342–343) discusses several hypotheses: this might be a sanctuary near the temples of Castor and Augustus or the temple of Castor itself, dedicated to Castor and Minerva after reconstruction. Another hypothesis is that this was a library in an annex to Augustus' temple, and hence, probably, the use of *nostrae*: cf. 5.4.1 *Palatinae . . . Minervae*. Rodríguez Almeida (1985–1986) adheres to this and gives a further explanation of *nostrae*: according to him, there was a *vicus unguentarius* nearby, where the perfume dealer Cosmus, the most likely addressee of this epigram, would have had his store. The first option is, however, the most widely accepted (Girard, 1981: 208; 236). For Minerva's temples in Domitian's times, see Darwall-Smith, 1991: 121–129.

Pallas is mentioned elsewhere in the epigrams: 1.76.7; 6.10.11; 7.28.3 (figuratively, Galán *ad loc.*); 8.1.4; 9.24.5; 12.98.3; 13.104.2. The reference to Minerva, patroness of technique and art, of civilisation and progress, contrasts with the description of the Cynic as an uncivilised, dehumanised being. On the other hand, *nostrae* echoes a Ciceronian passage (*Fam.* 12.25.1 *Minerva nostra, custos urbis*): here *nostrae* evokes Minerva as the patroness of Domitian and Rome (Friedländer *ad loc.*). A further contrast is established between being Roman and non-Roman.

For Domitian's fervent worship of Minerva, see **4.1.5** (n.).

2. templi limina . . . novi: i.e. the *templum divi Augusti*, on the Palatine (cf. 12.2.7 *veneranda novi . . . limina templi*; Platner, 1965: 62–65), built by Tiberius (Dio Cass. 55.43.3; 57.10.2) and finished by Caligula (Suet. *Tib.* 47; *Cal.* 21). According to Tacitus, Tiberius finished it but did not consecrate it (*Ann.* 6.45). It burnt down before AD 79 (Plin. *Nat.* 12.94) and was reconstructed by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 20; Platner, 1965: 62), and dedicated in AD 89 or 90 (Torelli, LTVR *s. v.* 146).

It is usually called *templum Augusti* (Plin. *Nat.* 34.43; Suet. *Tib.* 40.1;

47.1; *Cal.* 21.1) or *divi Augusti* (Suet. *Cal.* 22.4), but also *templum novum* (cf. 12.2.7; Suet. *Tib.* 74) in popular speech (see Torelli, LTVR *s. v.* 145). This name was given just after its construction (Platner, 1965: 63), since it appears in the *Acta Arvalia* of AD 36 (CIL VI 32346.10; 2041.5; 2042a.28; 6; 2051.14) together with the variant *templum divi Augusti novum* (CIL VI 2028e.12; 2044c.5; 32345; 8704). In an annex to the temple a library was built (Plin. *Nat.* 34.43; Suet. *Tib.* 74.1). For the opposition between *penetralia* and *limina*, see Rodríguez Almeida, 1985–1986: 116–117.

Cosme: *Cosmus* was a famous perfume maker: 1.87.2; 3.55.1; 3.82.26 *Cosmianis . . . ampullis*; 9.26.2 (Henriksén); 11.8.9; 11.15.6; 11.18.9; 11.49.6; 12.55.7; 12.65.4; 14.59.2 *Delicias Cosmi vos redolete, nurus* (Leary *ad loc.*); 14.110.1; 14.146.1 *Tingue caput Cosmi folio*; Juv. 8.86. He may be the addressee of this epigram: his profession and even his name (Gr. Κοσμός) contrast with the Cynic's dishevelled appearance.

3–5. Cynics were easily recognisable: barefoot, slovenly, with unkempt long hair and beard, wearing a worn-out cloak and pouch and carrying a walking stick. A full description can be found in Luc. *Cyn.* 1, as well as in Greek skoptic epigrams: cf. e.g. *A. P.* 6.293; 6.298 (Gow-Page, 1965 II: 362–364); 11.154; 11.155; 11.156; 11.157; 11.158 (Gow-Page, 1968 II: 98); 11.410; 11.430; 11.435. For their representation in art, see Clay, 1996. Cèbe (1966: 266) stresses the influence of visual representations of the Cynics (paintings, statuettes, etc.) on this epigram.

3. A walking stick (*baculum*, Gr. ξύλον, βάκτρον, ῥάβδος, σκίπων) and a pouch (*pera*, Gr. πήρα) are some of the most recognisable attributes of the Cynics: Apul. *Fl.* 14 *peram cum baculo et pallium humi pos[s]uisset; Apol.* 22 *rem familiarem mihi peram et baculum fuisse; Cynicae familiae insignia . . .*; 25; cf. e.g. Luc. *DMort.* 20.2 Μένιππος ἔγωγε. ἄλλ' ἰδοὺ ἡ πήρα μοι, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, καὶ τὸ βάκτρον εἰς τὴν λίμνην ἀπερρίφθων, τὸν τρίβωνα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκόμισα εὖ ποιῶν; *Peregr.* 15 ἐκόμα δὲ ἤδη καὶ τρίβωνα πιναρὸν ἠμπείχετο καὶ πήραν παρήρτητο καὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἦν; 24.13 Οὐ γὰρ ἐν πήρᾳ καὶ βάκτρῳ καὶ τρίβωνι ὁ ζῆλος; Herod. 1.9.3 ἀνὴρ φιλοσόφου φέρων σχῆμα (βάκτρον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ μετὰ χεῖρας, ἡμιγύμνῳ τε αὐτῷ ἐκκρεμὴς πήρα); Diog. L. 6.13 καὶ πώγωνα καθεῖναι καὶ πήρᾳ καὶ βάκτρῳ χρῆσθαι; Auson. *Epit.* 29.1 *pera, baculum, scyphus, arta supellex ista fuit cynici.*

cum baculo: see also *A. P.* 6.293.1 ὁ σκίπων; 6.298.2 βάκτρον τοῦτό γ' ὁδοιπορικόν; 11.153.4 ῥάβδον; 11.154.3 ξύλον; 11.410.1 τοῦ βακτροπροσαίτου; Apul. *Met.* 11.8 *nec ille deerat, . . . qui pallio baculoque et baxeis et hircino barbitio philosophum fingeret*; Sidon. *Ep.* 4.1.11 (*infra*); 9.9.14 (*infra*); Aug. *Civ. Dei* 14.20 (*infra*).

pera: cf. 14.81 {*Pera*} *Ne mendica ferat barbati prandia nudi/ dormiat et tetrico cum cane, pera rogat* (Leary *ad loc.*). A poor man's sack (Porph. *ad Hor. S.* 1.6.106 *matica pera est*; TGL VII 1054; Hom. *Od.* 17.197), in which Cynics carried their meagre provisions: TLL *s. v.* 1170.24–38 (Parker); see also *A. P.* 6.293.3; 6.298.1; 11.158.1; Petr. 14.2 *cynica . . . pera*; Luc. *Demon.* 48; *Pisc.* 45.1; Diog. L. 4.51; Plu. *Mor.* 79.E.11; 332.A.2; 332.B.6; 466.E.1; 499.C.11; 782.B.2; 831.F.4; Athen. *Deipn.* 2.2.30; Hier. *Adv. Iovin.* 2.14.p.304c *Diogenes peram pro cellario.* The diminutive *perula* is used in the same contexts: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 90.14; Apul. *Apol.* 22.

senem: cf. 3.93.13 *senemque cynicum.*

3–4. cana putrisque/stat coma et in pectus sordida barba cadit: Cynics, along with other philosophers, were frequently criticised for their slovenliness: cf. 9.27.2 *quidquid et hirsutis squalet imaginibus*; Sen. *Ep.* 5.2 *asperum cultum et intonsum caput et neglegentiorem barbam.* Martial calls them *pilosi* (9.27.7; 9.47.5; Henriksén *ad loc.*). The parallelism *stat-cadit* and its visual effect contribute to this grotesque depiction. *Putris* and *sordida* reinforce the idea of uncleanliness (cf. *cerea*). Notice the echo of 4.34 and 4.36 (see Lorenz, 2004: 272 n. 51).

cana: cf. *senem*, *baculo.*

stat coma: 'stands on end', generally out of fear (cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.631 *horruerant, stabantque comae*; Stat. *Theb.* 10.606 *stant tristes horrore comae*), but here because it is dirty (cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 833 *staretque recta squalor incultus coma!*). Unkempt hair is another physical trait of philosophers: 1.24.1 *Aspicis incomptis illum, Deciane, capillis*; Sen. *Ep.* 5.1 (*supra*).

barba: for a long beard as a characteristic of philosophers (especially Cynics and Stoics), see Zankler, 1995: 108–113; 129–133; 177–179; TLL *s. v.* 1727.6–18 (Münscher); TGL VII 2294C *s.* πώγων: *A. P.* 11.410.1 Τοῦ πωγωνοφόρου κυνικοῦ; 11.430.1 Εἰ τὸ τρέφειν πώγωνα δοκεῖς σοφίαν περιποιεῖν; 11.154.3 τρέφει πώγωνα; 11.155.3; 11.157.3; Hor. *S.* 2.3.35 *solatus iussit sapientem pascere barbam*; *Schol. ad Hor. S.* 2.3.15 *Qui barba demissa sit, scilicet ritu stoicorum*; Pers. 1.133; Mart. 9.47.4 *Praependet sane nec tibi barba minor*; 14.81.1 *barbati . . . nudi*; Quint.

Inst. 11.1.34; Apul. *Met.* 11.8; Gel. 9.2.1 *palliatus quispiam et crinitus barbaque prope ad pubem*; 9.2.4 *'Video' inquit Herodes 'barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum uideo'*; 13.8.5 *barba et pallio*; Plu. *Mor.* 52.C.6; 81.C.5; Luc. *Cyn.* 1; Lact. *Inst.* 3.24.6 *mysterium eius* (*sc. Philosophiae*) *barba tantum celebratur et pallio*; Sidon. *Ep.* 4.11.1; *A. L.* (Riese) 374. For the proverbial idea that 'a beard does not make a philosopher', see Tosi, 2000: 101–102, § 219.

in pectus . . . cadit: 9.47.4; Gel. 9.2.1 *barbaque prope ad pubem*; cf. Verg. *A.* 10.838 *colla fovet fusus propexam in pectore barbam*; Sil. 13.333 *imoque cadit barba hispida mento.*

5. cerea quem nudi tegit uxor abolla grabati: cf. 1.92.7 *Cerea si pendet lumbis et scripta lacerna.*

cerea: 'greasy' or 'yellowish' (TLL *s. v.* 862.5–16: Plin. *Nat.* 21.83, 84; Verg. *G.* 2.53; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.818). Plautus and Ovid talk about waxen wool (*Ars* 3.184; cf. Pl. *Epid.* 233 *cerinum*; *Aul.* 510). *Cereus* is a poetic adjective, which adds to the irony (cf. 4.34.2 *nivea*). For dirty clothes as a satirical motif, cf. **4.34** (n.). For philosophers' dirty cloaks, see *A. P.* 11.158.3 τὸ χύδην ῥυπόεντι πίνῳ πεπαλαγμένον ἔσθος διπλάδιον; *A. P.* 6.293.3 ὄλπη τε ῥυπόεσσα; Var. *Men.* 314 *sed Cynicis involucrum et pallium luteum non est*; Cic. *Tusc.* 3.56 *hic Socrates commemoratur, hic Diogenes, hic Caecilianum illud: 'saepe est etiam sub palliolo sordido sapientia'.*

nudi: cf. 1.92.5; 11.56.5 *nudi grabati.* Without bedclothes or bed-frame: Sen. *Ep.* 5.2 *cubile humi positum. Nudus* is frequently used of the ground as a resting place (OLD *s. v.* 11): Ov. *Ars* 2.238 *Frigidus et nuda saepe iacebis humo*; Luc. 9.882–3 *nuda fusus harena/excubat*; Stat. *Theb.* 9.898 *frigidus et nuda iaceo tellure.* As he uses his dirty cloak as bedclothing, when he gets up he leaves his bed 'naked'. *Nudus* also suggests poverty: *vid.* Forcellini *s. v.* IV 11 and OLD *s. v.* 10.

tegit: cf. 1.92.8 (OLD *s. v.* 3).

uxor: is the *abolla* metaphorically married to his bed? It may rather refer to his sexual behaviour indirectly. Diogenes was said to masturbate in public (Diog. L. 6.46; 6.69; Dio Chr. 6.16.20). If this Cynic masturbates under his cloak, he could be envisaged as having sex with it. Compare with 9.41.2 (Henriksén *ad loc.*): *amica manus.*

abolla: this was a kind of cloak, similar to the *pallium* (Wilson, 1938: 84–86). Juvenal applies the term to a philosopher's cloak: Juv. 3.115. Horace says that a Cynic wears a *duplex pannus* (*Ep.* 1.17.25), cf. Serv. *A.* 5.421 *duplicem amictum id est abollam.* See also TLL *s. v.*

120.38–45 (V.) and Mart. Cap. 7.802. Together with the pouch and the staff, a worn-out cloak characterises the Cynics (*vid.* TGL *s.* τρίβων VII 2420 D; *s.* τριβώνιον VIII 2421C): cf. e.g. Luc. *Demon.* 48 Κύνικὸν τρίβωνα μὲν καὶ πήραν ἔχοντα; *DMort.* 20.2 (*supra*); *Pereg.* 15 (*supra*); 24.13 (*supra*); Diog. L. 4.51; 6.13 (*supra*); 6.22; Pseud.-Luc. *Cyn.* 1 (*supra*); Plu. *Mor.* 332.A.2; 466.E.1; 499.C.11; 782.B.2; 831.F.4 (*supra*). Besides, it was the typical clothing of other philosophers, such as Socrates: cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 60.B.3; *Smp.* 219.B.6; *Prt.* 60.B.3; Sen. *Ben.* 7.24. *Pallium* is the most widespread term (TLL *s. v.* 135.17–42 [Zäch] *pallium signum fuisse sapientiae humilitatis apud philosophos*): Var. *Men.* 314 (*supra*); 469 *Diogenem postea pallium solum habuisse*; Fro. *Aur.* 1.4.24; 2.14.3; Apul. *Fl.* 14 (*supra*); *Met.* 11.8 (*supra*); Gel. 9.2.1 (*supra*); 9.2.4 (*supra*); 13.8.5 (*supra*); Porph. *ad Hor. Ep.*1.17.32; Lact. *Inst.* 3.24.6 (*supra*); Aug. *Civ. Dei* 14.20 (*cynici*) . . . *non solum amiciuntur pallio, verunt etiam clavam ferunt*; Sidon. *Ep.* 4.1.11 *pallium et clavam nunc inrideret*; 9.9.14 *pallio aut clava velut sophisticis insignibus.*

grabati: a pallet (TLL *s. v.* 2128.31–51 [Brandt]): Catul. 10.22 *fractum . . . veteris pedem grabati*; Cic. *Div.* 2.129 *non modo lectos, verum etiam grabatos*; Lucil. 6.251; *Mor.* 5; Petr. 92.3; 95.2; 97.4; 98.5; Apul. *Met.* 3.1 *grabattum.* Seneca mentions it as a sign of abstinence (Sen. *Ep.* 18.7) and poverty (*Ep.* 20.9; 20.11). In Martial's epigrams it is a poor man's (1.92.5; cf. 12.32.11), a slave's (6.39.4), or a miserly Stoic's couch (11.56.5 *et teges et cimex et nudi sponda grabati*). Apuleius prefers the diminutive *grabattulus*: *Met.* 1.11; 1.12; 1.13; 1.16; 1.22.

It is a Greek term (κράββατος; cf. Isid. *Orig.* 2.11.2 *grabatum Graecum est*), very frequent in the New Testament (e.g. Mk 2.4.3; 2.9.3; 2.11.2; 2.12.1; 6.55.2; Acts 5.15.3; 9.33.2) in the sense of 'stretcher' (cf. TLL *s. v.* 2128.52–77). In Latin it was also spelled *grabattus* (see TLL. *s. v.* 2127.80–2128.24).

6. Cynics preached poverty (11.84.7 *inopes Cynicos*), mendicity, and a frugal diet: *A. P.* 11.153.3 ἂν δὲ παραρπάξῃς ἄρτους καὶ κλάσματ' ἀναιδῶς; 154.5–6; Hor. *S.* 2.2.53–69; Sen. *Ep.* 5.4 *cibis non tantum vilibus uti sed taetris et horridis.*

latratos . . . cibos: this is reminiscent of Ov. *Tr.* 5.8.14 *mendicato . . . cibo*, although *latratos* anticipates the end of the epigram and adds further nuances. *Latrare* can be used of a person's way of speaking, with pejorative, dehumanising overtones (TLL *s. v.* 1014.8–41 [Pecere]): Cic. *Brut.* 58; *De orat.* 2.220; 3.138; Hor. *S.* 1.3.136; Man.

5.224; Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.31; cf. Ov. *Ib.* 232 *latrat et in toto verba canina foro*. It may also mean 'to ask insistently' (TLL *s. v.* 1014.75–79): Hor. *S.* 2.2.18 *latrantem stomachum*; Petr. 119.55 *curis latrantibus*: '*latrare*' *Ennius pro 'poscere' posuit* (Fest. p. 121). In this sense it can be transitive (Lucr. 2.17). Cynics were said to 'bark' because of their procacity, shamelessness and irreverence (Cic. *Off.* 1.148): Suet. *Ves.* 13 *cynicum . . . oblatrantem*; Dio Cass. 66.13.3 κύνα ὑλακτοῦντα; cf. Tert. *Apol.* 46.4 *plerique etiam in principes latrant*; *Pall.* 4.7 *quodsi Diogenes de dolio latret*; Prud. *Ham.* 401 *canina foro latrat facundia toto* (cf. Ov. *Ib.* 232 *supra*). Compare also with Hor. *Ep.* 1.17.18 *mordacem Cynicum.* Friedländer mistakenly links this passage with 10.5.5 and Juv. 5.11 (Burnikel, 1980: 46 n. 101).

obvia turba: as a beggar, the Cynic frequents crowded places and eats on the street: Diog. L. 6.57; 6.58; 6.61. For the phrase *obvia turba*, cf. 14.169.2; Ov. *Met.* 15.730 *obvia turba ruit*; *Fast.* 3.540 *et fortunatos obvia turba vocat*; *Epic. Drusi* 199 *Obvia turba ruit lacrimisque rigantibus ora.*

7. Heraeus, Lindsay and Shackleton write an affirmative sentence. It may also be an interrogative (cf. 9.14 and see e.g. Ramírez de Verger, 1997).

esse putas Cynicum: cf. 9.14.2 *esse putas fidae pectus amicitiae? Putare* often implies a delusion, especially in interrogatives: 1.27.4; 1.66.2; 1.72.2; 1.97.2; 2.77.1; 3.11.2; 5.23.6; 6.10.12; 6.44.4; 6.56.2; 7.19.1; 7.42.6; 7.67.17; 8.37.2; 9.14.2; 9.41.3.

deceptus imagine ficta: Ov. *Met.* 3.385 *perstat et alternae deceptus imagine vocis; Met.* 13.216 *Ecce Iovis monitu deceptus imagine somni*; Liv. 8.7.18 *deceptum vana imagine decoris*; Stat. *Theb* 4.722 *indiget Aegaeon deceptus imagine ripae*; Apul. *Pl.* 2.11 *deceptus errore et imagine.*

imagine: physical appearance (TLL *s. v.* 412.68–413.23 [O. Prinz]), particularly if it is feigned (TLL *s. v.* 413.46–65). However, *imago* in the epigrams almost always means a 'statue' (1.70.6; 2.90.6; 5.20.7; 9.pr.; 9.24.1; 9.47.2; 11.102.8; cf. TLL *s. v.* 405.12–407.29; *vid. infra s. ficta*). There is an indirect allusion to busts of philosophers adorning houses (9.47.2 *quidquid et hirsutis squalet imaginibus*; Henriksén *ad loc.*), like those found in the *Villa dei Papiri* in Herculaneum. The protagonist of this epigram might be an epitome of real life imitation of art. See Zankler, 1995.

ficta *α β*: falsa *γ*: the editors unanimously choose *ficta*: cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.323 *adspicias fictaque probes ab imagine verum. Imagine falsa* is the

lectio facilior, because it is a common phrase in Latin literature: Liv. 22.41.9; Verg. *A.* 1.407; Calp. *Ecl.* 4.143; Ov. *Her.* 17.45; *Fast.* 6.489; Phaed. 5.20; Sen. *Dial.* 9.12.5; *Ep.* 13.12; Quint. *Inst.* 5.8.1; 10.5.17; Apul. *Met.* 4.27. *Fingere* means 'to feign', 'to pretend' (TLL *s. v.* 774.57–775.19 [Vollmer]: cf. Apul. *Met.* 11.8 *philosophum fingeret*), but it can also occur in artistic contexts, which is very relevant in an epigram describing a Cynic: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.7 *qui neque pictam neque fictam [tam] imaginem suam passus est esse*; Ov. *Met.* 14.323 (*vid.* TLL *s. v.*: *formare, plasmare* 770.64–771.33; *speciatim de arte sculptoris* 771.34–72).

8. quid ergo?: the conclusion hinges on the very last word, just after a question highlighting the tension between the rest of the epigram and its ending: cf. 1.10.4 *Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet? Tussit*; 1.41.2 *non es, crede mihi. Quid ergo? Verna*; 2.56.4 *accipere omnino. Quid solet ergo? Dare*; 3.84.2 *Quid ergo? Linguam*; 5.32.2 *Non dedit uxori. 'Cui dedit ergo?' Sibi*; 9.4.4 *Non fellat tanti Galla. Quid ergo? Tacet*; 10.74.12 *Quid concupiscam quaeris ergo? Dormire.* See Laurens, 1989: 260–264.

Canis: wordplay involving Greek: Κυνικός-κύων. Cynics were called dogs: cf. Var. *Men.* 516.1 *<Menippus> ille nobilis quondam canis.* It is usually a pejorative term: TLL *s. canis* 258.59–66 (Probst): cf. Suet. *Ves.* 13.1 *Demetrium Cynicum in itinere obvium sibi post damnationem ac neque assurgere neque salutare se dignantem, oblatrantem etiam nescio quid, satis habuit canem appellare*; Hor. *S.* 2.2.56 *Avidienus,/cui canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret*; Lact. *Inst.* 3.8.9 *obscoenum canis aut lutulentus*; Auson. *Epit.* 28.1 *'dic, canis, hic cuius tumulus?' 'canis' 'At canis quis hic?' 'Diogenes'*; TGL V 2170D: cf. e.g. Arist. *Rhet.* 1411a; *A. P.* 7.64; Athen. *Deipn.* 5.216; Plu. *Mor.* 717C; 956B. Both in Latin and Greek, 'dog' could be used as a word of abuse (TGL V 2070E *s.* κύων: *i. q. impudens*, ἀναιδής; TLL *s. v.* 258.21–66): cf. e.g. Pl. *Bac.* 1146; CIL IV 8898. No doubt Martial here is drawing attention to his doglike aspect and manners. For the *Cynicus-canis* pun, see Joepgen, 1967: 126–127; Burnikel, 1980: 43, n. 94, and Grewing, 1998: 342–342. For another case of wordplay assuming a knowledge of Greek, see 4.9.3 (n.).

54

This epigram is based on the *carpe diem* motif. It begins as an *epinikion* (1–2) and goes on to advise the addressee to enjoy every single moment (3–4). To illustrate the inexorability of death Martial draws on the mythical Parcae (5–6) and offers a brief catalogue of preeminent men. No one can escape destiny, regardless of personal qualities and merits (7–8): the Parcae never stop spinning and cutting the thread of life in its due course (9–10). This epigram forms a pair with **4.73**. Other compositions by Martial on the *carpe diem* motif are 1.15 (Citroni *ad loc.*); 2.59; 5.58; 7.47; 8.77; 13.126.

Word selection and arrangement are crucial here: *licuit contingere* (1) presents Collinus as a rarely privileged man. The verb *contigere* reappears at the beginning of line 6; *licet* closes line 8: the implication is that no matter how fortunate one is, death always comes relentlessly and unexpectedly. Word order in lines 7–8 is misleading: at first sight it seems to contribute to the praise of Collinus, but the final position of *sis . . . licet* reinforces the idea of the inexorable and levelling force of death, further stressed by the repetion of *semper* (4; 10) and the pronouns *nulli* (5) and *nil* (9). The urgent need to enjoy life emerges from the experience of death, a constant in this book (cf. e.g. **4.18**; **4.60**; **4.63**).

Further reading: Valmaggi, 1901: 251–253; Merli, 1996: 401; Moreno Soldevila, 2004d. For the *carpe diem* in Martial, see Hofmann, 1956–57: 459–460; Bonvicini, 1999: 124–126; in Latin poetry, see Cristóbal, 1994.

1. Cf. 9.23.1 *O cui virgineo flavescere contigit auro.*

Whenever Martial reflects on the transience of life and advises his friends to live intensely, he frequently starts with a long apostrophe reinforcing his bond with the addressee*:* cf. 1.15; 2.90; 7.47; 8.77 (see Siedschlag, 1977: 14–16; 36–37, for Martial's use of apostrophe). This epigram begins with a complimentary address to Collinus, winner at the Agon Capitolinus, thus establishing a link with the first poem in the collection (**4.1.6** n.).

O: frequent in apostrophes (OLD *s. v.* 1), this interjection usually belongs to laudatory contexts: 1.15.1; 1.76.1; 4.75.1; 7.45.6; 9.23.1 (*supra*); 11.26.1. See further Dickey, 2002: 225–229.

Tarpeias . . . quercus: the oak garland awarded at the Agon Capitolinus (**4.1.6** n.): cf. 9.3.8 *Tarpeiae frondis honore* (Henriksén *ad loc.*); 9.40.1 *Tarpeias . . . ad coronas*; Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.233. *Tarpeius* is related to *Mons Capitolinus* (OLD *s. v.* 3a) and the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus (Prop. 4.1.7 *Tarpeius pater*; Ov. *Fast.* 6.34 *Tarpeio . . . Iovi*; Mart. 9.86.7; 13.74.1; Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.161); the oak was sacred to Jupiter. This phrase suggests both glory and immortality.

licuit contingere: *contingere* has the sense of a compound of *tangere* (OLD *s. v.* 1), but also means 'to achieve' (OLD *s. v.* 4). Both meanings apply to this context. *Contingere* has another meaning similar to *licet* (cf. 9.23.1), related to chance (OLD *s. v.* 8). The juxtaposition *licuit contingere* contributes to the depiction of Collinus as a fortunate man.

2. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8.274 *cingite fronde comas.*

meritas . . . comas: the award is not just given by Fortune, but well deserved. *Meritus* as 'deserving' also appears in Stat. *Theb.* 6.625 *meritamque comam* (TLL *s. v.* 813.11–5 [Bulhart]; cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.10.59; *Fast.* 3.268; 4.898; *Tr.* 1.10.43; 4.2.12; Sen. *Herc. F.* 899).

prima . . . fronde: cf. 9.3.8 *Tarpeiae frondis honore* (Henriksén *ad loc.*); 9.61.21 *Perpetuos sperare licet tibi frondis honores*; 11.9.1 *Clarus fronde Iovis*. *Frons* may mean metonymically a garland (TLL *s. v.* 1350.5–40; 1352.10–25 [Robbert]): Verg. *A.* 5.134; 8.274; Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.64; 2.1.110 *fronde comas vincti*; Ov. *Fast.* 1.711. *Prima* makes it clear that Collinus was awarded the first prize (Verg. *A.* 5.355 *digna dabis, primam merui qui laude coronam*; Grat. *Cyneg.* 229 *excitat et primae spes ambitiosa coronae*; Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.25 *prima feres hederae victricis praemia*), but also adds further information: according to Friedländer, Collinus was one of the first winners at these games, first held in AD 86. Farnabius explains otherwise: *nobilissima: Iovi sacra et ab imperatore data.*

Frons has further symbolic connotations: it evokes life and glory, but also death, for it can also mean a funerary wreath: Varr. *L.* 7.24 *ad sepulchrum ferunt frondem ac flores*; Verg. *A.* 4.506–507 *fronde . . . funerea.*

3–4. One must enjoy every single day and moment: cf. 1.15.11–12; 2.90.4 *properat vivere nemo satis*; 5.58.7–8 *Cras vives? Hodie iam vivere, Postume, serum est:/ille sapit quisquis, Postume, vixit heri*; 7.47.11–12 *vive velut rapto fugitivaque gaudia carpe:/perdiderit nullum vita reversa diem*; 8.44.1 *Titulle, moneo, vive: semper hoc serum est*; Hor. *Ep.* 1.11.22–23; Sen. *Ep.*

101.10 *Ideo propera, Lucili mi, vivere, et singulos dies singulas vitas puta*; *Dial.* 10 *passim.*

3. si sapis: cf. 8.77.3–4 *Si sapis, Assyrio semper tibi crinis amomo/splendeat et cingant florea serta caput*; 1.15.11 *Non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere 'Vivam'*; 5.58.8 *Ille sapit, quisquis, Postume, vixit heri.*

This and similar expressions of advice can be traced back to archaic Latin (Hofmann, 1958: §125): Pl. *Am.* 311; 904 *si sanus es aut sapias satis*; *As.* 373; *Aul.* 401; *Bac.* 1001; 1027; *Cas.* 494; 780 *si sapitis*; 838 *si sapies*; *Cur.* 28; *Men.* 122; *Mer.* 584; 801; *Mil.* 476; *Mos.* 515; 1173; *Per.* 797; *Poen.* 351; 675; 1036; *Rud.* 1229; 1398; *St.* 708; Ter. *Hau.* 379 *abeas si sapias*; 594; *Eu.* 76; 721; *Ad.* 706; Cic. *Att.* 4.18.5; Prop. 2.16.7; [Tib.] 3.8.2; Ov. *Am* 2.2.9; *Am.* 3.4.43; *Rem.* 372; *Met.* 14.675 *si sapies.* Seneca used it profusely in his letters on the ideal of a happy life: *Ep.* 104.12; 110.4; 113.32; cf. *Ep* 17.1 *si sapis, immo ut sapias.* Martial is giving Collinus a wise piece of advice (cf. 1.15.11–12; 5.58.8; cf. 8.77.3 and Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.6 *sapias*). Other occurrences of this expression in the epigrams are 2.41.1; 2.41.23; 9.27.2 *si sapis et sentis*; 10.72.12; 11.20.6 *si sapiam*; 11.84.2 *si sapit*; 12.68.2 (ironic); 13.5.2.

utaris totis . . . diebus: cf. Tib. 1.5.75 *utere quaeso*; 1.8.47–48 *At tu, dum primi floret tibi temporis aetas,/utere: non tardo labitur illa pede*; Prop. 4.5.59–60 *dum vernat sanguis, dum rugis integer annus,/utere, ne quid cras libet ab ore dies*; Ov. *Ars* 3.65 *Vtendum est aetate: cito pede labitur aetas*; Stat. *Theb.* 7.772 *utere luce tua.*

Colline: PIR^2 C1258. Winner at the Agon Capitolinus and addressee of **4.20**. According to White (1998: 85 n. 3), he need not be a poet (Sullivan, 1991: 34): he could be a musician or an athlete. White (1998) studies these games and their contestants and concludes that they had little repercussion in the literary milieu. See Caldelli (1993) for a thorough account of the *Agon Capitolinus* (cf. **4.1.6** n.).

4. One should not take the future for granted: Hor. *Carm.* 1.8.11 *carpe diem quam minimum credula postero;* 4.7.17–18; *Ep.* 1.4.12–14 *inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras/omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:/grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.*

extremum . . . diem: your last day: cf. Cic. *Fin.* 3.76 *extremum vitae diem*; *Amic.* 33; Hor. *Ep.* 1.4.13; Prop. 2.24b.50; Ov. *Ep.* 1.114; Sen. *Ben.* 5.17.5; *Ep.* 12.6; 102.4; 120.18; *Oed.* 988 *primusque dies dedit*

extremum; *Her. O.* 315; 1210; Sil. 3.135; cf. Mart. 10.47.13 *summum . . . diem.*

5. Marked hyperbaton (*nulli . . . contigit*) with enjambment stressing the inexorable nature of death. The *carpe diem* motif is illustrated by a mythical scene: the Parcae (*lanificas . . . tres . . . puellas*) spinning the thread of life (*vid. infra*: 9–10). An awareness of inescapable and unpredictable death urges us to seize the day: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.15–16 *dum res et aetas et sororum/fila trium patiuntur atra*; *Epod.* 13.15–16; Sen. *Her. F.* 178–191; Stat. *Theb.* 7.772–777.

Lanificas: cf. Mart. 6.58.7; Juv. 12.66.

nulli: Sen. *Dial.* 11.4.1 *(fata) stant dura et inexorabilia; nemo illa convicio, nemo fletu, nemo causa movet; nihil umquam ulli parcunt nec remittunt*; *Her. F.* 188–190 *certo veniunt tempore Parcae,/nulli iusso cessare licet,/nulli scriptum proferre diem.* The exception assumes peculiar significance: **4.73.6** *Moverunt tetricas tam pia vota deas.*

exorare: infernal gods, fate and death are traditionally inexorable: Verg. *G.* 2.491 *inexorabile fatum*; Sen. *Dial.* 11.4.1 *diutius accusare fata possumus, mutare non possumus: stant dura et inexorabilia*; *Ep.* 101.7 *inexorabilis fatorum necessitas*; *Oed.* 980–1001; Mart. 9.17.2 *Parcarum exoras pensa brevesque colos* (cf. Claud. *Carm. min.* 26.87 *Parcarum colos . . . exoratura*); 11.91.11–12 *Sed mors vocis iter properavit cludere blandae,/ne posset duras flectere lingua deas*; Stat. *Theb.* 3.491 *duris . . . Parcis*; 6.48 *inexorabile pensum* (*Silv.* 3.3.172); *Silv.* 1.4.1–2 *inexorabile Cloto/volvit opus*; 2.1.137–139 *subitas inimica levavit/Parca manus. quo, diva, feros gravis exseris ungues?/non te forma movet, non te lacrimabilis aetas?*; 2.3.75 *duras exoravere sorores. Exorare* has strong religious connotations (Ov. *Tr.* 2.22; Sen. *Ben.* 5.25.4; TLL *s. v.* 1586.79–1587.14 [Bentler-M.]).

exorare . . . puellas: despite the gravity of the theme, this phrase is reminiscent of amatory language: cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.37 *placitam exorare puellam*; *Fast.* 4.111 *duram exorare puellam. Puellas* is a euphemism (elsewhere they are depicted as old women: Catul. 64.305–319): Martial's tone seems to be ingratiating.

6. The idea that fate is predetermined is very old: e.g. Hom. *Od.* 3.236–238. The Parcae allocate everyone's life span at birth: Ov. *Met.* 8.451–457; *Tr.* 5.3.25–26.

contigit: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.274–277 *absciderunt tristes crudelia Parcae/stamina, nec dictis, supplex quae plurima fudi/ante Iovem frustra, lacrimisque avertere luctus/**contigit**.*

observant: Sen. *Oed.* 985–6 *servatque suae decrera colus/Lachesis. Observare* means 'observe laws': *Rhet. Her.* 2.19 *ius . . . observatur*; Cic. *Dom.* 71 *leges . . . observarunt.*

quem statuere diem: Sen. *Ep.* 101.7 *Stat quidem terminus nobis ubi illum inexorabilis fatorum necessitas fixit.*

7. Divitior Crispo: cf. 10.2.10; 12.36.9. According to Friedländer, Hofmann and Post, this may be *Q. Vibius Crispus* (RE VIIIA2 [1958] Helm *s. Vibius* 28), consul in AD 61, renowned for his wealth: Tac. *Hist.* 2.10 *Vibius Crispus pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quem inter bonos*; *Dial.* 8.1; *Schol. ad Juv.* 4.81 *possedit bis milie<s> sestertia.* Friedländer thinks he may be *C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus* (PIR[2] P146): cf. Mart. 10.2.9; Suet. *Nero* 6.3. Helm (1957) identifies him with Sallust (RE IA2 [1920] *s. Sallustius* 10 [Praetcher]): cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.2.1–4 *Nullus argento color est avaris/abdito terris, inimice lamnae/Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato/splendeat usu.* In the *Apophoreta* Martial also refers to him by his *cognomen*: 14.191 {*Sallustius*} *Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum,/primus Romana Crispus in historia.* Nevertheless, the first option is the most plausible (cf. 12.36.9). Crispus is a fictitious name in other epigrams, not without irony: in 5.32 and 10.15 he is accused of meanness.

Thrasea constantior: *P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus* (PIR[2] C 1187; RE IV1 [1900] *s. Clodius* 58), suffect consul in AD 56. He started his career as Nero's collaborator, but progressively became his opponent. Of Stoic beliefs, he committed suicide in AD 66, after being sentenced to death: cf. Mart. 1.8.1. *Constantia*, along with *patientia* and *fortitudo*, is one of the virtues of the Stoic philosopher: Sen. *Dial.* 2; *Ep.* 66.13; 67.10; 85.2; 98.3; 100.4; *Nat.* 6.32 (see also TLL *s. consto* [*constans*] 536.38–537.53 [Burger]).

8. lautior et nitido sis: *lautus* means 'elegant' (TLL *s. v.* 1053.54–1054.18), sometimes with ironic undertones: cf. Petr. 26.9 *Trimalchio, lautissimus homo*; Sen. *Ep.* 87.4; 94.70; Mart. 1.99.3; 7.48.4; 9.75.6 (Henriksén *ad loc.*); 13.7.2; 13.54.2; Juv. 1.67; 3.221; 7.177; 11.1; Tac. *Dial.* 22.4; cf. Mart. 3.45.3 (*cena*) *lauta*; 11.31.20 *Hoc lautum vocat, hoc putat venustum*; 12.48.5. *Nitidus* also means 'elegant' and 'refined' (Forcellini *s. v.* 6): Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.83 *ex nitido fit rusticus*; Mart. 11.34.3; Stat. *Silv.* 2.3.1 *nitidi Melioris*; Juv. 3.157; 11.178.

Meliore: *Atedius Melior*; see PIR[1] A1277; White, 1975: 272–275; Vessey, 1981: 47–49. Statius dedicated his second book of *Silvae* to

Melior and called him: *vir optime nec minus in iudicio litterarum quam in omni vitae colore tersissime*. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1 is an *epicedion* for his favourite, Glaucias, whose death is also lamented by Martial (6.28 and 29; Grewing *ad loc.*). *Silv.* 2.3 and 2.4 deal with Melior's tree (Vessey, 1981) and parrot respectively. Martial also mentions him in 2.69.7 (see Williams) and 8.38.

licet: for its concessive use, see Lease, 1898a: 30.

9–10. The Parcae or Moirai are daughters of Zeus and Themis (Hes. *Th.* 904–906), or daughters of Night together with the Horae (Hes. *Th.* 217–222). They are called Lachesis (Mart. 1.88.9; 9.86.8; 10.53.3; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.120 *infausta Lachesis*), the one who assigns the allotment, Clotho, 'the spinner' (Ov. *Ib.* 243; Sen. *Thy.* 617; *Her.* O. 769; [Sen.] *Oct.* 15; Stat. *Theb.* 3.556; Sil. 4.369; Juv. 9.135), and Atropos, the 'inflexible' (Mart. 10.38.13; 10.44.6; Sil. 17.120; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.127; 4.4.56; 5.1.178), because she cuts off the thread.

9. nil adicit: *adicere* may be used with time expressions: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.17–18 *quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae/tempora di superi?*; Sen. *Dial.* 10.14 *omne aevum suo adiciunt*; Suet. *Otho* 11 *'adiciamus', inquit, 'vitae et hanc noctem'* (TLL *s. v.* 670.13–29 [Weynand]). In a similar context, although with a satirical intention: Sen. *Apoc.* 3.3 *sed Clotho 'ego mehercules' inquit 'pusillum temporis adicere illi volebam'*.

penso: an allotment of spinning: cf. e.g. Verg. *G.* 1.390; 4.348; Prop. 3.6.15; 3.11.20; Tib. 2.1.63; Ov. *Am.* 1.13.24; *Ep.* 3.75; 10.90; *Met.* 4.10; 13.511; *Fast.* 2.743; *Tr.* 4.1.13. The Parcae spin the *pensum* equivalent to the duration of human life (TLL *s. v.* 1048. 43–60 [Gatti]): *Epic. Drusi* 240 *pollice quae certo pensa severa trahunt*; Petr. 29.7; Sen. *Apoc.* 4.1.7; 4.1.11; 4.1.16; *Her. F.* 181; Stat. *Theb.* 3.642; 6.48; 8.59; *Silv.* 3.3.172–173; Mart. **4.73.3**; 7.96.4; 9.17.2; Juv. 12.65; cf. Verg. *A.* 9.107–8 *tempora Parcae/debita complerant*; 12.147.

Lachesis: (*vid. supra*) she will not add a little more wool to the *pensum*. She is usually called *dura* (Ov. *Tr.* 5.10.45; cf. *Pont.* 4.15.36; Sen. *Oed.* 986; Stat. *Theb.* 2.249 *Lachesis sic dura iubebat*), like her sisters (Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.178 *dura . . . Atropos*; Sil. 4.369 *Clotho dura*; Stat. *Theb.* 3.556 *ferrea Clotho*; 7.774 *inmites . . . Parcae*; *Silv.* 1.4.1 *inexorabile Clotho*).

fusos: 'spindles': cf. Catul. 64.314; Ov. *Ep.* 12.4; Sen. *Apoc.* 3.4.

sororum: according to Valmaggi (1901: 252), *sororum* does not complement *fusos*, but functions as a partitive: one of her sisters goes on spinning and the other cuts off the thread.

10. explicat: she stretches the thread so that her sister can cut it easily: see TLL *s. v.* 1721.61–68 (Hiltbrunner).

semper: cf. 4. The activity of the Parcae is incessant: cf. Catul. 64.315.

de tribus una: 9.76.6 *invidit de tribus una soror*; Ov. *Ib.* 240 *De tribus est cum sic una locuta soror; Epic. Drusi* 243 *De tribus una . . . inquit*; Prop. 2.13.44 *quaevis de tribus una soror. Una*, according to Valmaggi, is complemented by *sororum* and *de tribus*: Atropos is the one who cuts off the thread.

secat: Heinsius, Scriverius, Duff, Izaac, Ker, Shackleton Bailey: *negat γ N* Friedländer, Heraeus, Lindsay: *neget β: necat F. Negat* is defended by Friedländer (cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 4.1) and Merli (1996: 401), who links it with *exorare* (line 5). Calderinus provides the traditional explanation: *negat vitam etiam si aliae duae vellent concedere.* Arguments in favour of *secat* are put forward by Valmaggi (1901) and Moreno Soldevila (2004d). This second reading would stress the urgency expressed in previous lines.

55

Martial addresses a friend and fellow countryman, who has apparently written about their native land, and Martial encourages him to continue writing by setting himself to the task of composing a long poem on the names of Hispania. The poem begins with a long apostrophe (1–3) and a brief Horatian Priamel (4–7). Let the Greek praise their cities: we must proudly sing the harsher names of our own country (8–10), says Martial. There follows a long, sonorous catalogue of toponyms and hydronyms in the environs of their home town, Bilbilis (11–26), neighbouring *Platea* and the river Jalón (11–15), famous for their metal industry; several idyllic places are mentioned, with picturesque and festive details (16–19). The *Silai*, a people skilled in the use of the javelin (20), are reminiscent of the initial allusion to weapons. This must be an indirect reference to spectacles of some sort, following after an allusion to the *antiqua . . . theatra* of *Rigae*. The crucial element is the sound effects produced by their names, together with the evocations of an ideal, natural, carefree life. Water (21–22) and a sacred forest (23–24) culminate this description of a fertile *locus amoenus* (25–26). The poem ends with a change of addressee (27–29): the Roman citizen, who is not used to these names and cannot appreciate their beauty, scorns them as a defence mechanism against the foreign and unknown. Martial concludes laconically: not every Italian name is poetic.

Further reading: Pepe, 1950: 99; Mantke, 1966: 50–51. For pre-Roman, especially Celtiberian, toponymy, see Thiele, 1912; Schulten, 1913 (map on page 462); Dolç, 1953: 169–238; 1957; Tovar, 1989; Villar, 1995; 2000. See also Sullivan, 1991: 172–184 (map on page 178). For Martial's homeland as a poetic motif, see Mantke, 1966: 45–58; Dolç, 1974; 1987: 11–21; Arranz Sacristán, 1987: 215–236. Bonjour (1975) deals with the idealisation of native lands: pages 211–218 focus on Martial, and 251–256 on Hispanic patriotism. For Martial's longing for Hispania, see Bonjour, 1987.

1–7. For the Priamel, see Race, 1982, especially pages 153–156. La Penna (1992a) studies the Priamel and catalogues in Martial.

1–3. These lines establish the bond between the poet and the addressee, who receives Martial's compliments. The Moncayo, a mountain

in the north of *Celtiberia*, and river Tajo (or rather, Tajuña) draw up the boundaries of their native land (Schulten, 1913: 471). For the apostrophe, see Siedschlag, 1977: 14–16, and cf. 4.14.1ff. (n.).

Luci: this Lucius has traditionally been identified with Licinianus (Dolç, 1953: 80), Martial's compatriot: 1.49.3 *Videbis altam, Liciniane, Bilbilin* (Howell, 1980: 214; Görler, 1986); 1.61.11–12 *Te, Liciniane, gloriabitur nostra/nec me tacebit Bilbilis* (Citroni *ad loc.*; Estefanía, 1988). Licinianus appears in a catalogue of poets in 1.61, and Lucius' poetical gifts are mentioned in the following lines, which reinforces the idea that they are the same person (see Dolç, 1953: 83).

gloria temporum tuorum: cf. 1.49.1–2 *Vir Celtiberis non tacende gentibus/nostraeque laus Hispaniae.*

2. Caium veterem: the Moncayo (Thiele, 1912: 257; Schulten 1913: 383; Menéndez Nadaya, 1978); cf. 1.49.5 *senemque Caium nivibus* (Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*; Dolç, 1953: 184); cf. Verg. *G.* 1.43 *canis . . . montibus.* The name was wrongly rendered as *Gaium*: *Caium* is a humanist correction (for other text variants, see Thiele, 1912: 259; Dolç, 1953: 182–3). Dolç relates this to a Celtic term (*Caio*), meaning 'house' or 'fence'. According to Menéndez Nadaya (1978: 206–207), *senex* and *vetus* show reverence for the mountain, pictured as a divinity, while alluding to its snow-covered summit (Dolç, 1987: 19). Gnilka (1989) deals with 1.49.5 (*supra*) and adduces further passages in which mountains are personified, their peaks being compared to (grey-haired) human heads (cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 4.248; 12.702–703; Ov. *Met.* 4.657–662; Sil. 1.203–210).

Tagumque nostrum: (Schulten, 1913: 469; Dolç, 1953: 200–2) *Tagus* is mentioned ten times in Martial's epigrams, often in relation to gold: 1.49.15 *aureo Tago*; 6.86.5; 7.88.7 *quam* ***meus*** *Hispano si me Tagus impleat auro*; 8.78.6 *Hermus et Hesperio qui sonat orbe Tagus*; 10.17.4 *Aurea quidquid habet divitis unda Tagi*; 10.65.4; 10.78.12; 10.96.3 *auriferumque Tagum*; 12.2.3 *auriferi de gente Tagi.* Being famous for gold, the river was called *aurifer Tagus*: Catul. 29.19; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.34; cf. *Met.* 2.251; Luc. 7.755; Sen. *Her. F.* 1325; *Thy.* 354 *unda Tagus aurea*; *Her. O.* 626; Sil. 16.450 *aurifero . . . Tago*; 16.560; Plin. *Nat.* 4.115; Juv. 3.55; 14.299; Mela 3.8. Here Martial does not explicitly mention gold, but the possessive *nostrum* denotes his pride. Dolç maintains that the Tagus in Martial's epigrams is part of the environs of Bilbilis, and is not identified with present-day Tajo, but rather one of its

tributaries, the *Tagonius* or Tajuña. According to him, the root of *Tagus* and *Tagonius* is pre-Indoeuropean (*tag-/*teg-: 'clay').

3. Arpis . . . disertis: it is generally accepted that *Arpis* (*Arpi, -orum*), the name of an Apulian town, is used here instead of *Arpinis* (related to *Arpinum*, -i), Cicero's hometown. In fact, Martial calls him *disertus* (3.28.3). When comparing Pliny's prose with Cicero's, Martial writes: 10.20.17 *posterique possint/Arpinis quoque conparare chartis*. Shackleton Bailey (1990) adduces a passage from Plutarch (*Cic.* 8.3.1 Ἐκέκτητο δὲ χωρίον καλὸν ἐν Ἄρποις), and suggests (1993) that *Arpis* could be a hypocoristic form of *Arpinis* (cf. *Curios* instead of *Curiatios* in Prop. 3.3.7). Humanist commentaries, however, maintain that Martial is referring to Apulia, Horace's homeland (see Sirago, 1993: 11). The Horatian echoes in the following lines and the last place mentioned in the poem may serve to confirm the latter hypothesis.

4–7. Cf. Hor. *Carm* 1.7.1 *Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen*. Like Horace, Martial also draws on the Priamel. It is very significant that *Rhodon* and *Lacedaemonos* follow the Greek declension: if Greek is naturally accepted in poetic language, why should Celtiberian placenames not be equally apt for artistic creation?

According to Sullivan, Greece in these introductory lines 'is an imaginary construct of musical mythological names and poetic tags' (1991: 177).

4. Argivas generatus inter urbes: notice the cohesion: ***Ar***_pis_/***Ar***_givas_; ***gen***_eratus_/***gen***_itos_. There is a slight parody of epic, especially in the use of *Argivas* and *generatus* (cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 5.61 *Troia generatus Acestes*).

5. Thebas carmine cantet aut Mycenas: two motifs coalesce in this line: *patriae laudes* and *recusatio* (cf. **4.49** n.): cf. 14.1.11 *Vis scribam Thebas Troiamve malasve Mycenas?*

6. aut claram Rhodon: Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.1 (Nisbet-Hubbard); Mart. 14.69.2 *Clara Rhodon*; Luc. 8.247–8. *Claram* means 'famous' (cf. Catul. 4.8 *Rhodumque nobilem*) and 'luminous' (Porph. *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.1: *Propterea clara<m>, quod soli sit obposita, dicit*). The island was a place renowned for Sun-worship (Man. 4.764–5; *Priap.* 75.8) and famous for its climate (cf. Luc. 8.247–8; Plin. *Nat.* 2.153).

6–7. libidinosae/Ledaeas Lacedaemonos palaestras: cf. Prop. 3.14 (Camps *ad loc.*); E. *Andr.* 595–600. This refers to Sparta (*Lacedaemon*) and its customs. For the contemptuous reference to sports, see **4.19.5–8**.

Ledaeas: i.e. 'Spartan'; cf. 8.28.3; Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.45; Sil. 4.356. Indirect mention is made of Helen, Leda's daughter: Verg. *A.* 7.364 *Ledaeam . . . Helenam*; Ov. *Ep.* 16.1 *Ledaea.*

8. nos Celtis genitos et ex Hiberis: prior to its Romanisation, Celtic and Iberic peoples were the most important inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula. They had preserved their own identities, cultures and languages, despite the mutual influences. Martial uses indistinctly the separate ethnonyms and the term *Celtiber*: 1.49.1 *Vir Celtiberis non tacende gentibus*; 7.52.2 *Ille meas gentes et Celtas rexit Hiberos*; 10.13.1 *Salo Celtiber*; 10.65.3–4 *Cur frater tibi dicor, ex Hiberis/et Celtis genitus Tagique civis?*; 10.78.9 *Nos Celtas, Macer, et truces Hiberos*; 12.18.11 *Celtiberis . . . terris* (see Dolç, 1953: 170–176). Ancient etymologies explain *Celtiber* as the mixing of the two races: cf. Strab. 1.2.27; Sil. 3.340; Luc. 4.10. Modern research, however, points out that the *Celtiberi* were the Celts settled in Iberian land (Burillo Mozota, 1986; 1998; Capalvo, 1996).

9. nostrae nomina duriora terrae: cf. 12.18.12 *Haec sunt nomina crassiora terris. Durus* means 'harsh' and 'dissonant' (TLL *s. v.* 2310.43–71 [Bannier]): Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.62 *aspera et dura . . . oratio*; 10.12.27 *sonis durior*; Hor. *Ars* 445–6 *vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertis,/culpabit duros.* It can also mean 'unsophisticated', 'uncultured' (cf. line 27): 4.66.11 *duri . . . coloni*; 7.58.8 *dura rusticitate.* For the difficulty of transcribing some Hispanic names into Latin, cf. Mela 3.15 *Cantabrorum aliquot populi amnesque sunt sed quorum nomina nostro ore concipi nequeant.* Note the repetition of /r/ in lines 9–10, a sonic symbol of the *nomina duriora.* According to Bonjour, 'la couleur consonantique, très riche en occlusives, renforce la dureté de l'évocation' (1975: 255).

10. grato non pudeat referre versu: *pudet referre* is a lexicalised expression: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 19.64 *facta referre pudet*; *Met.* 14.279 *et pudet et referam*; Petr. 70.8 *pudet referre quae secuntur*; Plin. *Nat.* 28.116; Plin. *Ep.* 2.14.12; V. Max. 8.5.4; Tac. *Ann.* 14.55. Note the litotes *non pudeat* (= *iactemus*; see Race, 1982: 154).

grato . . . versu: *gratus* means both 'agreeable' (Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.23 *grato . . . carmine*; Ov. *Tr.* 4.5.15), and 'grateful' (OLD *s. v.* 1).

11–15. The catalogue opens with Martial's hometown, Bilbilis, and its environs, *Platea* and the river Jalón, famous for their smithies.

11. saevo Bilbilin optimam metallo: 1.49.3–4 *Videbis altam, Liciniane, Bilbilin,/equis et armis nobilem*; 12.8.8–9 *Accepit mea rusticumque fecit/auro Bilbilis et superba ferro.*

saevo . . . metallo: 'iron'. *Metallo* (Gr. μέταλλος) means any metal (TLL *s. v.* 872.35–873.11 [Brandt]), but Martial applies it especially to gold (8.50.5; 9.61.3; 14.95.1 [cf. 4.39.7]). Bilbilis was famous for its gold (cf. 12.8.8–9 *supra*) and its iron: Plin. *Nat.* 34.144 *haec alibi atque alibi utilior nobilitavit loca gloria ferri, sicuti Bilbilim in Hispania et Turiassonem* (cf. Isid. *Etym.* 16.21.3; see Dolç, 1953: 129–132). *Saevus* is a poetic epithet for arms (cf. OLD *s. v.* 2e; Verg. *A.* 8.482 *saevis . . . armis*; 11.545 *tela . . . saeva*; Mart. 6.25.6 *saeva . . . tela*) and the material of which they are made: Luc. 7.313 *saevum . . . ferrum*; Sen. *Thy.* 573; Sil. 13.284; V. Fl. 5.369 *saevo . . . auro*; Stat. *Theb.* 3.709. The expression *saevo . . . metallo* is exclusively used by Martial. According to Piernavieja (1973: 579–582), gladiatorial swords were manufactured in Bilbilis.

Bilbilin: Bilbilis Augusta, Martial's native town. Its archaeological remains are located on a hill near Calatayud called Bámbola. See Dolç (1953: 119–125), Martín-Bueno (1975; 1987) and Sullivan (1991: 179–184).

The toponym Bilbilis (cf. Thiele, 1912: 257, n. 1; Schulten, 1913: 465) is well documented in Latin (Mart. 1.61.12; 10.103.1; 10.104.6; *Bilbilitani* Plin. *Nat.* 3.24; sometimes as *Birbilis* in inscriptions) and Greek (Βίλβιλις: Strab. 3.4.13); in Iberian the form *plplis* is found. According to Dolç (1957: 75), its root could be either Celtic or Iberian, but its reduplication is not Indo-European. Etymologically, its name could mean 'very dark' or 'very powerful'. Therefore, there could be an etymological wordplay involving *Bilbilin* and *optimam*. More information and bibliography in Dolç (1953: 107–119) and Tovar (1989: 383–384).

12. Chalybas: a Scythian people who lived south of the Black Sea, famous for their steel, *chalybs* (Gr. Χάλυψ): cf. Serv. *A.* 8.421 *Chalybes autem proprie populi sunt, apud quos nascitur ferrum; Verg. G.* 1.58; *A.* 10.174. Dolç (1953: 208–9) believed that this term referred to a Celtiberian people (TLL *Suppl. Nom. Propr. Lat.* p. 369–370; Hübner, RE III, [1899] 2101), named after the river *Chalybs*, 'hoy Queiles, (. . .) afluente

del Ebro por su margen derecha' (see Schulten, 1963: 35). This allusion, 'pondría de relieve, a la manera quisquillosa de los provincianos, la preeminencia de su ciudad natal' (Dolç, ibid.). However, Martial is not comparing Bilbilis with a neighbouring place, but rather with a quasi-mythical people renowned for their metalwork (*vid. infra s. Noricos*). To this should be added the fact that Martial is not a chauvinistic *Tarraconensis*, as Sullivan remarks: 'Other specific regions, cities and peoples of Spain are mentioned without prejudice, and sometimes with praise' (1991: 175); cf. 1.49.2 *Nostraeque laus Hispaniae*; 1.61.8–10; 7.22.4; 8.28.6; 9.61.2; 10.17.3; 12.65.5; 12.98.1; 14.199.2.

Noricos: the inhabitants of *Noricum*, a territory roughly equivalent to present-day Austria, a Roman province since 16 BC. This region was famous for its weapon industry: Plin. *Nat.* 34.145; Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.9–10 *Noricus . . . ensis*; *Epod.* 17.71 *ense . . . Norico*; Ov. *Met.* 14.712 *durior et ferro, quod Noricus excoquit ignis*; Petr. 70.3 *attuli illi Roma munus cultros Norico ferro*; Mart. *Sp.* 22.7 *Norica . . . venabula.*

13. The syntax here is ambiguous: *Platea* might be coordinated with *Chalibas Noricosque*, but the allusion to the river Salo (Jalón) in lines 14–15 makes it clear that *et* joins *Bilbilin* and *Plateam.*

Plateam . . . sonantem: cf. 12.18.11. For this toponym, see Dolç, 1953: 210–214; 1957: 77; Tovar, 1989: 418. According to Dolç, its Indo-European root (**(s)plethə-*) relates it etymologically with πλατεῖα and *platea* (Sp. 'plaza'). It must be a flat place, 'ceñido por el abrazo del Jalón y floreciente en la industria de las ferrerías' (Dolç, 1953: 212). Tovar thinks that this is a Graeco-Roman name. Various attempts have been made to identify the place: Dolç highlights La Fuente's suggestion (ES XLIX, 25) that *Platea* must have been in present-day Calatayud or nearby Valdeherrera (3 km from Calatayud). Another hypothesis includes the locality of Chodes across the Jalón (Tovar, 1989: 418, quoting P. Fita). Reference has been made above to the metal industry of the area. *Sonantem* evokes the noise of the smithy.

14. fluctu tenui sed inquieto: elsewhere the river Jalón is said to be shallow and swift: 1.49.11–12 *brevi/Salone* (Howell *ad loc.*); 10.103.2 *rapidis . . . Salo cingit aquis.* For this sense of *tenuis*, cf. Liv. 2.5.3; Sen. *Oed.* 42; *Her. O.* 141; Fest. 273.30. *Inquietus* ('constantly in motion')

is used several times of the sea: Sen. *Suas*. 2.1 *inquietum . . . mare*; Sen. *Dial.* 11.9.6; *Tro.* 837 *litus maris inquieti.*

15. armorum Salo temperator: see Schulten, 1913: 468–469; 1963: 33–35; Dolç, 1953: 193–8. The hydronym *Salo*, present-day Jalón (one of the main tributaries of the river Ebro), appears several times in similar contexts: Mart. 1.49.12; 10.13.1; 10.96.3; 10.103.2; 10.104.6; 12.2.3; 12.21.1; 14.33.2. Its waters temper the weapons manufactured in *Bilbilis* and *Platea*: 1.49.12 *Salone, qui ferrum gelat*; 12.21.1 *rigidi . . . Salonis*; 14.33.2 *Stridentem gelidis hunc Salo tinxit aquis*. This river is always mentioned alongside Bilbilis (10.103.1–2 *Municipes Augusta mihi quos Bilbilis acri/monte creat, rapidis quem Salo cingit aquis*; 10.104.6 *Altam Bilbilin et tuum Salonem*; 12.21.1) or with the river *Tagus* (10.96.3; 12.2.3).

Temperator, related to the tempering of weapons, is only used by Martial. With different meanings, it appears in Cic. *Orat.* 70; Sen. *Dial.* 7.14.1.

16. Tutelamque: although this name has been rendered properly in the manuscript tradition, some editors did not write a capital letter (Lindsay, Ker). *Tutela* must be present-day Tudela de Navarra. According to Dolç (1953: 215; 1957: 76), the Roman name may have replaced the local name of a goddess of nature, probably Iberian. This is further supported by Tovar (1989: 416).

chorosque Rixamarum: this Celtic toponym (see Thiele, 1912: 265; Dolç, 1953: 216–9; Tovar, 1989: 418) underwent little variation in the manuscript tradition, except for *Rixamorum* and some orthographic variants. It must be the genitive of **Rixamae* o **Rixama*. According to Dolç, the name is formed from a common Indo-European root (**rīg*), also distinguishable in *Rigae* (*vid. infra*), and a superlative suffix, *sam*, present in other Spanish toponyms such as *Uxama*, present-day Osma (see Villar, 2000: 403; Schulten, 1913: 472). Regarding its location, Dolç suggests present-day Sisamón (SW of Calatayud).

The interpretation of *choros* is less straightforward: according to Sullivan, these could be: 'the rings and natural amphitheatres in which wild-beast fighting took place' (1991: 177); Dolç reads it as folk dances and is probably right, especially in the light of the next line. *Chorus*, in fact, can allude to dances accompanied by singing,

particularly in festive or religious contexts (TLL *s. v.* 1022.53–1023.52 [Reisch]).

17. et convivia festa cf. V. Fl. 4.760. More frequent is the expression *festae dapes*: Hor. *Epod.* 9.1; Tib. 2.1.81; Ov. *Fast.* 6.672; Stat. *Theb.* 5.191; *Silv.* 3.1.76.

Carduarum: a *hapax legomenon* in literature, but not in epigraphy (see Mayer, 2000–2001, for an inscription which reads GENIO CAMPI KARDVAR<VM>). Dolç (1953: 219–220) points out that **card-* is a frequent root in Spanish toponymy and onomastics (cf. Cardeña, Cardosa), also present in Celtic areas, as well as in ethnonyms and toponyms in Asia; Schulten (1963) suggests that this could be a Latinised Celtic name (see also Tovar, 1989: 394). This toponym has been related to Latin *carduus* (cf. Hübner RE III2 [1899] *s. Carduae vicus*). There is another possible etymology, from the pre-Indoeuropean root *kar(r)a ('stone'). See Villar (2000: 304–306 and 168–9) for the root **kar-* and suffix *-ua* in Spanish toponyms.

18. et textis Peterin rosis rubentem: *Peterin* γ (Gilbert, 1884: 518); *Peterem* β: other minor variants include *Petaron*, *Peteron*, *Peterum* (Schneidewin). Although its etymology and location have been discussed (cf. Dolç, 1953: 220–222), it seems to be a hydronym (cf. *Tib-er-is, Ves-er-is*), with suffix *ar-/er- ('water'). The most plausible identification is the river Piedra and its environs, the idyllic location of the Monasterio de Piedra (Zaragoza). See Gilbert, 1884: 517–518; Schulten, 1913: 472; 1963: 449; Tovar, 1989: 418. For the idyllic fertility of Martial's native land, see 12.31.

19. atque antiqua patrum theatra Rigas: another *hapax legomenon*, *Rigae* must be a Celtic place name, since it has the same root **rīg* as *Rixamarum* (Thiele 1912: 260; Dolç, 1953: 222–3). Several locations have been suggested: Sediles, SW of Zaragoza (Sullivan, 1991: 179), Ricla (58 km from Zaragoza), Riego (Schulten, 1913: 472).

20. et certos iaculo levi Silaos: V. Fl. 1.366 *Deucalion certus iaculis et comminus ense*. The phrase *iaculum leve* appears in Verg. *A.* 12.354; Ov. *Met.* 2.414; Sil. 4.510; V. Fl. 4.609 *iaculo gens apta levi*.

Silaos: the tribe name *Silai* has been corrupted by the manuscript tradition. The second family reads *Suaevos*, with several orthographic variations. Of debated etymology (cf. Dolç, 1953: 223–4), the name

seems to survive in present-day Selas, in Guadalajara (Schulten, 1913: 172; Tovar, 1989: 537; Sullivan, 1991: 179). For the root **sil-*, see Villar, 2000: 300.

21–22. Turgontique lacus Turasiaeque/et parvae vada pura Tvetonissae: the catalogue provides three further hydronyms, interrelated by means of alliteration. Sullivan (1991: 179) tentatively identifies the first two with the 'Laguna de Gallocanta', less than 80 km from Bilbilis. In both of them Dolç (1953: 225–6; 1957: 78) distinguishes the hydronymic root **tur-* (or **dur-*). There are numerous Celtiberian place names with *Tur-* (see Villar, 1995: 199–244).

Turgonti: *Turgentis* (*β*) is the *lectio facilior* (cf. *turgere*). *Turgontum* (Dolç, 1953: 226–7; Villar prefers the nominative *Turgontus*) may be composed of the roots **tur-* and **-r̥ĝ-* ('to shine') together with the suffix *-ontum*, widespread in Spanish toponymy (Thiele, 1912: 260): e.g. *Saguntum*. For a different account, see Villar (1995: 223; 2000: 259–263). Like Sullivan's suggestions, the attempts to locate this lake are merely conjectural: Tierga, 20 km north of Calatayud; Schulten (1913: 472–3), accepting Thiele's correction *Turiasique* or *Turasiaeque* (*vid. infra*), suggested a location in the environs of Tarazona, and identified *Turgonti lacus* with the lake of Añavieja, near Ágreda (Soria).

Turasiaeque: *Perusiaeque* (*γ*), accepted by Schneidewin, Gilbert, Lindsay and Ker, is untenable, as Thiele (1912: 262) and Dolç (1953: 225) remark, in that it must be a mistake originating from the Italian (Etruscan) toponym. Thiele proposed *Turiasique*, linking it with *Turias(s)o*, (Plin. *Nat.* 3.24; 34.144), Τυριασσά (Ptol. 2.6.57), and DURIASO in numismatic inscriptions, all referring to present-day Tarazona. Dolç refutes it by adducing prosodic (Tŭrĭāsī would not fit in the hendecasyllable) and morphological arguments (the genitive of *Turiasso* must be *Turiassonis*). Villar (1995: 221) also differentiates between the toponym *Turiaso* and the hydronym *Turasia*.

vada . . . pura: Sen. *Phaed.* 507 *ubi Lerna puro gelida perlucet uado.*

Tvetonissae: *Toutonissae* (*β*); *Vetonissae* (*C*). Gilbert (1884: 518) adduces CIL II 3406 to support *Tvetonissae*. For the formation of this toponym, see Dolç, 1953: 230–231. Its location is uncertain: Sullivan proposed the river Grío, a tributary of the Jalón (1991: 179).

23–24. et sanctum Buradonis ilicetum,/per quod vel piger ambulat viator: For a traditional reading, see Collesso (*ad loc.*): *et quippe loca tam amoena sunt, ut vel iners viator in iis libenter ambulet.*

Shackleton Bailey (1989a: 285) offers a religious interpretation: access to a sacred forest (*sanctum . . . ilicetum*) was only permitted on foot (*ambulare*).

sanctum . . . ilicetum: Martial is the only ancient author who uses the term *ilicētum* (*vid.* Stephani, 1889: 41), derived from *ilex* with the suffix *-ētu* found in other forest names: Sidon. *Carm.* 9.183 (Colton, 1976a: 13); Paul. Fest. P.366m *tifata . . . iliceta.* In 12.18.20, written in Bilbilis, he mentions a neighbouring holm-oak forest. For the native Celtiberian worship of trees, see Marco Simón, 1986.

Buradonis: Schulten, 1913: 472; 1963: 372–3; Tovar, 1989: 385. Beratón (Ágreda, Soria), south of the Moncayo, abounds in holm oaks. The vowel changes seem to be due to Arabic influence, according to Menéndez Pidal (*Orígenes*, 256ff., quoted by Dolç, 1953: 231; see also Dolç, 1987: 19; Menéndez Pidal, 1968: 258). Thiele (1912: 259 n. 1) suggests the town of Bureta (65 km from Zaragoza).

25. fortibus excolit iuvencis: Verg. *G.* 3.50 *fortis ad aratra iuvencos.*

26. Manlius: Shackleton Bailey (1993), in his *index nominum*, says he is a '*landowner*'. Manlius is, in fact, a Roman *praenomen.* Dolç (1953: 123 n. 37) considers it a Celtiberian anthroponym. Traditionally, however, it was taken as an gentilic noun meaning an inhabitant of Mallén (*Balsio*), in whose root Menéndez Pidal (1968: 136) distinguishes the name *Mallius.* The fields of *curvae Vativescae* would be an ample meander of the river Huecha in the environs of Mallén, 52 km west of Zaragoza. Sullivan considers a *Saltus Manlius* and identifies *Vativesca* with present-day Campo de Romanos (in the same region as the Laguna of Gallocanta, *vid. supra*). The Saltus Manlianus (Liv. 40.39.2) was the place where Fulvius Flaccus defeated the Celtiberians in 180 BC (RE XIV1 [1928] *s. Manlianus saltus* [Schulten]). Cos-Eyaralar (quoted by Dolç), however, places these fields in the hills at the edge of the Sierra de Vicort, between Belmonte (11 km from Calatayud) and Orera and the plains on the right of the river Perejiles (*Matinessa*, a marginal variant in the manuscript tradition). Dolç (1953: 237–8) questions this interpretation and proposes several other locations.

curvae . . . Vativescae: Dolç distinguishes two elements *Vati-* (cf. *Vatia*, *Vatinius*) and *vesca*, present in other toponyms. For the debated suffix -*sko, see Dolç, 1953: 235–237. *Curvus* (TLL *s. v.* 1550.79–1551.23) alludes to an undulation, either horizontal (a shore) or vertical (a valley): Catul. 64.74 *curvis . . . litoribus Piraei*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.14

curvo . . . litore; *Epod.* 10.21; Verg. *A.* 3.16 *litore curvo*; Ov. *Met.* 11.352; *Fast.* 3.469; Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.100; Luc. 1.397 *curvam . . . ripam*; Sil. 9.219.

27–28. Haec tam rustica, delicate lector,/rides nomina?: cf. 1.65.1 *Cum dixi ficus, rides quasi barbara verba*; Cic. *Off.* 1.111 *ne ut quidam Graeca verba inculcantes iure optimo rideamur*; Ov. *Fast.* 1.129 *nomina ridebis*; *Tr.* 5.10.37–8 *barbarus hic ego sum, qui non intellegor ulli,/et rident stolidi verba Latina Getae*; *Pont.* 4.12.16. For the opposition between *rusticus* and *delicatus*, cf. Mart. 3.58.32–33. For the *praeceptio* or *anticipatio*, cf. Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.49.

delicate lector: it is to be noted that there is a change of addressee after the catalogue of names. *Delicatus* means both 'elegant' (7.17.1) and 'fastidious' (12.pr.), cf. TLL *s. v.* 444.32–64. The same phrase was used later by Hieronymus (*In Ezech.* 10.32) and Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 7.18.2). Bonjour remarks: 'Martial retrouve donc dans son pays les vieilles traditions de la rusticitas, de la rude virtue romaine et c'est cette leçon romaine que lui, l'Espagnol de Celtibérie, entend donner au *lector delicatus*' (1975: 255).

rideas licebit: 11.6.5 *risisti: licet ergo, non vetamur*; Cic. *Fam.* 7.10.1 *rideamus licet*; Plin. *Ep.* 1.6.1 *Ridebis, et licet rideas.* For concessive *licebit* in Martial, see Lease, 1898a: 30.

29. haec tam rustica malo: for the repetition, see Siedschlag, 1977: 123.

Butuntos: (*vid.* RE III1 [1897] *s. Butunti*) a small town in Calabria, present-day Bitonto. The exact reason why Martial chose this name is uncertain. It may have sounded inelegant or cacophonous. Dolç remarks that *Butuntos* has formal components similar to *Turgonti*: confronted with similar names, Martial prefers those from his native land, since Butunti was not a particularly pleasant place: 2.48.7 *Haec praesta mihi, Rufe, vel Butuntis.* See Pice, 1986; Sirago, 1993: 11.

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Captatio or legacy-hunting is a long-established satirical motif, already present in Plautine comedy (Pl. *Mil.* 705–715). It consists in showing affection and obsequiousness to a childless and wealthy old person (*orbus, locuples, senex*), in order to become his legatee. The *captator* is usually an *extraneus*, not an acquaintance or one who could inherit legally *ab intestato*. He tries to ingratiate himself with his victim by means of gifts, compliments, and other kinds of *officia*. The *captatus* can also take advantage of the situation and benefit from those who yearn for his money (Tracy, 1980: 401–402).

In this epigram Martial censures the hypocrisy of Gargilianus, a legacy-hunter: cf. 11.55.3 *Ars est captandi quod nolis velle videri*. The appearance-reality dichotomy has a formal reflection, mainly in the juxtaposition of antithetic elements (*te munificum; insidias dona*). Two opposite semantic fields—generosity (*munera, munificum, dona, largiri, donare*) and fraud (*insidias, fallax, hamus, callida, esca, decipit*)—are connected by means of the verb *vocare* (2, 4): language becomes an instrument for the distortion of reality, which has serious moral consequences (3 *sordidius, spurcius*). The second couplet is a tacit answer to the question in the first: if Martial covers up Gargilianus' real intentions, he will be equally corrupt. The following distich introduces two traditional similes, by means of which both *captator* and *captatus* are the butt of Martial's sarcasm. They also contribute to a mock-didactic tone, apparent in the final couplet (*docebo*). It seems that reality and appearance will finally be told apart (*quid sit largiri, quid sit donare docebo*), but the ending is both open and surprising: if Gargilianus wants to be considered generous, his gifts have to be trully altruistic; the best thing to do is to offer them to Martial, because he is either poor or unwilling to repay his munificence. The seemingly moralising voice acknowledges in the end that he is also part of this parasitical system. Moreover, he also adopts the mask of a *captator* in 5.39.

A final point concerns the function of poetry itself: a metaliterary reading of '*vis te munificum . . . vocem?*' could be 'Do you want me to write about your generosity?'. Gargilianus, knowing that Martial's poetry grants fame (cf. 4.31.1–2 n.), adduces his merits and proposes

a theme. However, he makes a terrible mistake: he should send presents to the one who can make him immortal, not to those who might include him in their wills. Martial denounces and unmasks Gargilianus, who has not abided by the rules of the game.

Captatio is a recurrent theme in Martial's epigrams (1.10; 2.26; 2.32.5–6; 2.76; 5.18; 5.39; 6.62; 6.63; 7.66; 8.27; 8.38; 8.53; 9.8(9); 9.48; 9.88; 9.100.4; 10.8; 10.97; 11.44; 11.55; 11.67; 11.83; 12.10; 12.40; 12.90). For a thorough list of ancient texts about legacy-hunting, see Champlin, 1991: 201–202 and Nauta, 2002: 81 n. 156.

Further reading: for *captatio* in Latin literature, see Schmid, 1951; Tracy, 1980; Hopkins, 1983: 238–247; Champlin, 1991: 87–102; see also Kay, 1985: 166; Sullivan, 1991: 160–161; Henriksén, 1998: 85–86.

1–2. The reprimand is twofold: not only is Gargilianus a selfish *captator* (5.59.3 *quisquis magna dedit, voluit sibi magna remitti*), but he also boasts about his gifts and donations, in order to be regarded as generous. Truly altruistic gifts must be kept secret: 5.52.7–8 *Crede mihi, quamvis ingentia, Postume, dona/auctoris pereunt garrulitate sui.*

1. Munera . . . mittis: gift-exchange, a vital element in social relations in Rome, is one of the most frequent means of *captatio*: (Champlin, 1991: 89): cf. 6.62.2 *cessas munera mittere, Opiane?*; 6.63.5 *munera magna tamen misit*; 9.88.1 *cum me captares, mittebas munera mihi*; Pl. *Mil.* 710 *eos pro liberis habebo qui mihi mittunt munera*; 714 *inter se certant donis*; Ov. *Ars* 2.272; Plin. *Ep.* 5.1.3 *praeterea non esse satis honestum donare et locupleti et orbo*; 6.19.1; Juv. 4.18.

senibus viduisque: significantly placed in the middle of the first line, they are the key to the poem. The *captator* carefully chooses his beneficiaries, childless old people: 8.27.1 *Munera qui tibi dat locupleti . . . senique*; 2.32.6 *Respondes 'Orba est, dives, anus, vidua'*; 9.100.4 *ad viduas tecum plus minus ire decem*; cf. Cic. *Parad.* 5.39 *quem nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat?*; Hor. *S.* 2.5.23–24 *captes astutus ubique/testamenta senum*; *Ep.* 1.1.77–79 *sunt qui/frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras/excipiantque senes, quos in vivaria mittant*; Ov. *Ars* 2.271 *Turpiter his emitur spes mortis et orba senectus*; Sen. *Dial.* 10.7.7 *quot illa anus efferendis heredibus lassa?*; *Ep.* 19.4; Tac. *Ann.* 14.40; Juv. 4.18; Luc. *DMort.* 15.1.

ingentia: Martial frequently uses the phrase *leve munus* for his own gifts, so that by writing *munera ingentia* he may be parodying Gargilianus' style and accusing him of arrogance. *Ingens*, when used in satirical contexts, implies distortion of the socially acceptable (cf. 4.51.2).

2. munificum: wordplay between *munera* (1) and *munificum*. *Munificus* means, in fact, a donor (Cic. *Off.* 2.64; Hor. *S.* 1.2.51), but implies an unselfish attitude, incompatible with the motivations of a *captator*. Irony is all the more self-evident when confronted with literary tradition: *munificus* is the epithet given to Alcinous (Ov. *Pont.* 2.9.42), mythical epitome of hospitality and generosity (cf. **4.64.29**).

Gargiliane: the name appears in several satirical epigrams (3.30; 3.74; 7.65; 8.13). In 3.30 Martial wonders what he does for a living. Gargilianus (see Kajanto, 1982: 147) is derived from Gargilius, the butt of 3.96, in which he is censured for the immoderate use of his *lingua* (cf. *garrio-garrulans*: see Giegengack, 1969: 67). *Gargilianus* always appears in the same position in the pentameter.

3–4. Martial's disapproval of Gargilianus' corrupt and immoral behaviour is stressed by *sordidius* and *spurcius* in the comparative, and by the repetition *nihil est, nihil est*. What outrages Martial is not his selfishness, but his shameless desire to be considered an upright man (cf. **4.6**; **4.88**).

sordidius . . . spurcius: *sordidus* means 'dirty' (cf. 1.103.5; 2.36.2; 3.58.12; 4.34.1; 4.53.4; 6.50.2; 6.57.2; 7.20.8; 7.33.1; 8.3.10; 8.78.5; 10.3.1; 11.15.6; 14.68.1), but it can also have a figurative moral sense (Sen. *Dial.* 4.34.1), especially in relation to avarice (cf. Hor. *S.* 1.1.65 *quidam sordidus ac dives*; 1.1.95–99; Sen. *Ben* 4.14.3 *ad beneficium dandum non adducit cogitatio avara nec sordida, sed humana, liberalis, cupiens*; *Ep.* 104.20 *Haerebit tibi avaritia quamdiu avaro sordidoque convixeris*; *vid.* Forcellini *s. v.* 2). *Spurcus* has a predominantly scatological meaning (Apul. *Met.* 1.12 *urinae spurcissimae*; 1.17), and is particularly used in sexual contexts (Mart. 4.4.9; Apul. *Met.* 7.10). Its use in a broader moral sense is thus strongly connoted (cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1.22; *Rhet.* 1.8). Associated to avarice, it is found in Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.94 *avarissime et spurcissime*.

nihil est: cf. **4.78.9–10** (n.).

4. insidias dona: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 8.3 *Munera ista fortunae putatis? insidiae sunt*; *Tac. Ann.* 14.40 *Balbus erat praetorius, simul longa senecta, simul orbitate et pecunia insidiis obnoxius*.

Word selection is one of the poem's achievements: *insidiae* means 'ambush', which implies both hiding (hypocrisy) and lying in wait, but it can also be animal 'snares' (TLL *s. v.* 1889.62–1890.6 [Hubbard]): the term introduces the animal similes in lines 5–6. The

juxtaposition *insidias dona* underlines the gap between appearance and reality inherent in the *captatio*; it is reminiscent of Virgil's account of the deceptive Trojan Horse: Verg. *A.* 2.36 *Danaum* ***insidias*** *suspectaque* ***dona***; 2.49 *timeo Danaos et dona ferentis*; 2.309–10 *Danaum . . . patescunt/ insidiae*.

vocare: cf. line 2 *vocem*. One of Martial's major concerns is the power of language to misrepresent reality: 5.19.13 *tumidique vocant haec munera reges*; 10.17.1 *Si donare vocas promittere nec dare*.

5–6. The parallelism of these lines is noteworthy, with a subtle *variatio*. Fishing and hunting are long-established similes for the *captatio* and other deceiving manoeuvres: Hor. *S.* 2.5.23–26; Sen. *Ep.* 8.3 *ad omne fortuitum bonum suspiciosi pavidique subsistite: et fera et piscis spe aliqua oblectante decipitur*; 19.4 *amicitia olim petebatur, nunc praeda*; Plin. *Ep.* 9.30.2 *Hos ego viscatis hamatisque muneribus non sua promere puto sed aliena corripere*; cf. *Pan.* 43.5 *munera illitos cibis hamos, opertos praeda laqueos aemulabantur*. The similes help to develop a mock-didactic tone, more overtly apparent in the final words. The hunting and fishing imagery makes it clear that the *captator* wishes the death of his 'victim': the legacy will then be his figurative nourishment. It is not surprising that the legacy-hunter should be likened to carrion-eating birds: cf. 6.62.4 *Cuius vulturis hoc erit cadaver?* The comparison of the *captatus* with animals suggests the dehumanisation of social relations in Rome. For hunting and fishing imagery in this context, see Tracy, 1980: 400–401. The adjectives reveal the legacy-hunter's hypocrisy (*fallax, callida*) and the covetousness and gullibility of the *captatus* (cf. 5.39; 6.63; 11.67). They also evoke a different kind of plundering: that of the *avara puella* (5.42.5 *dispensatorem* ***fallax*** *spoliabit amica*; 11.49.2 *tanta* ***calliditate*** *rapis*; 11.49.3 *fallax ancilla*).

5. avidis . . . piscibus: Ov. *Rem.* 209 *piscis edax avido . . . ore*; Mart. 5.18.7–8 *Namque quis nescit/ avidum vorata decipi sacrum musca?*; Plin. *Nat.* 32.12 *scit et mugil esse in esca hamum insidiasque non ignorat, aviditas tamen tanta est, ut cauda verberando excutiat cibum*.

Avidus literally means 'hungry' (TLL *s. v.* 1425.7–71 [Hey]), but also 'greedy' (TLL *s. v.* 1424.31–1425.6): Pl. *Aul.* 9; 486; *Rud.* 1238 *quis avidus poscit escam avariter*; Cic. *Parad.* 6.43 *aviditatem pecuniae*; Prop. 3.13.1; Gel. 12.2.13 *hominem et avarum et avidum et pecuniae sitientem*; Phaed. 2.1.12 *Verum est aviditas dives et pauper pudor*. Gluttony and greed are closely and symbolically related (5.39). Both the legatee and the

legacy-hunter are given this epithet: Hor. *S.* 2.3.151 *avidus iam haec auferet heres*; *Carm.* 4.7.19 *cuncta manus avidas fugiet heredis*. The rich man, the *captatus*, is also avid for more gifts, as in this case.

fallax . . . hamus: Ov. *Pont.* 2.7.9 *laesus fallaci piscis ab hamo*; *Met.* 15.476 *ne celate cibis uncos fallacibus hamos*. *Fallax* is applied to other hunting devices: Ov. *Ars* 2.189 *fallacia retia*. The hook is an ancient symbol of deceit (Pl. *Cur.* 431 *Meus hic est, hamum vorat*; *Truc.* 42; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.74; Petr. 140.15), particularly related to this practice from Plautus on: Pl. *Mos.* 1069–1070 *Docte atque astu mihi captandumst cum illo, ubi huc advenerit./Non ego illi extemplo hamum ostendam, sensim mittam lineam*; Hor. *S.* 2.5.25 *praeroso . . . hamo*; Sen. *Ben.* 4.20.3 *captator est et hamum iacit*; Mart. 5.18.7 *Imitantur hamos dona*; 6.63.5 *'Munera magna tamen misit' sed misit in hamo*. The gifts are the bait. The hook is also used in amatory contexts, when seduction is envisaged as a deceitful activity: e.g. Ov. *Ars* 3.425 *semper tibi pendeat hamus* (cf. 1.47; 393; 763; *Rem.* 448). For the hook as a symbol of deception, see TLL *s. v.* 2523.20–68 (Brandt); Brotherton, 1926: 56; Tosi, 2000: 117; 610–11.

indulget: as ironic as *munificum* (2). The *captator* shows the same 'leniency' (OLD *s. v.* 1) and 'kindness' (OLD *s. v.* 2) towards the *captatus* as a hook towards fish. Furthermore, when the object is an animal, *indulgere* means to spare its life (cf. Juv. 6.160 *vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis*): the hook does not kill immediately. Thus, the only wish of the legacy-hunter is that his alleged friend will die. *Indulgere* (OLD *s. v.* 2) may imply feelings of love and friendship, but its connection with *hamus* exposes Gargilianus' sordid hypocrisy.

6. Cf. 5.18.7–8. *Callidus* and *stultus* are opposites: Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.500 *Verbaque dat stulto callida nupta viro*.

callida: Petr. 125.3 *callidus captator*. *Callidus* is applied to frauds and snares: (TLL *s. v.* 170.68–171.21 [Probst]): Pl. *Bac.* 643 *callidis dolis*; Sen. *Phaed.* 502–3 *callidas tantum feris struxisse/fraudes novit*; Mart. 14.216.2 *callida . . . harundo*; Stat. *Ach.* 1.846 *callida dona*; Apul. *Apol.* 75 *callidissima fraude*. Ironically, Gargilianus is not that smart: he is being unmasked by Martial.

stultas . . . feras: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.934 *aut sua credulitas in aduncos egerat hamos*. The rich man who makes a self-interested friend his legatee may rightly be accused of stupidity: 9.67 *Nil mihi das vivus; dicis post facta daturum/si non es stultum, scis, Maro, quid cupiam*.

decipit: Pl. *Rud.* 1238 (*supra*); Mart. 5.18.8; Sen. *Ep.* 8.3 *et fera et piscis spe aliqua oblectante decipitur. Decipere* is a synonym for *capere* in hunting and fishing language (TLL *s. v.* 178.51–59 [Simbeck]): Var. *R.* 3.7.7; Ov. *Met.* 3.587; Mart. 13.68.1; 14.217.2; Auson. *Mos.* 244.

esca: cf. Pl. *Rud.* 1237–1239 *atque edepol in eas plerumque esca imponitur:/quam si quis avidus poscit escam avariter,/decipitur in trasenna avaritia sua.* Figuratively, *esca* appears in Cic. *Sen.* 44 (*divine enim Plato 'escam malorum' appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces*) and Petr. 3.4.

7–8. Noteworthy is the mock-didactic tone, conveyed by repetition (*quid sit; donare, dona*), alliteration, and paedagogical vocabulary (*si nescis, docebo*).

7. quid sit largiri, quid sit donare: *largior* usually involves altruistic liberality (cf. 2 *munificum*: Liv.1.54.4 *praedam munifice largiendo*; see Forcellini, *s. v.* 1), but this is not always so (Forcellini, *s. v.* 2): Sal. *Cat.* 38.1; *Jug.* 13.6. The second part of the pentameter makes it clear that Gargilianus knows the second meaning of *largiri*, not the first (*donare*).

docebo: cf. 11.99.7; 14.2.3.

8. si nescis: this might be a brachylogy (Hofmann-Szantyr: 826): cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3.23 *si nescis, meus ille caper fuit*; Prop. 2.15.12 *si nescis, oculi sunt in amore duces*; Ov. *Am.* 3.8.13; *Ep.* 16.246; 17.198; 18.39; 20.150. However, it may also be interpreted literally, together with the previous lines and with ironic intent.

dona . . . mihi: on the one hand, Martial presents himself as poor; a man is truly *munificus* if he gives presents to someone who cannot repay his generosity: cf. Plin. *Ep.* 9.30.1 *Volo enim eum, qui sit uere liberalis, tribuere patriae propinquis, adfinibus amicis, sed amicis dico pauperibus, non ut isti qui iis potissimum donant, qui donare maxime possunt.* On the other hand, the poet belongs to the same lot of selfish Romans and wants his share. Humour, based on irony and ambiguity, is focused upon in the last word: *mihi*. It is worth relating this ending with epigrams **4.37** and **4.61**: the poet, after complaining about his friend's boastfulness and meanness, asks for compensation.

57

Martial is staying in the pleasant resort of Baiae, in the Bay of Naples, famous for its warm temperatures and thermal waters (1–2), while his friend Faustinus spends his summer in equally popular Tibur, nearer Rome (3–4). However, it is mid-summer, and the heat is insufferable in Baiae (5–6), which must surrender to cooler Tibur (7–10). The religious and epic undertones and the personification of Baiae contrast with the intention of the poem: Martial is wittily and indirectly asking his friend to invite him to Tibur.

In this book there are several poems on Italian localities (4.25; 4.44). Sullivan (1991: 157–159) links this kind of epigram with patronage: by eulogising a particular place or villa, the poet is indirectly praising its owner. This epigram is more than that: it is an amusing poetic game in which the mythical (*vid. infra s.* 10) and the erotic merge. Martial takes his leave from Baiae, and its (excruciating) pleasures, in an implied *renuntiatio amoris* (cf. 4.30; *vid.* Urso, 1989):

> Quid referam Baias, praetextaque litora velis,
> et quae de calido sulpure fumat aqua?
> Hinc aliquis vulnus referens in pectore dixit
> 'Non haec, ut fama est, unda salubris erat' (Ov. *Ars* 1.255–258).

1. The first four feet evoke the elegiac mode, arousing erotic expectations which are somehow thwarted at the end of the line, although not completely, in that Baiae was well known for its licentiousness: Cic. *Cael.* 35; *Att.* 1.16; *Fam* 9.2; Prop. 1.11.27–30 *tu modo quam primum corruptas desere Baias:/multis ista dabunt litora discidium,/litora quae fuerunt castis inimica puellis:/ah pereant Baiae, crimen amoris, aquae!*; Ov. *Ars* 1.255–258 (*supra*); Var. *Men.* 44 *quod non solum innubae fiunt communis, sed etiam veteres/repuerascunt et multi pueri puellascunt.* Sen. *Ep.* 51; Dio Cass. 48.51; Mart. 1.62. Baiae, in the Bay of Naples, had been a favourite holiday resort since the Republic, renowned for its lavish *villae* (Schmatz, 1904–5; RE II2 [1896] *s. Baiae* [Hülsen]; D'Arms, 1970: 42–43; 119–120). See Citroni (1975: 205–6) and Howell (1980: 245–6) for its presence in Martial's epigrams. This line recreates the beginning of [Tib.] 3.5 (Navarro, 1996: 414), although with a different

tone. Note the alliteration *lascivi . . . Lucrini* and the repetition of /n/, which evoke the pleasantness of the place.

Dum nos . . . tu: cf. 6.43.1–3 *Dum tibi felices indulgent, Castrice, Baiae/canaque sulphureis nympha natatur aquis,/me Nomentani confirmant otia ruris*; [Tib.] 3.5.1–5. Friedländer (*ad loc.*) points out that Martial spent the summer of 88 at the Bay of Naples, where he might have taken inspiration for **4.30**; **4.44**; **4.63**. Some of his friends owned *villae* there, such as Castricus (D'Arms, 1970: 207; cf. 202–232). See also D'Arms (1970: 142–152; 166–177), for the cultural ambience of the area.

Martial is not the subject of *tenent* (cf. *tu colis*), which suggests that he is someone's guest and cannot choose freely where to spend his leisure time (cf. 4.25.7–8).

blanda: cf. 11.80.2 *Baias superba blanda dona Naturae*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.96 *blandissima litora.* Baiae is both a beautiful (11.80.1–4; Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.83 '*nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis*') and 'lustful' place (for the erotic connotations of *blandus*, cf. 4.14.7 n. and *vid. supra*). There is wordplay with *lascivi* and even with *tenent.*

tenent: cf. Tib. 2.3.1 *Rura meam, Cornute, tenent villaeque puellam*; [Tib.] 3.5.1; Apul. *Met.* 2.1 *reputansque me media Thessaliae loca tenere.* Although it refers to location, its position between *blanda* and *lascivi* endows it with erotic connotations (Adams, 1982: 181; 187).

lascivi: like *blanda*, it has erotic undertones: cf. 6.43.5 *mollis . . . Lucrinus; vid.* TLL *s. v.* 985.3–47 (Beikiercher).

stagna Lucrini: 1.62.3; 3.20.20 *piger Lucrino nauculatur in stagno*; 3.60.3 *stagno . . . Lucrino*; 5.37.3 *Lucrini . . . stagni*; 6.43.5 *mollis . . . Lucrinus*; 13.82.1 *Baiano . . . Lucrino*. The Lucrine lake, present-day Maricello, was one of the most famous landmarks of the area. Martial describes its tranquility and frequently mentions its most famous product, oysters (5.37.3; 6.11.5; 10.37.11; 13.82.1; 13.90.2). See RE XIII2 (1927) *s. v.* (Philipp.) and Schmatz, 1904: 14–16.

For the *varia lectio, Neronis*, see Schmid (1984: 402–404), who analyses the possibility that it might be an authorial variant, especially in the light of an inscription mentioning a *stagnum Neronis* in the area (CIL XV 7008). He refutes this hypothesis; it must be an emendation based on *Sp.* 2.6 and *Sp.* 30.11, and could have been prompted by the adjective *lascivi*, more appropriate for people than places (for Nero's wantonness, cf. Suet. *Nero* 26).

2. Cf. Vitr. 2.6.2 *quod in montibus Cumanorum Baianis sunt loca sudationibus excavata, in quibus **vapor fervidus** ab imo nascens ignis vehementia perforat eam terram per eamque manando in his locis oritur et ita sudationum egregias efficit utilitates*; Fro. *Aur.* 1.3.5 ***Baiarum** ego **calidos specus** malo quam istas fornaculas balnearum, in quibus ignis cum sumptu atque fumo accenditur brevique restingitur. At illi ingenui vapores puri perpetuique sunt, grati pariter et gratuiti.* For the thermal caves of Baiae, see Schmatz, 1904: 36.

pumiceis fontibus: this refers to thermal volcanic springs in the area: Lucr. 6.747–748 *is locus est Cumas aput, acri sulpure montis/oppleti calidis ubi fumant fontibus aucti*; Ov. *Ars* 1.255–6 *Quid referam Baias, praetextaque litora velis,/et quae de calido sulpure fumat aqua?*; *Met.* 15.713 *Hinc calidi fontes lentisciferumque tenetur*; Vitr. 2.6.2; Plin. *Nat.* 3.60 *haec litora fontibus calidis rigantur*; 31.4–5; Prop. 3.18.2 *fumida Baiarum stagna tepentis aquae* (cf. Flor. *Epit.* 1.11 *tepentes fontibus Baiae*; 1.22); Mart. 6.43.2 *Canaque sulphureis nympha natatur aquis*; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.264 *nec sibi sulpureis Lucrinae Naides antris*; 3.1.144 *ipsae pumiceis virides Nereides antris*; 3.5.96 *sive vaporiferas, blandissima litora, Baias*; Porph. *ad Hor. Ep.* 1.15.7 *sulphureas aquas et Baianos vapores.* These were reputed to have healing properties (Schmatz, 1904: 35–36): Hor. *Ep.* 1.15.7; Cels. 2.17.1; 3.21.6.

The adjective *pumiceus* is often applied to caves: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.318; Sil. 7.419 *pumiceae . . . sedes*; Stat. *Theb.* 10.574 *pumiceo . . . antro*; *Silv.* 3.1.144 (*loc. cit.*); cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.1.3; *Met.* 3.159–161.

antra: the noun anticipates line 8 and its Nymphs and Nereids. Caves had a sacred aura in antiquity and were traditionally sacred to these deities (Hom. *Od.* 13.103–104; Theoc. 7.136–137; Col. 10.267; V. Fl. 4.92: 5.209; 6.565; Stat. *Silv.* 1.5.30; 3.1.144). In Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.264 and 3.2.13–17, Baiae's caves are said to be the abode of the Naiades. See OCD[3] *s. caves, sacred.*

calent: 1.62.4 *et dum Baianis saepe fovetur aquis*; 3.20.19 *an aestuantis iam profectus ad Baias*; Sen. *Ep.* 51.6 *quid mihi cum istis calentibus stagnis?*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.17 *Baianosque sinus et feta tepentibus undis*; 4.3.25–26 *aestuantes . . . Baias*; Sil. 12.113–4 *tepentes . . . Baiae.*

3. Note the wordplay *colis . . . coloni*, and the periphrastic allusion to Tibur and its mythical origins: *Argei regnum coloni.* The contrast between both places is obvious in the word order (cf. *nos, tu*).

Tibur (Tivoli) was also a famous resort, above all in summer because of its cooler temperature. The place is further mentioned in **4.60**; **4.62**; **4.79**.

Argei . . . Coloni: according to one version of the myth, Tibur was named after *Tiburnus* or *Tiburtus*, one of the three sons of the Argive Catillus, who arrived in Italy after his father's death: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.5 *Tibur Argeo positum colono* (*vid.* Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.*); Porph. *ad loc.*; Ov. *Am.* 3.6.46 *Tiburis Argei*; Ov. *Fast.* 4.71–72 *et iam Telegoni, iam moenia Tiburis udi/ stabant, Argolicae quod posuere manus*. *Argeus* (Gr. ἀργεῖος) coexists with *Argivus* in Latin.

regnum: cf. 7.64.3 *Aetneaque regna*; 9.64.3 *nemorosa . . . regna*; 10.103.10 *Itala regna*. Its juxtaposition with Faustinus suggests the idea of patronage (cf. **4.40.3** n.; 9.73), although very subtly, for there is no syntactic relationship between them.

Faustine: cf. 1.25; 1.114; 3.2.6; 3.25; 3.39; 3.47; 3.58.1; 4.10; 5.32; 5.36; 5.71; 6.7; 6.61; 7.12; 7.80; 8.41; 10.51. As can be inferred from the epigrams, Faustinus had possessions both in Baiae (3.58; D'Arms, 1970: 212–213) and Tibur (5.71.6; 7.80.12). It is doubtful whether this Faustinus could be the author of an epigram found in Tiberius' *grotta* in *Sperlonga* (Iacopi, 1963: 42–45; D'Arms, 1970: 213; Citroni, 1975: 86; Nauta, 2002: 67–68). If Degrassi's reconstrucion of its last line (quoted by Coarelli, 1996: 496: FAVSTINVS FELIX DOMINIS HO[C CONCINIT ANTRUM]) is right, the identification seems more likely. Faustinus had poetic skills (1.25), was Martial's patron (**4.10.7** n.), and must have belonged to the Senatorial order. He has been identified with Minicius Faustinus, suffect consul in AD 91.

There is a subtle play with the name of the addressee (<*faustus*): he is 'fortunate' to enjoy Tibur's milder weather, and can be 'propitious' if he invites his friend to join him.

4. bis decimus . . . ab urbe lapis: *Tibur* was 27 km (18 miles) north-east of Rome. *Lapis* means milestone (TLL *s. v.* 2.951.70–952.8 [Lumpe]): cf. 1.12.4 *quartus ab urbe lapis*; 9.101.12 *Sextus ab Albana quem colit arce lapis*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.682 *sextus ab urbe lapis*. Apart from other advantages, it is nearer Rome (cf. 6.43.9–10, where Martial prefers his villa near Rome to Baiae).

5. It is mid-summer and Baiae is too hot. The line begins with *horrida*, and the predominance of /r/ stresses the unbearable temperature. Summer is alluded to periphrastically, with another mythical reference, the Nemean Lion: Leo is the constellation the sun crosses in the hottest month of summer (4.60.2 n.). This hyperbolic, mythical

and roundabout way of referring to the summer adds a humorous tone to the line.

Horrida . . . pectora: cf. Mart. 9.90.12 *fervens iuba saeviet leonis* (Henriksén *ad loc.*); Germ. *Arat.* 149 *horrentisque iubas et fulvum cerne Leonem*; 604; frg. 3.9 *siccus erit Leo, praecipue cui pectora fervent.* The *pectus leonis* is part of the constellation of Leo: Vitr. 9.3.1; Col. 11.2.53; Plin. *Nat.* 18.235; 18.271.

Horridus is an epic synonym for *pilosus* (TLL *s. v.* 2994.32–40 [Ehlers]). *Horrida . . . pectora* is an equivalent to *iubae leonis*: Germ. *Arat.* 149; 604; Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.18 *torva Cleonaei iuba sideris. Horridus* also suggests fierceness and cruelty (OLD *s. v.* 6; cf. *monstri*: cf. Catul. 66.65 *saevi . . . leonis*; Hor. *Ep.* 1.10.17 *furibundus*; *Carm.* 3.29.19 *stella vesani Leonis*). Finally, the position of *horrida* may mislead the reader, as it frequently applies to winter (cf. Verg. *G.* 3.442; Ov. *Met.* 15.212; *Pont.* 4.10.38; Mart. 7.95.1; 9.13.2; cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.16.19).

fervent: cf. 4.60.2 (n.); the subject of *fervere* can be the sun of other stars related to the summer (TLL *s. v.* 591.52–62): 9.90.12 *fervens iuba saeviet leonis*; 10.58.3 *cancro fervente*; 10.62.7 *fervens Iulius*; Germ. frag. 3.9 *siccus erit Leo, praecipue cui pectora fervent*; Vitr. 8.1.7 *solis vehemens impetus propter nullam obstantiam umbrarum eripit exhauriendo fervens ex planitie camporum umorem*; Col. 6.13.3 *sole fervente*; Ov. *Met.* 10.127 *fervebant bracchia cancri*; Gel. 2.29.11 *sol fervit*; cf. Cic. *Arat.* 320; Lucr. 5.642; Hor. *Epod.* 1.27; Sen. *Her. O.* 70. There is a gradation between *caleo* (line 2) and *ferveo*: Vitr. 1.4.1 *quod spectat ad occidentem . . . meridie calet, vespere fervet.*

Nemeaei . . . monstri: cf. 5.65.9 *Nemeaeo . . . monstro*; 4.60.2 (n.); 5.71.3. The Nemean lion was defeated by Hercules and tranformed into the constellation of Leo (cf. Man. 2.32; 2.531): cf. Man. 2.585; 623; 3.404; 5.206; Luc. 1.655 *Nemeaeum . . . leonem*; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.6 *gravis Nemeaeae frondentis alumnus.*

6. Baiae's peak season was the spring, especially March and April (Schmatz, 1904: 34–35). Winter was also agreeable there: Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.83 *mollis hiems*; cf. 2.2.28. In summer, however, it was too hot: [Tib.] 3.5.2 *Vnda sub aestivum non adeunda Canem.*

nec satis est: clearly ironic.

igne: the noun denotes heat and sexual arousal: (TLL *s. v.* 294.42–57 [Rubenbauer]): Verg. *A.* 1.660; [Tib] 3.11.6; Ov. *Fast.* 3.545; Mart. 5.55.3.

calere: cf. 2. Apart from high temperature (cf. Sen. *Nat.* 4.11.4; 6.13.3), *caleo* has sexual nuances, which harmonise with the erotic tone of the first lines (Rodríguez, 1981: 109; TLL *s. v.* 148.30–35): [Tib.] 3.11.10; Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.33; Ov. *Am.* 3.6.83; *Ars* 1.526; 3.571; Sen. *Herc. O.* 377; Mart. 5.55.3; 7.32.12; 7.74.4; 8.77.6; (*calesco*) Ov. *Met.* 3.372; (*incalesco*) 3.371; Mart. 4.66.12.

7–8. Martial takes his leave of Baiae.

sacri fontes: [Tib.] 3.5.3 *Nunc autem sacris Baiarum proxima lymphis* (Navarro *ad loc.*). Springs were regarded as sacred: Verg. *Ecl.* 1.52; Serv. *ad loc. fontes sacros quia omnibus aquis nymphae sunt praesidentes*; *A.* 7.83–4; Serv. *ad loc. nullus enim fons non sacer*; Ov. *Met.* 2.464; Porph. *Carm* 1.1.22 *omnes autem fontes sacri habentur.* Many of them were specially sacred to the Nymphs (OCD[3] s. *Nymphs* and *Springs, sacred*). Post (*ad loc.*) suggests that the spring of Baiae may have been consecrated to Aesculapius.

litora grata: cf. 10.58.2 *Baias litoreamque domum*; 11.80.1; Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.96 *vaporiferas, blandissima litora, Baias.*

valete: here, a 'form of scornful dismissal' (OLD *s. v.* 3d).

8. Nympharum pariter Nereidumque domus: cf. 6.43.3 *Canaque sulphureis nympha natatur aquis.* Nymphs were related to springs, Nereids to the sea. *Nympharum* is associated with *sacri fontes* (7) and *Nereidum* with *litora grata. Pariter* depicts Baiae as an ideal place, where fresh and salt water blend. Martial may be using a mock-religious tone (Urso, 1989), inasmuch as *Nympha* and *Nereis* are poetic terms for 'beautiful women' (cf. Ov. *Ep.* 1.27; 9.103; 16.128).

9–10. These lines display a noticeable parallelism: both have a time expression, an elaborate reference to Tibur, and imperatives (*vincite, cedite*), which point to an implicit rivalry between both places. *Vincere* and *cedere* are used in comparisons: 5.37.7 *puella . . . quae crine vicit Baetici gregis vellus*; 12.44.3 *carmina cum facias soli cedentia fratri.*

Herculeos colles: cf. 7.13.3; 1.12.1 *Herculeas . . . Tiburis arces*; 4.62.1 *Tibur in Herculeum migravit nigra Lycoris*; Prop. 2.32.5 *cur ita te Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur?* One of the most important cults in the area was that of Hercules (cf. Strab. 5.3.11.6 Τίβουρα . . . ἐν ᾗ Ἡράκλειον; *Priap.* 75.9).

gelida . . . bruma: Winter (4.40.5 n.): cf. Verg. *G.* 3.442–3 *horrida cano/bruma gelu*; Mart. 8.14.1; 9.13.2; Ov. *Tr.* 4.7.1 *gelidae post frigora brumae*.

vos: clearly emphatic. Note the alliteration with *vincite*.

10. Baiae's summer, symbolised by the Nemean Monster, is logically defeated by Herculean Tibur.

nunc: in summer. This time reference contrasts with the allusions to winter and the Saturnalia in the book (**4.2**; **4.3**; **4.18**; **4.19**; **4.46**; **4.88**).

Tiburtinis . . . frigoribus: Tibur had milder temperatures: 1.12.1 *Itur ad Herculeas gelidi qua Tiburis arces*; 4.64.32 *gelidum . . . Tibur*; 5.71.6 *hibernum iam tibi Tibur erit*; Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.17; *Priap.* 75.9 *umidumque Tibur*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.6 *udum Tibur*; Ov. *Fast.* 4.71. For the use of *frigus* with an adjective corresponding to a place, cf. 11.52.11 *Picenum frigus*; Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.17 *Aniena . . . frigora*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.19.8 *Paelignis . . . frigoribus*.

58

Satiric epigram on a wife who mourns for her husband in the dark. Her reasons for so doing are as varied as the manuscript variants in the second line: *iam, non, nam* (*num*). *Nam* is accepted by most editors (Duff, Friedländer, Giarratano, Gilbert, Izaac, Lindsay; defended by Housman, 1925), but it clearly implies a simplification: Galla does not cry for her husband in public out of embarrassment. Her motives for being ashamed are undisclosed: perhaps she did not behave properly when he was alive, and now she is afraid of being rebuked. In this sense, *iam*, present in manuscript *T*, would be meaningful: it is too late for tears now (Heraeus; Friedrich, 1909: 96–97). Perhaps the key is the *maritum/virum* contrast. Elsewhere Galla is said to have married several homosexuals, since it is difficult to find a real man in Rome: 7.58.1 *Iam sex aut septem nupsisti, Galla, cinaedis*; 10 *difficile est vero nubere, Galla, viro*. Accordingly, Galla laments her husband's death, but is ashamed to do so in the open, since his sexual orientation was *vox populi*.

Non is the most widespread option (*β γ*), but only accepted by Shackleton Bailey. Galla mourns her husband in darkness because she cannot shed a tear for him (Shackleton Bailey, 1989: 135–136). Heinsius' conjecture *palam* instead of *virum* implies a similar reasoning: she does not want people to know about her hard-heartedness.

Another epigram criticises Gellia, who only mourns her father in the presence of others: 1.33.1–2 *Amissum non flet cum sola est Gellia patrem,/si quis adest, iussae prosiliunt lacrimae*. A passage by Seneca may shed light on Galla's behaviour:

> plerique enim lacrimas fundunt ut ostendant et totiens siccos oculos habent quotiens spectator defuit, turpe iudicantes **non flere** cum omnes faciant: adeo penitus hoc se malum fixit, ex aliena opinione pendere, ut in simulationem etiam res simplicissima, dolor, ueniat (Sen. *Dial.* 9.15.6).

At first sight, Martial seems to be praising her behaviour: her mourning her husband in the dark seems to mean that she does not want to put her bereavement on display. The pentameter thwarts expectations: Galla, unlike Gellia or other mourners, is unable to feign

tears. She does not cry for her husband in the dark because she is fond of privacy, but due to her lack of feelings. What is more, she does not cry at all.

Further reading: Gilbert, 1883: 643; Friedrich, 1909: 96–97; Housman, 1925; Shackleton Bailey, 1989: 135–136.

1. In tenebris: cf. Serv. *ad Verg. A.* 2.92 *in tenebris vitam trahebat, sed quia amicum perdiderit. vitam in tenebris ideo lugentibus inimica lux est, quia caruerunt ea hi quos dolent; ideo tenebras petunt et atra veste amiciuntur et capita velant, ut videantur cum defunctis agere, imitantes tenebris inferorum faciem.* Darkness becomes mourning (Apul. *Met.* 4.35). Apparently, Galla is right to mourn her husband in the dark: cf. 1.33.3–4 *Non luget quisquis laudari, Gellia, quaerit,/ille dolet vere, qui sine teste dolet.*

luges: women had to be in mourning for their husbands for ten months: Ov. *Fast.* 1.35–36; 3.134. For external signs of mourning, see RE VIA2 (1937) *s. Trauerkleidung* (Gertrud Herzog-Hauser).

Galla: a recurrent fictitious female name in the epigrams. She is Martial's lover in 2.25; 3.51; 3.54; 3.90; 4.38 (n.); 5.84; 7.18; 11.19. Elsewhere she is a *meretrix* (9.4; cf. 10.75), portayed as disgusting (9.37) and giving in to fellatio (10.95). She is accused of being a bad mother in 2.34 and a bad wife everywhere else. She is said to have married six or seven homosexuals in 7.58: the explanation of the epigram would then be in the contrast between *maritum* (1) and *virum* (2), as suggested by Housman (1925). In 9.78 she is said to have been widowed seven times, and suspected of having poisoned her husbands. Perhaps Martial is suggesting that Galla has killed hers: she mourns him so as not to arouse suspicions, but she does not want to be seen in the light, which could reveal her true frame of mind (cf. Apul. *Met.* 10.27, about a poisoner wife's feigned tears).

2. non plorare pudet: tears are a sign of bereavement: Tib. 1.1.61–64; [Tib.] 3.2.25; Ov. *Am.* 3.9.11; 9.46; *Tr.* 1.3.41; *Epic. Drusi* 101–102; 113–120; 165–166; 436; Mart. 6.85; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.7; 3.18–19; 3.213; 5.1.30–32 (Esteve-Forriol, 1962: 144). Seneca recommends moderate crying: *Ep.* 63.1 *Nec sicci sint oculi amisso amico nec fluant; lacrimandum est, non plorandum.* If Galla has no tears for her husband, her attitude is reprehensible and she comes to be suspected of his death. This passage may have influenced Juvenal, who censures the fact that the loss of money can beget more tears than bereavement (13.130–134).

59

Closely related to **4.32**, this epigram describes the death of another animal trapped in a resin drop; it also explores the ideas of beauty and death, but adds a surprising final reflection on the futility of wealth. The epigram is less contemplative and more dynamic: its first lines are remarkable for their movement, conveyed by *repit* and *fluxit* (placed at the end and the beginning of lines 1 and 2), the participles (*flentibus, obstantem*), and *dum* (Bonvicini, 1986: 326).

The epigram symbolically begins with a mourning scene (*Flentibus Heliadum ramis*); the image of tears and bereavement are consistent throughout the poem (*gutta, rore*). The reptile is trapped within a tear from the Heliades, but death is not instantaneous: there is time for bewilderment. The point of view in line 3 is that of the animal. The comparison of amber with dew (*rore*) echoes **4.18** (*roscida*), on an icicle killing a child. The boy, like the viper, is amazed by a beautiful natural phenomenon, which ironically causes his decease. Death is seen as a transformation: solidification of amber in 4.59 (with an ice metaphor), liquefaction of ice in **4.18.6**. Moreover, there is a progression in the terms describing resin and amber: *gutta* (3), *pingui . . . rore* (4), *concreto gelu* (5). The moment of contemplation fades away: amber solidifies (*repente*) and kills the animal, while endowing it with imperishable beauty. Nature has created a work of art surpassing human artistry (Ruiz Sánchez, 1998: 105). The final couplet takes a new twist: a reproach against Cleopatra (indirectly mentioned in 4.11) and her luxury. The epigram begins with a mythical allusion (Phaethon) and ends with a historical hint of mythic proportions.

According to Watson, while epigrams 4.32 and 6.15 may refer to real amber fossils, possibly exhibited at the residence of one of Martial's patrons, 'it is debatable that such a curiosity could be encountered in reality in Rome. The poem may simply be a flight of poetic fantasy ekphrastic in form but describing an imaginary rather than a real object' (2001: 940).

4.59 is significantly placed between two mourning epigrams, which endows it with new layers of meaning: epigram **4.58** is a satirical attack on an insensitive widow. Galla, unlike the Heliades, is unable to cry. Rather, she resembles the viper and Cleopatra, paradigms of

female malice. On the other hand, **4.60** reports the death of Curiatius in a delightful setting: the pleasant Tibur waters are comparable to the amber drop.

Further reading: Becher, 1966: 170–171; Bonvicini, 1986: 326–327; Manzo, 1995: 768; Ramelli, 1997; Ruiz Sánchez, 1998: 105; Watson, 2001; Watson-Watson, 2003: 336–338.

1. cf. 6.15.1 *Dum Phaethontea formica vagatur in umbra* (Grewing *ad loc.*). Note the alliteration ***r**amis/**rep**it* (*vi**per**a*), which Bonvicini (1986: 326) interprets as an iconic representation of the viper's movement.

Flentibus . . . ramis: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.86 *Heliadum ramos lacrimosaque germina*; V. Fl. 5.429 *flebant populeae iuvenem Phaethonta sorores*. For this use of the ablative, cf. Verg. *A.* 4.404.

Heliadum: cf. 4.32.1 (n.) *Phaethontide . . . gutta*; 6.15.1 *Phaethontea . . . umbra*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.340–341 *nec minus Heliades fletus et, inania morti/munera, dant lacrimas*. Ruiz Sánchez (1998: 104) grasps the ambiguity of the amber image: 'el ámbar, conectado por el mito con el dolor y la muerte (lágrimas de las Helíades por la muerte de su hermano Faetonte), se convierte en joya, transformando el sufrimiento en belleza'; 'Las Helíades, que lloran la muerte de su hermano, encarnan el llanto por la muerte, al tiempo que provocan también la muerte' (p. 105).

vipera: Watson (2001) studies the possibility that this poem might describe a real object: she first wonders what kind of reptile this *vipera* is. The final allusion to Cleopatra evokes an asp, with which she is said to have committed suicide (Vell. 2.87; Flor. *Epit.* 2.21; *Carmen de Bello Aegyptiaco* 6.2; Suet. *Aug.* 17.4). *Vipera* may here have a broader sense. Watson (2001: 941, n. 16) remarks that authors give different names to Cleopatra's asp: *serpens* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.27); *anguis* (Verg. *A.* 8.697; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.119); *coluber* (Prop. 3.11.53). In any case, a cobra trapped in amber is an impossible, rather grotesque, image. According to Watson, Martial may be referring to a kind of viper commonly found in Italy: *vipera aspis*. Martial must have taken a small viper fossilised in amber as the starting point, and by association of ideas, linked it with Cleopatra's asp, ignoring the fact that they belonged to different species. Nonetheless, Watson rightly concludes that the object can hardly be real: first, the smallest (newborn) viper is longer than the largest amber fossils ever found (see also Becher, 1966: 170); second, the position of this viper, stretched

out as it climbs the tree, makes it impossible that it was trapped in an amber drop. Forged amber fossils—well known in other epochs—may have been known in Martial's lifetime. Watson believes that Martial might have see a small coiled viper artificially enclosed in an amber lump at the house of one of his patrons (Post *ad loc.*); on the other hand, this could also be a poetic invention on Martial's part to establish a witty ironic link with Cleopatra's tomb.

Like the bee in **4.32**, the snake has powerful symbolic evocations in the ancient world: it represents wisdom, health, and life, but also death (Keller, 1913: 284–305); it is a symbol of fertility and eroticism (cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.362), and also a dangerous venomous animal (Mart. 3.19.5–6). For the negative connotations of *vipera*, cf. 4.4.11 (n).

2. fluxit: noticeable is the alliteration with *flentibus* (1). Its juxtaposition with *repit* contributes to a sensation of movement. *Fluere* is an appropriate term for tears (TLL *s. v.* 970.18–21 [Bacherler]): Ov. *Am.* 1.7.57 *lacrimae fluxere per ora*; *Met.* 3.203; 4.582; *Fast.* 2.820; Sen. *Ep.* 99.20; Sil. 8.646.

obstantem . . . feram: the ant in 6.15.2 is called *tenuem feram.* Statius (*Silv.* 1.5.4) gives this name to a turtle.

sucina gutta *T* (Friedländer, Heraeus, Duff, Giarratano, Shackleton Bailey): *gemma* $\beta\,\gamma$ (Lindsay and Izaac): *gemma* can allude to an amber drop (Mart. 9.12.6 *gemma . . . Heliadum*; Serv. *Ecl.* 8.54 *sucinae gemmae*; TLL *s. v.* 1756.81–82 [I. Kapp]), but *gutta* (TLL *s. v.* 2372.56–82 [Burkhard]) is more suitable in this context, since it is applied to resin, both liquid (Ov. *Met.* 10.500 *et tepidae manant ex arbore guttae*) and solidified (cf. 4.32.1; Ov. *Ars* 1.288). Both here and in 6.15.1, *gutta* evokes its double nature and paves the way for the paradoxes in the following couplet. At the same time, there is a progression in *gutta, rore, gelu*, not to mention that *gutta* is a synonym for tear (4.32.1 n.). Bonvicini, however, defends the choice of *gemma*, due to its evocation of luxury and splendour.

3–4. Cf. 6.15.2 *implicuit tenuem sucina gutta feram.*

Bonvicini (1986: 327) observes that there are lexical echoes between the solidification of amber in this line and the transformation of the Heliades in Ovid's tale:

> haec stipite crura **teneri**,
> illa dolet fieri longos sua bracchia ramos,

dumque ea **mirantur**, conplectitur inguina cortex
perque gradus uterum pectusque umerosque manusque
ambit, et exstabant tantum ora vocantia matrem (Ov. *Met.* 2.351–355)

sanguineae manant tamquam de vulnere **guttae** (Ov. *Met.* 2.360)

inde fluunt lacrimae, stillataque sole **rigescunt**
de **ramis** electra novis (Ov. *Met.* 2.364–365).

3. dum: cf. 1 *dum*; 4 *repente*.

miratur: cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.353 (*supra*).

pingui . . . rore: cf. 4 *concreto . . . gelu*; Juv. 6.573 *pinguia sucina*. Dew is a metaphor for tears (4.18.3 n.). Besides, it can refer poetically to liquids other than water (OLD *s. v.* 2): Cic. *Poet.* 6.44; [Tib.] 3.4.28; Apul. *Met.* 10.22. *Pingui* suggests both stickiness and worth (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*).

se rore teneri: cf. 9.18.5 *se rore foveri*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.351 (*supra*).

4. Note the alliteration ***r**iguit/**r**epente*. Special attention is paid to word order: *concreto . . . gelu* embraces the rest of the line as the amber encloses the animal (Bonvicini, 1986: 327). Cf. Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.94 *undaque vincta gelu*; Sen. *Tro.* 624 *torpetque vinctus frigido sanguis gelu*.

concreto . . . gelu: the ice metaphor harmonises with the rest of the images (*gutta, rore*). There are noteworthy echoes of 4.18.4 (n.), where real ice killed a child. *Concretus* means frozen (cf. 4.3.4 n.).

riguit . . . gelu: *rigere* and *rigescere* are primarily related to cold (Forcellini *s. v.* 1: Cic. *Tusc.* 1.69; [Tib.] 3.7.156; Mart. 7.95.1), *rigere gelu* being a relatively frequent expression: Liv. 21.32; 21.40; 21.55; Curt. 3.10.10; 3.13.7; Phaed. 4.20.2; Plin. *Pan.* 82.5. *Rigescere* also means 'to become stiff', 'to solidify' and is often used in accounts of metamorphoses: Ov. *Met.* 4.555; 9.357. *Gelu* also evokes 'the chill of death' (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*).

5–6. For the mausoleum of Cleopatra and Antonius, see Becher, 1966: 169–172, and cf. Dio Cass. 51.15; Suet. *Aug.* 17.4; Plu. *Ant.* 86.7; *A. L.* 417.4–6 *et Mausoleum, miserae solacia mortis/intulit externum quo Cleopatra virum/concutiet sternetque dies*.

5. Death is the same for all (Phoebus' son, the Queen of Epypt, a viper): power, ancestry, wealth are useless in this regard. See 4.32.1 (n.) for the myth of Phaethon related to *mors inmatura*. Only the ani-

mal, who owned nothing in life, is enhanced by natural beauty in death. The association between the reptile and Cleopatra is explained by her legendary death (Suet. *Aug.* 17). Post (*ad loc.*) adds that her career 'was cut off as abruptly as was the life of the *vipera*'. Ruiz Sánchez underlines the symbolic nuances of this passage: 'La víbora y Cleopatra están conectadas en el plano simbólico metafórica y metonímicamente. El áspid era el emblema de los reyes de Egipto y figuraba en las diademas de los faraones y Cleopatra se suicidó por la mordedura de un áspid. El animal maligno se ha convertido en joya por su muerte' (1998: 105).

There are two other similar couplets in the epigrams, but with a satirical intent: 3.55.3–4 *Nolo peregrinis placeas tibi, Gellia, nugis./Scis, puto, posse meum sic bene olere canem*; 5.57 *Cum voco te dominum, noli tibi, Cinna, placere:/saepe etiam servum sic resaluto tuum.*

Ne tibi . . . placeas: cf. 3.55.3; 5.57.1. *Sibi placere* is a synonym for *gloriari* (OLD *s. v.* 1c; Forcellini *s. v.* 5): cf. Petr. 126.9 *nolo tibi . . . tam valde placeas.*

regali . . . sepulcro: cf. Flor. *Epit.* 2.21 *quod ubi desperavit a principe servarique se triumpho vidit, incautiorem nancta custodiam in mausoleum se—sepulcra regum sic vocant—recipit. ibi maximos, ut solebat, induta cultus in differto odoribus solio iuxta suum se conlocavit Antonium, admotisque ad venas serpentibus sic morte quasi somno soluta est.*

6. si tumulo nobiliore iacet: cf. 1.78.1 *nobiliore rogo*; 11.13.1 *nobile . . . marmor*; 11.69.12 *Non potui fato nobiliore mori*; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.75 *Mausoli Cariae regis uxor . . . nobile illud Halicarnasi fecit sepulchrum.* In 4.32.1–2 the vocabulary suggested the resemblance between amber and a sepulchre: the comparison is made explicit here. The expression *tumulo . . . iacet* is often used in funerary epigrams, especially in relation with the *mors inmatura*: 6.52.1; 11.91.1–2. Amber was very expensive (Plin. *Nat.* 37.49), hence the comparison between the viper's and Cleopatra's burial places.

In epigram **4.57** Martial departed from the heat of Baiae and went to the cooler and more salubrious Tibur for the summer. There, someone called Curiatius dies unexpectedly: Martial reflects on the unavoidable nature of death (cf. **4.18**; **4.63**; **4.32**). This forms a diptych with **4.59**, which also dealt with death in a pleasant environment.

The first couplet surprisingly contradicts 4.57: Martial seems to be ironic in recommending the warmest resorts in Italy to spend the summer. In the following distich the reader discovers that the tone was not sarcastic, but angry and impotent: in a place famous for its healing waters Curiatius has departed to the Styx. The poem ends with a reflection on death, subtly personified, and with a comparison between Tibur and Sardinia, a proverbially insalubrious place.

1. Ardea: a city in Latium, on the *via Ardeatina*, 35.5 km from Rome, near Mount Albanus. It was a notoriously insalubrious area: Sen. *Ep.* 105.1; Serv. *A.* 7.796; cf. Strab. 5.231.

solstitio: the summer solstice (Var. *L.* 6.8; Cic. *N. D.* 2.19; 2.50). Sometimes, *solstitium* metonymically refers to summer: Hor. *Ep.* 1.11.18; Verg. *Ecl.* 7.47; *G.* 1.100; Ov. *Tr.* 5.10.7; Sen. *Ben.* 1.12.3.

Castranaque rura: the environs of *Castrum Inui* (Verg. *A.* 6.775; Serv. *ad loc.*), also called *Castrum* (Ov. *Met.* 15.727), near Ardea (Sil. 8.359) and the mouth of the Tiber. *Castranus* is a *hapax legomenon* (Stephani, 1889: 57). The *lectio* of the third family (γ), *Paestaque*, is clearly erroneous: it may be a corruption from *Paestanaque* (cf. 4.42.10; 6.80.6 *Paestanis . . . ruris*; 9.26.3; 9.60.1 *Paestanis . . . arvis*). *Paestum* was not famous for its heat or insalubrity. For the causes of this textual corruption, see Schmid, 1984: 405–406.

2. Shackleton Bailey thinks this is a generic reference: he points out that *quique* is equivalent to *et quicunque* and adduces Verg. *A.* 6.664. In my opinion, this line indirectly alludes to Baiae, identifiable by comparison with **4.57.5–6** *Horrida sed fervent Nemeaei pectora monstri,/nec satis est, Baias igne calere suo.*

Cleonaeo sidere: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.28 *torva Cleonaei iuba sideris*; Mart. 5.71.3 *Rura Cleonaeo numquam temerata leone. Cleonaeus* is an alter-

native epithet for the Nemean lion (cf. 4.57.5 n.), because Nemea was in the territory of Cleonae, in the Argolid (Plin. *Nat.* 4.20): Luc. 4.612 *Cleonaei . . . leonis*; Sen. *Her. F.* 798 (cf. *Her. O.* 1891); Sil. 3.33–34; Stat. *Theb.* 1.487 (cf. *Theb.* 4.160). The sun enters Leo on 27th July and remains there during August. The Nemean Lion (4.57.5 n.), which was transformed into the constellation of Leo, alludes metonymically to the warmest month of the year (Henriksén *ad* 9.90.12).

fervet: this applies to the sun and the stars related to summer: Mart. 4.57.5 (n.); 9.90.12. It is not usually applied to warm places (Prop. 2.88.4 *incipit et sicco fervere terra Cane*; Vitr. 1.4.1): cf. Col. 3.12.6 *nam ferventibus prouinciis, ut Aegypto et Numidia[e]*; 11.2.23 *ferventissima regio*; Sen. *Med.* 681–682 *ferventis . . . Lybiae*; *Nat.* 4.2.18 *Aethiopiam ferventissimam.*

3. Tiburtinas . . . auras: cf. 7.13.3–4 *Tiburis alti/aura*; Sil. 12.229. Tibur was an ideal summer resort, because of its cool temperature: **4.57.10** (n.). The term *aura* appears elsewhere with a adjective corresponding to a place: Ov. *Tr.* 5.6.19 *Scythica . . . aura*; Germ. 246–247 *auras/Threicias.*

Curiatius: Martial mentions this character only here. Derived from *Curius* by means of the suffix *-atius* (Schulze, 1966: 286), it is a widespread name: see TLL *suppl.* 2 *s. v.* 756–757 and RE IV2 (1901) *s. Curiatius* 2, 1831–1843 (Stein).

Herrmann (1939; 1965: 848–850) identifies this Curiatius with Maternus (1.96; 2.74; 10.37) and both with the Curiatius Maternus in Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus* (PIR^2 C1604). He draws attention to some echoes from the *Dialogus*: 13.6 *quando enim fatalis et meus dies* ***veniet***; 13.5 *in illa sacra illosque fontis*. The main obstacle for this hypothesis is the fact that Maternus is the addressee of an epigram in book X. Herrmann argues that 10.37 might have been written long before publication, but he does not prove it definitively. For Curiatius Maternus, see Duret, 1986: 3205–3212.

4. Cf. 6.68.3 *Inter Baianas raptus puer occidit undas*. Curiatius may have drowned.

inter laudatas . . . aquas: according to Hofmann (*ad loc.*), these are the springs of Albula (4.4.2 n.). Although these are not the only waters of Tibur (consider, for example, the river Anio), they were famous for their therapeutic properties (Strab. 5.3.11). Hence, Curiatius' death is all the more unexpected. Noteworthy is the play between

Tivoli's waters and the streams of the underworld (cf. **4.73.2**). For the phrase *laudatas aquas*, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 5.71 *petit, a quo postremo ebibitur aquasque laudatas perdit, pestilentibus mixtas.*

ad Styga missus: 12.90.3 *Stygias . . . missus ad umbras* ([Sen.] *Oct.* 79); Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.65 *mittere me Stygias . . . in undas*; 5.2.74 *ad Styga mittat. Mittere* with a hell-related noun is a frequent periphrasis for death (TLL. *s. mittere* 1184.52–78 [Fleischer]): e.g. Pl. *Capt.* 692 *morti* (cf. *Culex* 188); Acc. *Trag.* 491 *Leto*; Cic. *Phil.* 9.10 *ad mortem missistis*; *Tusc.* 1.98; Verg. *A.* 8.563 *sub Tartara*; 9.785 *Orco*; Luc. 10.392 *ad umbras*; Sen. *Herc.* F. 1049 *ad mortem*; *Oed.* 521 *Erebo*; Stat. *Theb.* 12.85 *in Tartara*; 12.764 *umbris*; *Silv.* 2.4.34. Styx ('the hateful') was one of the nine rivers of the underworld (Hes. *Th.* 361; 775–806).

5. Nullo fata loco possis excludere: cf. **4.18.8** (n.) *aut ubi mors non est?*; Sen. *Ep.* 49.11 *Non ubique se mors tam prope ostendit: ubique tam prope est*; *Phoen.* 151 *ubique mors est.*

fata: 4.18.5 (n.).

excludere: 'shut out', cf. *v.* 6. *venerit.*

5–6. cum mors venerit: Lucil. Iun. 3 *mors non una venit*; Hor. *S.* 1.1.8 *momento cita mors venit*; Prop. 2.13.50 *o mors, cur mihi sera venis?*; 3.7.30; Tib. 1.1.70 *iam veniet . . . mors*; 1.3.65; 2.3.38; 2.4.43 Petr. 101.2 *mors venit*; Sen. *Ep.* 4.3 *mors ad te venit*; 99.11; Quint. *Decl.* 306.23; [Quint.] *Decl.* 12.16.

6. Sardinia: Strabo describes the south and west of Sardinia as seedy, insalubrious areas: Strab. 5.2.7. See also Paus. 10.17.11; Mela 2.123 *atque ut fecunda ita paene pestilens*; Sil. 12.371 *sed tristis caelo et multa vitiata palude*; cf. Cic. *Quint.* 56.2.

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This epigram completes the cycle on boastfulness (4.37; 4.39; 4.46) with Mancinus, who is always bragging about the benefits and presents he receives. Martial presents a chronological series of scenes, each of them introduced by time expressions (*nuper, quartus dies est, here, mane, post meridie*), culminating in his complaint about Mancinus' smugness and avarice (see 4.26 n; 4.68 n.; 4.85 n.). Like Afer, Charinus, and Sabellus, Mancinus is censured for his talkativeness: in a gathering of poets he monopolises the conversation (4–8); later, in the middle of a spectacle, he leaves the theatre announcing that he has inherited a fortune (9–11), thus revealing that his interest in culture is a pose. He frequents the intellectual circles just to become acquaintanced with those who can support him economically and because it is fashionable to do so (cf. 3.20, where both the *schola poetarum* and Pollio are mentioned). Mancinus differs from other conceited characters in his style. Whereas Martial's account of Afer's, Charinus', and Sabellus' words is repetitive and straightforward (4.37; 4.39; 4.46), Mancinus' indirect speech is more elaborate: notice the enjambment and word order of lines 3–8, and the pleonasm in line 7 (see also the note on line 2). Martial mocks him doubly: by using a colloquial register (cf. e.g. 3; 4 *dixti*; the mixing of tenses in line 10), and by adopting an elevated style (lines 13–14).

Mancinus could be said to be the opposite of Fabianus (4.5): his endless benefits may have an immoral origin, but this is suggested in a very subtle way: sexual licentiousness (3–8) and legacy-hunting (9–11) are indirectly evoked. However, it is his loquaciousness itself that betrays him (cf. 5.35; Canobbio *ad loc.*; Thphr. *Char.* 23).

For the choliambic or 'limping' metre of the poem, see Sáez, 1998: 251–269; Tanner, 1986: 2635–2637.

1. This first line undermines Mancinus' reliability: in **4.37** he owed Afer the same amount. What he presents as a friend's gift may be a usurer's loan. For the term *amicus* in the context of patron-client relationships, see Garrido-Hory, 1985: 384–385.

Mancine: 4.37.1 (n.). In 1.43 Mancinus is a mean host.

2. nuper superbo laetus ore iactasti: cf. 5.8.6 *et iactat tumido superbus ore*. Each term underlines Mancinus' boastfulness and longwindedness.

superbo . . . ore: cf. Sil. 3.247–248 *et resonare superbo/Hannibal haud umquam cessabat avunculus ore*; 11.80–81 *tum mandata superbo/ore adportabat*; 11.578–579 *tanta superbo/facta sonas ore*; Stat. *Theb*. 12.770 *ore superbo*. Martial uses a mock-epic tone in order to parody Mancinus' speech. See 4.14.3 (n.) for the use of *os* in epic language.

laetus: the adjective denotes Mancinus' satisfaction, but it may also apply to a wordy, elaborate speech (OLD *s. v.* 2; TLL *s. v.* 884.84–885.22 [v. Kamptz]).

iactasti: the verb means to 'boast' (OLD *s. v.* 11; TLL *s. v.* 59.42–61.57 [J. B. A.]), but also alludes to the way of speaking: it may be applied to vehement (Cic. *Quinct*. 47) or careless speech (Cic. *Cael*. 35), and it may be a synonym for *dictitare* (TLL *s. v.* 55.83–58.40 *i. q. crebro vel cum commotione voces emittere*), as is the case here.

3. Quartus dies est: a time expression normally followed by a clause introduced by *ut* or *quod*: Plin. *Ep* 4.27.1 *Tertius dies est quod audivi recitantem Sentium Augurinum;* Fro. *Aur*. 3.10.1 *Quinctus hic dies est ut correptus sum dolore membrorum*; 5.69.1 *Tertius est dies, quod per noctem morsus ventris cum profluvio patior*. The conjunction is elided.

schola poetarum: this gathering of poets is also mentioned by Martial in 3.20.8. Various attempts have been made to trace back this poetic society to the old *collegium scribarum histrionumque*, inaugurated around 207 BC (Dolç, 1971: 271) and the *collegium poetarum* of Republican and Augustan times (see Sihler, 1905; Kunihara [*Inst. Giapon. di Cultura*, Roma, 1, 1964: 85ff., quoted by Horsfall, 1976]; Dolç, 1971). Horsfall, however, concludes: 'if we eschew speculation, it will emerge that the overall history of the *collegium poetarum* simply cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be traced. That is not to deny that the *collegium* existed' (1976: 91).

Briefly, the *collegium scribarum histrionumque* had its seat in the Temple of Minerva on the Aventine: as a depository of literary manuscripts and treatises, it served as a library before the foundation of those of Asinius Pollio and Augustus. Sihler claims that authors such as Terence or Virgil never belonged to the *collegium*, and that their critics—*malevoli* (Ter. *An*. 6; *Hau*. 16; *Ad*. 15; see Dolç, 1971: 276–280) and *obtrectatores* (Don. *Vita Verg*. 1)—were the associated poets. Horace, by contrast, was a member of the *collegium* (*S*. 2.6.36–7; cf. *S*. 1.10.38).

At some point, poets and actors separated (Dolç, 1971: 282), probably in 115 BC. Kunihara (1964: 89) thinks that the *collegium poetarum* disappeared shortly afterwards, whereas Sihler maintains that this institution survived up to Martial's time: 'it was evidently a good place for the leisure hours of witty talkers and the description reminds one of a modern club (. . .). The guild was alive not only with the rivalry of *recitationes*, but also with pleasant conversations of members with one another, or with patrons, or with younger men who desired to recite their own productions before this, the most competent available tribunal of versification' (Sihler, 1905: 16–17): cf. Mart. 3.20.8–9 *An otiosus in schola poetarum/lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?*; Porph. *ad Hor. S.* 1.10.28 *In aede Musarum, ubi poeta<e> carmina sua recitabant.*

As regards the seat of the *schola*, a temple is mentioned several times: Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.94 *vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem*; Plin. *Nat.* 34.29 *camenarum aede.* Sihler, following Bentley, claims that from 187 BC onwards the seat of the *collegium poetarum* was the Temple of Hercules Musarum (*vid.* RE VIII1 [1912] *s. Hercules* [Haug], especially 574–578; Dolç, 1971: 289–290; Viscogliosi, LTRV *s. Hercules Musarum, Aedes*), in the Campus Martius. Coarelli (1997: 452–484) conclusively suggests that the *collegium poetarum* was founded around 187–179 BC and had its seat in the above-mentioned temple, a cultural complex where *recitationes* could be held. Pennacini (1989: 259) suggests that the *collegium* met in the Temple of Apollo Palatinus. Dolç (1971: 290–291), who thinks that Martial's *schola poetarum* was an informal group of friends interested in poetry, refutes the idea that they met at the *Schola Octaviae*, contiguous to the Porticus of Livia and Octavia (*vid.* Norcio *ad* 3.20.8). According to Carratello (1964: 132), the expression *schola poetarum* does not mean a poets' gathering but a recitation hall, probably an annex to the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine (Plin. *Ep.* 1.13.3). See Coleman, 2000: 244 and n. 224.

schola: (OLD 4b) a circular or semicircular architectural structure with seats, where the members of a *collegium* met (cf. CIL 5.7904; 6.103b; 6.10234.11; 8.2554; 11.2702 IN SCHOLA COLLEGI FABRI). Metonymically, it also denotes the *collegium* itself (CIL 3.10997 [AD 229] SCHOLA TVBICINVM). See Horsfall, 1976: 87.

4–8. In the presence of the poets, the protagonist proudly claims to have been given expensive clothes and jewels by women. Naively he pretends to be a Don Juan, but does not realise the implications of his words: gifts could be reinterpreted as a payment (*munus*) for

infamous services (cf. 4.28; 4.39); indulgence in jewellery and extravagant clothes calls his virility into question, not to mention that the names *Bassa* and *Caelia* normally belong to scandalous women in the epigrams.

4. fabulamur: 'chat': cf. Apul. *Fl.* 21 *ambulant diutule et fabulantur*; Gel. 19.13 *Stabant forte una in vestibulo Palatii fabulantes Fronto Cornelius et Festus Postumius et Apollinaris Sulpicius.* It applies to cheerful, inconsequential talk (Suet. *Dom.* 4.2) and to informal language (TLL *s. v.* 35.12–36.18 [Vetter]).

4–5. milibus decem . . ./emptas lacernas: an excessive price even for a premium quality cloak: cf. 8.10 *Emit lacernas milibus decem Bassus/Tyrias coloris optimi. Lucri fecit./'Adeo bene emit?' inquis. Immo non solvet.* Fortunata, Trimalchio's wife, sells all her jewels and clothes for the same amount (Petr. 76.7): Duncan-Jones (1982: 245) explains that it was not, however, a large sum. For the term *lacernas*, see **4.2.2** (n.).

dixti: Martial used this syncopal form *dixti* (TLL *s. dico* 967.34–41) in 5.16.13 and 6.30.2; cf. *perduxti* (3.22.4) and *addixti* (10.31.1; 12.16.1). See Neue-Wagener, 1897: 500–506.

5. Pompullae: this is the only occurrence of this name in Martial's epigrams, although there is a *Pompullus* in 6.61 (Grewing *ad loc.*). See Schulze (1966: 196; 461 and n. 4) for the origin of the name and the suffix *-ullus*.

6–7. For the use of jewellery by men, see **4.28.4** (n.).

6. sardonycha verum: for this expression, cf. 9.59.19 (*var. lect.* vero); 10.87.14 *Sardonychas veros*; Plin. *Nat.* 37.91 *veram autem onychem plurimas variasque cum lacteis habere venas, omnium in transitu colore inenarrabili et in unum redeunte concentum suavitate grata.* For the sardonyx, see **4.28.4** (n.).

lineisque ter cinctum: *linea* alludes to the streaks in the stone: Plin. *Nat.* 37.118 *ea, quae ex iis smaragdo similis est, saepe transversa linea alba media* ***praecingitur*** *et monogramm<o>s vocatur*; 37.177 *Ophicardelon barbari vocant, nigrum colorem binis lineis albis includentibus*; 37.152 *Cepitis sive cepolatitis candida est, venarum coeuntibus lineis in unum*; 37.179. For colour variation in the sardonyx, see 4.28.4 (n.); Plin. *Nat.* 37.85–89.

For the use of *cingere* in the description of stones, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 37.90; 37.149; 37.151; 37.187.

7. duasque similes fluctibus maris gemmas: this periphasis might allude to emeralds (cf. 9.59.17 *viridis . . . gemmas*; 11.27.10 *aut virides gemmas sardonychasve pares*; sardonyces and emeralds are frequently mentioned together in the epigrams: 4.28.4; 5.11.1; 11.27.10), or rather to aquamarines (*berylli*; RE III1 [1897] *s. beryllos* [Blümer] 320–321): Plin. *Nat.* 37.76 *probatissimi ex iis sunt qui viriditatem maris puri imitantur*. They were less common and more highly valued than emeralds (Higgins, 1980: 36). The expression *aqua marina* is not found as such in Classical or late Latin, but the *beryllus* is always compared with water: Gloss. IV 601.1 *lapis tantum ut aqua splendit*; Marbod. *De gemmis* 12 *lymphae marinae similes*; Tert. *Anim.* 9 *nec berullis ideo aquosa materia est quod fluctuent colato colore*; Prisc. *Perieg.* 935 *berylli lapidem liquidum glaucique coloris*.

8. Bassam Caeliamque: Bassa is a *tribas* in 1.90 (Citroni *ad loc.*), a *fellatrix* in 6.69 (and probably in **4.4**), an old hag in 5.45; Caelia is a nymphomaniac, fond of eunuchs (6.67) and foreigners (7.30). One should not boast of having received presents from them. There is a humorous wordplay with the names: *Bassa* (Schulze, 1966: 444, 479–81; 522) means *crassa*, *pinguis*, *obesa* (Martyr. *Gram.* 7.176.14; Gloss. V 591.60; V 173.16), and also 'short' (Sp. 'baja'; It. 'bassa'): Gloss. IV 210.17 *bassum non altum*. *Caelia*, on the other hand, may be related to the sky. For the name *Caelia*, see TLL suppl. II 24–26. There is a subtle evocation of Lucretius' passage on the blemishes of women: Lucr. 4.1162–1163.

9–11. Lines 4–8 were set in a semi-private context (the *schola poetarum*), whereas now the scene takes place in a theatre, during a recital by the popular musician Pollio. Although theatre spectacles were held 'dans la plus grande confusion malgré de frequents rappels à l'ordre' (Péché, 2001: 73), Martial censures the fact that Mancinus leaves the place hastily (*fugis*) just to draw everyone's attention to himself and let them know that he has inherited a fortune.

9. Pollione cantante: cf. 3.20.18. *Pollio* was a famous *citharoedus*, also mentioned by Juvenal (7.176–177). He was particularly popular with women (6.385–397; see Ferguson, 1987: 184; RE XXI2

(1952) [Lambertz] *s. Pollio* 5). Martial mentions a *Pollio*—not necessarily the same one—who is very generous when drunk, but mean when sober (12.12).

Music, which had always been an essential part of dramatic performances, played an important role in Imperial times. Both Nero and Domitian promoted music contests, e.g. the Agon Capitolinus, in which Juvenal's Pollio took part (Juv. 6.387). Musicians, especially *tibicines* and *citharoedi*, who sang to the accompaniment of the lyre, could perform solo (Baudot, 1973: 67) and were highly regarded (Bélis, 1999: 185).

10. cum subito abires: Shackleton Bailey (1990) glosses: *ventre puta sive vesica impulsus*. Not necessarily: he may not be interested in the spectacle but rather in drawing attention.

11. hereditatis: for a similar use of the genitive, cf. 2.65.5 *centena decies . . . dotis*; 11.23.3 *deciens . . . dotis*; 12.75.8 *dotis . . . quinquies ducena*.

venisse: cf. e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.125; 2.2.20 *hereditas ei venisset*; 2.2.53; 2.2.59; 2.2.116; *Div.* 2.18; *Flac.* 85; *Phil.* 2.62; *Off.* 2.29; *Rhet. Her.* 4.33; Quint. *Decl.* 273.12.

12. The repetition of *centum*—before the caesura and at the end of the line—and *et*—next to the time expressions—contributes to the feeling of ennui provoked by Mancinus' boasting.

post meridie: *post meridiem* is more common: cf. Cato *Agr.* 40.1; Cels. 3.21.12; Cic. *De orat.* 2.367; *Tusc.* 2.9; *Off.* 3.80; *Fam.* 8.9.1; *Att.* 1.10.1; 8.14.1; Col. 1.6.2; 7.3.24; *Arb.* 12.1.3; Var. *R.* 2.4.6; Plin. *Nat.* 10.181; 16.193; 17.112; 18.330; Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.18. *Post meridie* is the *lectio difficilior* (Mart. 3.20.13; Cato *Agr.* 31.2 *postmeridie*; *var. lect.* meridiem).

centum: *centum milia*, see Ramírez Sádaba, 1987: 156–157.

13–14. Martial's voice emerges imitating Mancinus' rhetorical style: cf. Quint. *Decl.* 6.8 *iam mei miserere, cuius soles. crede mihi, hoc, quod patior, carcere peius est, captivitate crudelius. mea ista poena est. quid tibi tantum mali feci, quid offendi?*

quid . . . mali . . . tantum: Quint. *Decl.* 269.10 *quid tantum mali fecisti mihi?*; [Quint.] *Decl.* 6.8; Petr. 132.13; Sen. *Ben.* 6.37.2; Mart. 1.18.4 *Aut quid fecerunt optima vina mali?*; 6.59.5 *Quid fecere mali nostrae tibi, saeve, lacernae.*

sodales: like *amicus*, *sodalis* has a twofold meaning in Martial: close friend (cf. 1.15.1; 7.84.5; 10.104.8–9; 12.34.10–11; 14.11.1), and also client (see Garrido-Hory, 1985: 383–384): 1.99.14–15 *et septem veteres tui sodales/constemus tibi plumbea selibra*; 2.43.15–16 *ex opibus tantis veteri fidoque sodali/das nihil*; 2.44; 5.19.9 *Quis largitur opes veteri fidoque sodali?*; 7.86.5; 12.25.3

miserere iam: 5.39.4; 10.74.1–2 *Iam parce lasso, Roma, gratulatori,/lasso clienti;* 10.82.7 *Parce, precor, fesso vanosque remitte labores*; Quint. *Decl.* 338.26 *Miserere: non est tuus. Iam parce*; Juv. 8.89 *pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum.*

crudelis: in 8.14.7 *crudelis* is applied to a mean host: *Sic habitare iubes veterem crudelis amicum.* Mancinus' cruelty is double: he does not share his wealth with his friends, who are constantly tortured by his words (cf. **4.37**). For the use of *crudelis* in apostrophes, see Dickey, 2002: 318.

et sile tandem: *tandem*, like *iam*, reinforces an imperative and denotes irritation and impatience: 6.35.5 *ut tandem saties vocemque sitimque, rogamus*; 8.64.15 *Sit tandem pudor et modus rapinis*; 11.49.11 *Sit pudor et tandem veri respectus et aequi*; 12.97.10 *Sit tandem pudor, aut eamus in ius.* Inveterate loquaciousness is often the butt of Martial's attacks: 1.95; 2.27.4; 3.45.6; 4.41 (n.); 4.80.6 (n.); 5.52.6 *si vis, ut loquar, ipse tace*; 9.68.11–12.

15. aut, si tacere lingua non potest ista: his tongue seems to be autonomous: for similar synecdoches, cf. 9.25.5 *Heu quae lingua silet!*; Petr. 69.3 *Sed tace, lingua.* There might even be a subliminal sexual attack (cf. 5–8): cf. 3.96.

For the use of disjunctives at the end of epigrams, see Siedschlag, 1977: 80 and n. 2; cf. 1.103.12; 7.54.8.

16. aliquando narra quod velimus audire: this ambiguous ending must be linked with the final lines of **4.37.8–10**: *Numeres oportet aliquid, ut pati possim:/cotidianam refice nauseam nummis:/audire gratis, Afer, ista non possum.* Martial would be glad to hear that Mancinus wants to repay his friends for their patience. However, other interpretations are also possible: what Martial wants to hear is either that Mancinus is not that rich after all, or that he has become wealthy by devious means (**4.5**; **4.78**), or even that he is bankrupt (cf. other epigrams ending with similar curses **4.51.6**; **4.83.6**).

For the sense of *narrare*, cf. **4.37.6** (n.).

Dark-skinned Lycoris went to Tibur, in the naive belief that its air whitens everything, not just ivory (cf. 7.13; Galán *ad loc.*). This epigram draws on the satirical vein of invective against (old) women (Brecht, 1930: 60–66; Richlin, 1984; Bonvicini, 1999: 113–122), with an emphasis on physical blemishes (4.65) and their ineffective attempts to conceal them (1.72; 1.87; 3.42). Lycoris is also accused of stupidity (cf. 3.72.8). According to Lausberg, there is a parodic literary play with Propertius' 2.32, 3.16, 4.7, dealing with Cynthia's visit to Tibur.

This epigram belongs to the 'Tibur cycle' (**4.57**; **4.60**; **4.79**) and was reworked in 7.13.1–3 *Dum Tiburtinis albescere solibus audit/antiqui dentis fusca Lycoris ebur,/venit in Herculeos colles.*

Further reading: Kuppe, 1972: 102; Lausberg, 1982: 418–423.

1. Tibur in Herculeum: cf. Prop. 2.32.5 *Herculeum . . . Tibur*; Mart. 1.12.1 *Herculeas . . . Tiburis arces* (Citroni *ad loc.*); 7.13.3 *Herculeos colles* (Galán *ad loc.*). For the epithet *Herculeus* applied to Tibur, cf. **4.57.9** (n.). Tibur (Tivoli) was a famous holiday resort (**4.57** n.).

migravit: Martial always uses this verb in satirical contexts: 1.86.11; 1.108.5; 3.55.1; 12.32.2. The verb implies a change of residence, but is clearly used to make a wordplay: ***migra**vit/**nigra***.

nigra Lycoris: 7.13.2 *fusca Lycoris*. Lycoris is one-eyed (3.39.2) and dark: cf. 1.72.5–6 *Sic quae nigrior est cadente moro,/cerussata sibi placet Lycoris*. Ironically, Lycoris was the pseudonym of Cornelius Gallus' lover (**4.24.1** n.).

Niger means dark-skinned (Lucr. 6.722; 1109; Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.108; Verg. *A.* 1.489; Ov. *Met.* 2.236; Sidon. *Carm.* 5.346; Snowden, 1947: 270; 275); *fuscus* is used in the same contexts with meliorative connotations (*Mor.* 33; Prop. 4.6.78; cf. 4.42.5): cf. Lucr. 4.1160; Ov. *Ars* 2. 657–658 *fusca vocetur/nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erit; Rem.* 327 *si fusca est, nigra vocetur.*

A white complexion was one of the essential features of beauty, although the defence of dark skin is a widespread literary motif: Verg. *Ecl.* 2.16–18; 10.38–39; [Ov.] *Ep.* 15.35–38; *Am.* 2.4.40 *est*

etiam in fusco grata colore Venus; Mart. 1.115.4–5; 7.29.7–8. Ovid, however, catalogues it among the physical blemishes that have to be concealed (*Ars* 3.270).

There is another epigram on the same topic but involving wordplay: 3.34.2 *frigida es et nigra es: non es et es Chione*. Finally, there is a noteworthy Propertian echo: 4.7.85 *hic tiburtina iacet* ***aurea Cynthia*** *terra*.

Lorenz (2004: 273, n. 56) suggests: '*Nigra* is perhaps to be seen as a reference to her character: the Lycoris in 4.24 is a poisoner'.

2. omnia dum fieri candida credit ibi: *omnia* is the key to the poem: only ivory was thought to become whiter due to the sulphurous emanations of the area (Ker *ad loc.*): Prop. 4.7.82 *et numquam Herculeo numine pallet ebur*; Mart. 7.13.1–2 (Galán *ad loc.*); 8.28.11–12 *Lilia tu vincis nec adhuc delapsa ligustra,/et Tiburtino monte quod alget ebur*; Sil. 12.229–230 *quale micat semperque novum est quod Tiburis aura/pascit ebur*. Lycoris' moving to Tibur to become whiter is a foolish course of action. It is to be remembered that ivory was a common term of comparison for a white complexion in poetry (TLL *s. ebur* 19.52–72; *s. eburneus* 22.54–58).

Assonance contributes to the comic effect, as does the syntantic-semantic play of *candida*: it is an accusative alluding to whiteness (4.42.3–4 n.), but is homophonous with a nominative feminine, subtly evoking Lycoris' naivety. Others would have used cosmetics to hide their complexion, although this practice is equally mocked by poets: Hor. *Epod.* 12.10; Mart. 1.72; 2.41.11–12; 6.93.9–10; 8.33.17.

dum: cf. 7.13 (*supra*). *Dum* introduces a cause (TLL *s. v.* 2202.68–79 [Hey]), just like *quod* or *quia* (TLL *s. v.* 2211–82–2212.34). See Ernout-Thomas, 1964: 349–350; Hofmann-Szantyr: 614–615 § 330.

63

Death again appears unexpectedly in a peaceful resort (**4.60**): a matron has drowned in the Lucrine Lake, famous for its calm, safe waters. This is illustrated by a historical *exemplum*: Nero's failed attempt to murder his mother during a similar journey. The waters did not submit to the Emperor's orders, and Agrippina momentarily escaped. Now, however, waters act on their own and kill arbitrarily. The final apostrophe stresses the inexorability of death (**4.18.8** n.).

Further reading: Greenwood, 1998; Moreno Soldevila, 2005.

1. Dum petit a Baulis mater Caerellia Baias: travel by water between the localities around the Lucrine Lake (4.30.1 n.) was very frequent, especially before the construction of the *via Domitiana* (D'Arms, 1970: 134). Besides, sailing was one of the favourite pastimes in the area: Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.26–27 *mira quies pelagi: ponunt hic lassa furorem/ aequora et insani spirant clementius austri*; 3.5.84 *quas imbelle fretum torpentibus adluit undis*.

Baulis: north of Baiae (Plin. *Nat.* 3.61), and very close to it (Plin. *Nat.* 9.172): it was a residential area. Among its famous villas was that of Q. Hortensius (Var. *R.* 3.17), which later passed into the hands of Antonia, the wife of Drusus, and probably Agrippina (Bicknell, 1963: 62). For Bauli, see RE III1 (1897) *s. v.* (Hülsen) and McDaniel, 1910.

mater Caerellia: the name Caerellia appears once more in Martial's work, in a satirical epigram in this same book (**4.20**). Stein (RE III1 [1897] *s. Caerellia* 11, 1284) suggests that these refer to different women. *Mater* anticipates the allusion to Nero's attempted matricide.

Baias: see **4.25.1** (n.).

2. For other deaths in this lake, see Prop. 3.18 (on the drowning of Marcellus) and Mart. 6.68.

occidit: cf. 6.68.3 *Inter Baianas raptus puer occidit undas*.

insani . . . freti: cf. 4.11.6. *Insanus* applies to natural forces (*vid.* OLD *s. v.* 4a), especially the sea (TLL *s. v.* 1835.34–52 [Lumpe]):

Ov. *Ep.* 1.6 *obrutus . . . insanis aquis*; 18.28 *insani . . . freti*; Sil. 1.638; Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.30; Prop. 3.7.6 *obruis insano terque quaterque mari*; Sen. *Suas.* 1.4.7; Sen. *Med.* 765 *tumuit insanum mare; Phaed.* 700 *per mare insanum sequar; Ag.* 540; 598.

crimine: cf. [Ov.] *Ep.* 15.180 *ne sim Leucadiae mortua crimen aquae!; Tr.* 3.10.42 *non foret angustae mors tua crimen aquae*; Prop. 3.18.7 *at nunc invisae magno cum crimine Baiae. Crimine* paves the way for line 3, as it frequently appears in funerary lamentations: 10.61.2; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.85.

mersa: *mergere* applies both to drownings (*Sp.* 25b.4; 14.181.2) and shipwrecks (4.66.14; 9.40.7; 10.85.8).

3–4. Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.3–15.8) narrates that Nero had invited his mother, Julia Agrippina, to Baiae in March of AD 59, on the pretext of a reconciliation, but with the intention of assassinating her. After dinner, she was sailing back to Bauli, when her sabotaged boat was shipwrecked. She swam to the shore, although she could not escape death in the end: she was killed that same night by Anicetus, her son's freedman. Caerellia's journey (from Bauli to Baiae) is the opposite route (see also Suet. *Nero* 34). However, Cassius Dio places the banquet at Bauli (62.13.1–5).

3. Gloria quanta perit vobis!: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 82.18 *perit gloria.* An ambiguous expression: so far the reader does not know that the poet is addressing the waters. *Gloria* may allude praisefully to the dead woman (4.75.2 n.; 5.24.14; 10.53.1), while *vobis* may be the readers. However, *gloria* may imply 'fame' and *vobis* allude to the waters, and the meaning of the line may be twofold: by killing Caerellia they have ruined their reputation for being calm; besides, in the past they did not take the opportunity to go down in history by assassinating Agrippina, and now have shown no mercy to a lay woman.

monstra: this implies an awesome episode (TLL *s. v.* 1449.1–18 [Szantyr]) or a bizarre event, but, placed alongside the name Nero, a second meaning emerges, that of an 'abominable crime' (TLL *s. v.* 1453.14–30: cf. Cic. *Sest.* 53), especially against a close relative: Sen. *Med.* 674–675 *maius parat/Medea monstrum*; Stat. *Theb.* 4.395; Juv. 6.645. The poetic plural is very common, both in concrete and abstract senses: e.g. Verg. A. 7.780; Prop. 2.28.21; Sen. *Phaed.* 122; 144; Stat. *Theb.* 4.157; Sil. 2.158; V. Fl. 2.489.

Neroni: cf. 7.21.3 *Nero crudelis nullaque invisior umbra*; 7.34.4 *Quid Nerone peius?* (Galán *ad loc.*); Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.58 *ingratus Nero*; 5.2.33

fero . . . Neroni; Juv. 8.223. For the negative portrait of Nero in Martial's time, see Brugnoli, 1964–1965: 5–36.

4. iussae: cf. Juv. 10.15 *iussuque Neronis*.

aquae: for the apostrophe to waters, cf. **4.18.8**; **4.22.8**; and Greenwood, 1998.

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Martial describes the villa of Julius Martialis:

- lines 1–10 focus on its location: the villa is on the *Ianiculum* (Monte Mario). It is symbolically depicted as a quiet retreat, relatively far from the Urbs and near the sky. The language evokes a sense of calmness (*recumbunt, sereniore*) and restraint (*modico tumore*), as well as the image of Mount Olympus (Baker, 1996);
- lines 11–25 describe a panoramic vista from the villa, which commands an impressive view: Rome and its surroundings can be seen and enjoyed, while its disturbing noise cannot be heard (19–25);
- lines 26–30 focus on its owner's generosity and hospitality;
- in lines 31–36 Martial starts a dialogue with the reader, who may deem this praise exaggerated and prefer other places. But Martial prefers his friend's villa, which closes the poem in a circular fashion.

The qualities of the villa extend to its tenant (and vice versa: see Fenger, 1906: 17; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.28–29 *nulloque tumultu/stagna modesta iacent dominique imitantia mores*; Van Dam *ad loc.*), and the description complies with Martial's Epicurean ideal of a happy life (see e.g. Szelest, 1986: 2566), inasmuch as the humble villa offers a peaceful retreat from Rome. Echoes from philosophical language pervade the epigram, along with suggestive literary allusions, which would please his cultivated friend. Mythical references open and close the poem: Julius' land is as fertile as the Hesperides, while his generosity is comparable to that of Alcinous and Molorchus, hosts of Ulysses and Hercules respectively.

This is one of Martial's longest poems, comparable in tone and style to some of Statius' *Silvae* (cf. *Silv.* 1.3; 2.2).

Further reading: Assmann, 1905; Fröhner, 1912: 170; Alton, 1924; Rose, 1924a; 1924b; 1924c; Immisch, 1928; Bruni, 1949; Le Gall, 1953: 275–276; Scamuzzi, 1965; Mantke, 1966: 70; Shackleton Bailey, 1978: 273–296; Neumeister, 1991: 215–221; Baker-Pitcher, 1993; Maselli, 1995; Baker, 1996.

1. Iuli . . . Martialis: cf. 7.17.12 (Galán *ad loc.*). He was one of Martial's best friends (1.15.1 *O mihi post nullos, Iuli, memorande sodales*; cf. 3.5.4 *Iulius, assiduum nomen in ore meo*; 5.20.1 *care Martialis*; 6.1.2

care Martialis; 9.97.1 *carissime Iuli*; 10.47.2 *iucundissime Martialis*; 10.80.5 *Martialem malo*; 12.34), and much younger than him: 10.80.3–4. He is called either by his *praenomen, Iulius* (1.15; 3.5.4; 9.97.1; 12.34.2), or his *cognomen, Martialis* (5.20.1; 6.1.2; 10.47.2; 11.80.5), except for 7.17.12. The *Lucius Iulius* in 1.107 might also be identified with him (Citroni *ad loc.*). Martial often addresses him in epigrams about the ideal life: 1.15 deals with the *carpe diem* motif, and 5.20 and 10.47 with a happy life. Julius Martialis is a cultivated person, very fond of poetry: Martial dedicates his books III and VI (cf. 3.5; 6.1) to him, while in 7.17 he describes his library, located at the villa described in this poem. For a biographical sketch, see Lieben RE X1 (1917) *s. Iulius (Martialis)* 343, 672–674.

iugera pauca: the limited size of Julius' land harmonises with the ideal of moderate means for a happy life (cf. Hor. *S.* 2.6.1; Verg. *G.* 4.127–129 *Corycium vidisse senem, cui* ***pauca*** *relicti/* ***iugera*** *ruris erant*; Stat. *Silv.* 4.5.1). The expression *iugera pauca* appears in 6.16.2; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.15.1; 3.16.29; *Eleg. Maec.* 1.34; Ov. *Am.* 3.15.12; *Fast.* 3.192; Sil. 7.261–262; Sen. *Ben.* 4.6.1; Juv. 9.60. Noteworthy is the alliteration *Iuli/iugera*, reinforcing the identification between land and owner. A *iugerum* is, strictly speaking, a measure of land (240 × 120 Roman feet).

2. Fertility makes up for the small size of the lands.

hortis Hesperidum: cf. E. *Hipp.* 742–751. Allusion is made to the Garden of the Hesperides (Lucr. 5.32; Verg. *A.* 4.484; Man. 5.16; Plin. *Nat.* 5.3; Luc. 9.358; Hyg. *Fab.* pr.39; 30.12; 151.1; *Astr.* 2.3.1; 2.6.1; 2.15.5; Juv. 14.114), epitome of wealth and fertility: Ov. *Met.* 11.113–4 *aurea messis erat; demptum tenet arbore pomum:/Hesperidas donasse putes; Priap.* 16.2 *qualibus Hesperidum nobilis hortus erat*; Mart. *Sp.* 21.4 *Quale fuisse nemus creditur Hesperidum.* A further indirect allusion to the labours of Hercules can be found in line 30.

beatiora: 'wealthier' than the Garden of the Hesperides, with its golden apples (OLD *s. v.* 3), 'more fertile' (3.47.6 *beati . . . ruris*; Hor. *Ep.* 1.10.14), and more appropriate for a happy life (OLD *s. v.* 1, cf. e.g. 10.47.1; see 4.21.3 n.). *Beatus* also implies afterlife bliss (OLD *s. v.* 2), which sutbly anticipates the evocations of eternity of the following lines.

3. longo Ianiculi iugo: this is not present-day Gianicolo, from which neither the *via Salaria*, nor *Castel Giubileo* (*Fidenae*) nor *Grotta*

Rossa (*Rubrae*) can be seen. The Milvian Bridge could not properly be said to be near this mount (23). Martial is rather referring to present-day Monte Mario (Bruni, 1949), which was called *Clivus Cinnae* (Neumeister, 1991: 215) in antiquity and Monte Malo in the Middle Ages. *Ianiculum* is probably a generic name for a number of hills in western Rome (except for *Mons Vaticanus*). *Longo . . . iugo* seems to refer to a hill range, at the northern extreme of which (Monte Mario) was Julius' villa (see also Scamuzzi, 1965). Neumeister (1991: 217) suggests that the equation of this hill with the Janiculum could be poetic licence. For the expression *iugum longum*, see Verg. *A.* 6.411; 11.544; Prop. 3.14.16; Ov. *Ep.* 5.20. Notice the etymological word-play *iugo/iugera*, and the alliteration: ***I**uli, **i**ugera, **I**aniculi, **i**ugo.*

recumbunt: a verb of location: cf. Catul. 17.4; Verg. *G.* 1.401; Plin. *Nat.* 17.209. It evokes calm and tranquillity. Neumeister (1991: 216) suggests that *recumbere* evokes the *convivium* and the notion of leisure and liberality. For further implications, see Maselli (1995: 51–52), according to whom the choice of *recumbere* has to do with the perspective adopted in these lines: the land is seen from afar.

4. lati . . . recessus: Shackleton Bailey (1993) emends *alti* (cf. *celsae*) and translates it as 'a high retreat', taking *recessus* as the villa (see also Shackleton Bailey, 1978: 278), cf. 6.43.9 *nunc urbis vicina iuvant facilesque recessus*; 5.67.1–2; 10.58.1. *Recessus* need not necessarily refer to Julius' villa, but to its environs. Besides, the house cannot be elevated: cf. 12.57.20 *Cui plana summos despicit domus montis*. In its proper sense, *recessus* is a natural terrace or flat elevation (Neumeister, 1991: 313–314 n. 26).

eminent: *β*; imminent *γ*: *Eminent* can be understood in its literal sense (TLL *s. v.* 490. 46–84 *i. q. prominere, exstare* [K.-M.]: see Shackleton Bailey, 1993: 'rises' and cf. Sil. 2.446 *eminet excelso consurgens monte Saguntus*). However, it might also have further visual connotations: in artistic language, the details in a painting can be said to *eminere* (OLD *s. v.* 2; TLL *s. v.* 492.59–62): Plin. *Nat.* 35.127; 35.131; Quint. *Inst.* 8.5.26; 2.17.21. Martial's description of his friend's villa is, in fact, picturesque. On the other hand, the verb denotes excellence (TLL *s. v.* 492.66–493.36), which contributes to the praise of its owner. Maselli (1995: 52), by analysing the point of view from which the villa is described, argues that *eminent* is the right option, contrary to Baker and Pitcher (1993), who prefer *imminent*, arguing that the perspective is inverted.

5. planus . . . vertex: Fro. *Str.* 2.2.4 *collis proximi planum verticem.*

modico tumore: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.305; Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 101 *curvata tumore parvo planities et mollibus edita clivis creverat in collem. Tumor modicus* belongs to medical language (Cels. 6.6.1b; 6.10.4; 7.24.1), but also suggests (lack of) pretentiousness (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.73 *immodico tumore turgescit*). This detail contributes to the depiction of the villa as an ideal isolated place and its owner as a humble man (*vid. infra*).

6. caelo perfruitur sereniore: the hilltop enjoys clearer weather (Lucr. 6.247 *caelo . . . sereno*; Cic. *Fam.* 16.9.2; Man. 1.260; Hor. *Epod.* 15.1 *caelo fulgebat Luna sereno*; Verg. *G.* 1.260; 1.487; *A.* 3.518; 5.851; Ov. *Met.* 1.168; 2.321; Mart. 14.130.1) when the mist covers the valley. The expression suggests a wise man's retreat: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 7.16.3 *Stoici dicunt omnis esse divites qui caelo et terra frui possint* (cf. Sen. *Cl.* 2.5.4 *serena eius* [i.e. *sapientis*] *mens*). The expression *caelo fruere* or *perfruere* is related to freedom (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.38; Ov. *Met.* 15.301 *liberiore frui caelo*), life (Sen. *Oed.* 854 *non potuit ille luce, non caelo frui; Ep.* 47.10), and even eternity: Sen. *Dial.* 11.9.8 *Fruitur nunc aperto et libero caelo*; Ov. *Fast.* 3.457; Serv. *Cent. Metr.* 456. There is a clear analogy between this hill and Mount Olympus (cf. Baker, 1996: 36; Baker-Pitcher, 1993 *ad loc.*).

7. curvas . . . valles: cf. Verg. *A.* 2.748; Ov. *Am.* 2.16.52.

8. luce nitet peculiari: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 3.7 *Baetica, a flumine mediam secante cognominata, cunctas provinciarum diviti cultu et quodam fertili ac* ***peculiari nitore*** *praecedit. Niteo* is related to sunlight (OLD *s. v.* 1); besides, *nitens* is something which stands out (cf. 4 *eminent*: *vid.* Stat. *Ach.* 1.823).

9. puris leniter admoventur astris: cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 1128 *admota aetheris culmina sedibus. Admovere* is used in an inverted sense, being applied to the inanimate. This is a poetic use, especially frequent in sailing contexts (TLL *s. v.* 774.29–27 [Hey]): Ov. *Met.* 6.512; Curt. 9.9.7; Plin. *Nat.* 12.5; V. Fl. 5.50. The closeness to the sky provokes an impression of movement, whereas proximity to the stars is a standard image of height: Verg. *A.* 2.460–461; 5.759–760; Ov. *Met.* 1.316; Sen. *Her. O.* 1620–1621; Mart. *Sp.* 2.1 *Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus*; 8.36.7–8; Stat. *Theb.* 2.35–36 *stat sublimis apex ventosque imbresque serenus/despicit et tantum fessis insiditur astris.*

puris . . . astris: stars symbolise eternity and sublimity (Verg. *A.* 4.322; 9.641; Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.9–10; TLL *s. v.* 971.19–37 [Dittman]; 972.75–973.23). *Purus* must be read against *sereniore* (6), since the stars are clearly seen in a cloudless sky (cf. 7–8): Prop. 2.26c.55–56 *ipsaque sidera erunt nullis obscura tenebris,/purus et Orion, purus et Haedus erit*; [Tib.] 3.7.10 *ut puro testantur sidera caelo*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.45 *sole puro.*

10. cf. Sen. *Tro.* 652 *celsa . . . fastigia*; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.3 *celsa . . . villa; Theb.* 1.630–1 *Celsa Cyclopum . . . tecta*; Amm. 17.7.4 *celsa culmina*; Auson. *Mos.* 320 *celsas . . . villas.*

celsae . . . villae: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.3 *celsa Dicarchei speculatrix villa profundi. Celsus* is applied to mountains (Acc. *Trag.* 177 *in celsis montibus*; Verg. *A.* 5.35; 6.805), Mount Olympus included (*Ciris* 34 *celsum . . . Olympum*; Sil. 11.457). It may also mean something approximating to *excelsus* (TLL *s. v.* 773.80–774.16; cf. *eminent*).

delicata culmina: cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 210 *delicatas . . . domos*; Phaed. 4.5.26 *Domum politam et delicatos hortulos*; Mart. 1.49.7; 7.17.1 *Ruris bibliotheca delicati*; 12.57.19.

11. Hinc: so far, the villa has been described from afar. The adverb introduces a change of perspective: lines 11–17 offer a panoramic view commanded from the house, describing an arc from the south-east to the north-east (Maselli, 1995: 53).

septem dominos . . . montes: The Palatine, Quirinal, Aventine, Caelian, Viminal, Esquiline, and Capitol. Cf. 8.36.5 *septenos . . . montes*; Hor. *Saec.* 7; Prop. 3.11.57 *septem urbs alta iugis, toto quae praesidet orbi*; Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.69–70 *sed quae de septem totum circumspicit orbem/montibus, imperii Roma deumque locus*; 3.7.51–2 *dumque suis victrix septem de montibus orbem/prospiciet domitum Martia Roma.* Rome is often called *domina*: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.44; Ov. *Met.* 15.444–7; Liv. 38.51.4; Mart. 1.3.3; 10.103.9; Sil. 3.509; Verg. *A.* 1.282 *Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam* (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 40.5; Mart. 14.124.1). The epithet is transferred to its landmarks. Rome is the *domina* of the world and her 'enslaved' citizens, forced to fulfil endless obligations: cf. 10.30.25; 10.74.1–2; 12.68.5. The fact that the seven hills can be seen from Julius' dwelling suggests that its inhabitants are exempt from the exhausting duties of urban life.

12. cf. 7.17.2 *vicinam videt unde lector urbem.*

totam . . . Romam: cf. 5.16.3; 6.28.2; 7.95.4; 10.6.6.

aestimare: the literal meaning is to measure extension, and visually 'to take in' (TLL *s. v.* 1103.42–60 [Prinz]): cf. Sen. *Nat.* 4b.11.4; Col. 9.8.9; Prop. 4.1a.65–6 *scandentis quisquis cernit de vallibus arces,/ingenio muros aestimet ille meo!*; Claud. 2.8.4 *nulloque magis se colle potestas* (*sc. Romana*) *aestimat.* Besides, *aestimare* belongs to the field of economics (cf. 8 *peculiari*), meaning both 'estimate' and 'appreciate': from this retreat, without the inconveniences of city life, one can love and enjoy the Urbs (Neumeister, 1991: 218). According to Maselli (1995: 53), this alludes to the magnificence of the monuments visible from the villa.

13. Cic. *Mil.* 81 *Albani Tumuli*; Ov. *Met.* 14.674 *et quaecumque tenent Albanos numina montes*; Liv. 3.7.3 *Tusculanos colles*; 3.8.7. The Alban hills are 21 km south-east of Rome, their most important peak being *Mons Albanus* (Monte Cavo), a 950-metre-high dormant volcano. *Tusculum* was 24 km in the same direction. Both were famous holiday resorts. See Strab. 5.3.12.

14. According to Neumeister (1991: 219), this may refer to Tibur and Praeneste, famous for their cool temperatures (*vid. infra*).

iacet sub urbe: on the outskirts of the city: 3.58.45; 8.61.6 *quod sub urbe rus habemus aestivum*; 9.97.7 *quod rus mihi dulce sub urbe est*; 11.18.1 *Donasti, Lupe, rus sub urbe nobis*; cf. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 133; Mart. 7.49.1; 10.58.9. For the manuscript variant *facit* (*β*), see Schmid, 1984: 425.

frigus: metonymically, cool places (TLL *s. v.* 1335.11–15 [Rubenbauer]): cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.4b.51 *ulterius nihil est nisi non habitabile frigus*; Sen. *Dial.* 4.15.5; Arnob. *Nat.* 4.5.p.145.14 *si orientem solem respexero, cardo mihi frigoris et septentrio fit laevus.* Romans who went on holiday were looking for cooler temperatures: **4.57.10** (n.).

15. For the chiasmus, see Salemme, 1976: 49 and cf. 1.117.16; 6.28.7; 7.39.1.

Fidenas veteres: present-day *Castel Giubileo*, Fidenae was a small, ancient town in *Latium*, on the *via Salaria* and the left bank of the Tiber, 8 km from Rome (cf. Prop. 4.1a.36).

brevesque Rubras: a village on the *via Flaminia*, north of Rome, also known as *Saxa rubra* (Vitr. 2.7.1), present-day *Grotta Rossa*, so called after its characteristic red tufa (RE IA1 [1913] *s. Rubrae* [Philipp]). *Brevis* means small (TLL *s. v.* 2181.37–75 [Münscher]: cf.

Ov. *Ars* 1.528; *Fast.* 4.692; Mart. 1.114.2; 10.79.2) and insignificant (TLL *s. v.* 2181.70–75; cf. Amm. 18.9.1; 22.16.4; 25.1010; 23.6.6; Arnob. *In psalm.* 28).

16–17. et quod virgineo cruore gaudet/Annae pomiferum nemus Perennae:

These lines present three main difficulties:

- the exact location of this grove,
- the meaning of *virgineo cruore*,
- the adequacy of the manuscript reading *virgineo cruore*, for which several emendations have been proposed.

Ovid relates that a festival was celebrated near the Tiber in honour of Anna Perenna (Ov. *Fast.* 3.523–696, especially 3.524–5): Inscr. It. XIII.2.173. FERIAE ANNAE PERENNAE VIA FLAM(INIA) AD LAPIDEM PRIM(VM). Her festivity on March 15th was a celebration of the new year and the renewal of life, with the coming of spring. Obscene songs were apparently part of the festival, a celebration of fertility (Ov. *Fast.* 3.675–696; Frazer *ad loc.*; see Newlands, 1996, on its carnivalesque nature). The allusion to the fruitfulness of the grove (*pomiferum nemus*) echoes the fertility of the garden of the Hesperides (2) and anticipates the evocation of that of Alcinous (29 n., cf. Serv. *G.* 2.87 *Alcinoi silvae pomiferae arbores*).

The interpretation of *virgineo cruore* has been debated:

- The passage has been connected with the obscene songs mentioned by Ovid: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.675–6 *Nunc mihi, cur cantent, superest, obscena puellae,/dicere; nam coeunt certaque probra canunt*; 695 *inde ioci veteres obscenaque dicta canuntur*. Hence the following conjectures: *Virgineo canore* or *rubore* (Heinsius); *Virginea cohorte* (Heinsius); *Virgine nequiore* (Munro). See Friedländer (*ad loc.*).
- Rose (1924a) defended the reading of the manuscripts and proposed several possible interpretations:
  - it might refer to an ancient sacrificial rite;
  - it might allude to sexual licentiousness during the Anna Perenna festival (TLL, *s. cruor*, 1245.44 [Hoppe]);
  - it might refer to a procedure to eradicate plagues, described by Columella (10.357–368; cf. Col. 11.3.64; Plin. *Nat.* 27.266; Pallad. *de re rustica* 1.35.3; Ael. *NA* 6.36; Apul. *Geop.* 12.8.5–6), the *lustratio*, performed by a menstruating woman: *Femina, quae* (. . .) *obsceno manat pudibunda cruore.*

He prefers this last explanation and concludes that Martial is alluding to a recent occasion on which the grove was disinfected this way (this was previously suggested by Schenkel, in *Röm. Mitt.* 21 [1906]: 211–219). This interpretation has attracted much criticism: Alton (1924) rightly remarks that it does not harmonise with the rest of the poem. Immisch (1928) points out that the *lustratio* is never said to be performed by a virgin, and agrees with Alton: Martial would never have introduced such a detail in the present epigram.

– The most plausible explanation is the idea that *virgineo cruore* alludes to the *Aqua Virgo* (cf. Mart. 5.20.9; 6.42.18; 11.47.6). Assman (1905), taking Ovid's passage as a starting point, suggested that this grove was placed between the *via Flaminia* and the *via Salaria* (which Martial mentions immediately afterwards). The aqueduct known as Aqua Virgo crossed the former and, according to Assman, would have provided water for the garden. In keeping with this reading, Assman proposes *virgineo liquore*, especially in the light of Ov. *Pont.* 1.8.38 *Virgineusque liquor; Fast.* 1.464 *Virginea . . . aqua*. He adduces two passages by Pliny (*Nat.* 19.131 *umore omnia hortensia gaudent*; 18.101), to which the following may be added: Verg. *G.* 4.120 *quoque modo potis gauderent intiba rivis*; Plin. *Nat.* 19.68; 21.61; 32.59; Col. 2.2.4 (see TLL *s. gaudeo* 1708.22–28 [Hey]). Assman's conjecture is not convincing in palaeographical terms, according to Alton (1924), who proposed *rigore* (*vid.* OLD *s. rigor* 2c), since the *Aqua Virgo* was very cold: Ov. *Ars* 3.385 *gelidissima Virgo*; Mart. 6.42.18 *cruda Virgine*; 7.32.11 *niveas . . . Virginis undas*; 11.47.6 *gelida Virgine*. Immisch (1928) re-examines all the previous hypotheses and proposes another conjecture based on Mart. 6.42.18 (*cruda Virgine*): *Virgine[o] cru<di>ore*. Martial may be playing with a further sense of *crudus* (*vid.* OLD *s. v.* 6b; cf. Mart. 8.64.11 *qualis cruda viro puella servat*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.12), and figuratively alluding to the purity of the waters.
– Lamachia (1958: 382) refutes all the above interpretations and proposes a literal one: 'accoppiamenti amorosi aventi luogo all'aperto, tra il verde de campi (cf. *Fast.* III 526 *et accumbit cum pare quisque suo*). Si tratava de un rito magico primitivo secondo il quale il popolo si propiciaba il risveglio della natura a primavera con atti ligati alla lege della simpatia e della homeopatia, tra cui la celebrazione de matrimoni collettivi a contatto con la natura, esequiti con lo scopo di comunicarle attraverso la fecondazione umana e

il magico potere irrogatore del sangue verginale, vigore ed energia vigorizante'. Merli (1996) accepts this reading.

– Ahl (1985: 317) proposes a more imaginative and intriguing reading: he pays attention to the sonic component of the previous line (FIDEnas and RUBRas) and suggests that Anna Perenna's grove was full of pomegranates: 'if the etymology applies in the present case, it might explain a number of baffling allusions in this passage of Martial. Arnobius, *Adversum Gentes* 5.5–7, tells us that a hermaphrodite child of Jupiter, Agdistis, was castrated and that from the streaming blood of the genitals the pomegranate tree grew. A virgin, NANA, daughter of the river Sangarius, picked one of its blooms and became pregnant, though still virgin, with Attis'. Ahl's suggestion accounts for most of the elements in these lines: Anna, identified with Dido's sister, evokes the Latin name of the pomegranates (*punica poma, punica mala*, Mart. 7.20.10); the virgin's blood alludes to the tree's sap (TLL *s. cruor* 1246–5154 Col. 10.401–402 *Arboreos aperit fetus cumulataque moris/candida sanguineo manat fiscella cruore*; Arnob. *Nat.* 1.2). Columella says that the pomegranate tree has blood-coloured flowers: 1.1.242–243 *Mox ubi sanguineis se floribus induit arbos/Punica, quae rutilo mitescit tegmine grani.*

virgineo cruore: cf. Verg. *A.* 11.804; Auson. *Cent. Nupt.* 118; Claud. 14.27.

17. Annae . . . Perennae: Ovid tells several legends about this obscure deity (*Fast.* 3.523–696): she may be Dido's sister (3.545–656), or an old woman from *Bovillae* called *Anna* (3.663–674). According to Frazer (*ad* Ov. *Fast.* 3.675–696), *Anna* seems to be a personification of the year (*annus*) and the eternal (*perennis*, cf. *Perenna*) cycle of regeneration.

18–21. With an excellent vista, the villa is far from the hustle and bustle of the Urbs. The impossibility of finding rest in Rome due to its incessant activity is a recurrent motif both in Martial (1.49.35–6; 9.68; 12.18; 12.57; 12.68.5–6) and Juvenal (3.232–242). The ideal place must be quiet: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.12; *S.* 2.6.60–62 *o rus, quando ego te adspiciam quandoque licebit/nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis/ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?; Ep.* 2.2.65–80; Plin. *Ep.* 1.9.7 *Proinde tu quoque strepitum istum inanemque discursum et multum ineptos labores, ut primum fuerit occasio, relinque teque studiis vel otio trade*; see Bonjour, 1975: 139–144; 152–155.

18. Illinc: a new change in perspective. Martial focuses on the surrounds of the *Nemus Annae Perennae*. The so-far static picture comes alive (18–24): Maselli, 1995: 55–56.

Flaminiae Salariaeque: the *via Flaminia* stretched to the north and led to *Ariminum*. Built in 220 BC, it was one of the busiest roads in Italy. Martial mentions it again in 6.28.5; 8.75.2; 9.57.5; 10.6.6; 11.13.1. See Platner-Fell, 1921. The *via Salaria* stretched to the north-east as far as *Reate*. It facilitated the transport of salt from the mouth of the Tiber (Plin. *Nat.* 31.89).

19. gestator: (*vid.* Stephani, 1889: 36). This is the only example of its intransitive use (TLL *s. v.* 1957.63–63). It normally has a transitive meaning (TLL *s. v.* 1957.52–57 [I. Kapp et *G.* Meyer]), sometimes complemented by a genitive (1957.36–52), i.e. *qui portat*.

patet: 'can be seen' (but not heard). Fröhner's (1912: 170) conjecture, *pavet*, is unnecessary.

essedo tacente: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 56.4 *In his quae me sine avocatione circumstrepunt essedas transcurrentes pono et fabrum inquilinum et serrarium vicinum*. *Essedum*, originally a Celtic word, was a kind of war chariot (cf. e.g. Caes. *Gal.* 4.32; Serv. *G.* 3.204 *Esseda Gallicana vehicula*; Porph. *ad* Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.192). Later, it became a standard term for a light cart (Ov. *Pont.* 2.10.34): Mart. 1.104.8; 10.104.7; 12.24.2; 12.57.23. It is usually neuter (except for the passage from Seneca quoted above). *Taceo* and *tacitus* can be applied to inanimate silent objects: Prop. 1.16.26 *tacitis . . . cardinibus*; 1.18.24 *tacitis . . . foribus*; Tib. 1.6.12 *cardine . . . tacito*; 1.9.4 *tacitis . . . pedibus*; 1.10.34; Ov. *Ars* 3.712.

20. ne blando rota sit molesta somno: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.17.6–8 *si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam/ delectat, si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,/ si laedit caupona, Ferentinum ire iubebo*; Juv. 3.236–238 *raedarum transitus arto/ vicorum in flexu et stantis convicia mandrae/ eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis*. Post (*ad loc.*) underlines the effectiveness of the purpose clause: 'what is really the effect or the result of the distance is ascribed to the *essedum* as its deliberate purpose'.

blando . . . somno: Ov. *Fast.* 3.19 *blanda quies*; Mart. 6.68.5 *blandum . . . levamen*; 11.26.1 *blanda . . . cura*; Stat. *Theb.* 10.158 *noctivagi vis blanda dei*.

21–22. quem nec rumpere . . . valet: 1.49.35 *Non rumpet altum pallidus somnum reus*; Juv. 6.415–416 *nam si latratibus alti/ rumpuntur somni*; 5.19; cf. Verg. *A.* 7.458 *olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor*; Ov. *Pont.* 3.6.55

Ne tamen iste metus somnos tibi rumpere possit; Luc. 3.25 *non securos . . . rumpere somnos*; 4.395 *certos non rumpunt classica somnos*; 7.24 *ne rumpite somnos*; Sil. 3.167 *immissa rumpit formidine somnos*; 10.443 *cuius somnos formidine rumpis*; Stat. *Theb.* 2.125 *rupta quies*; 4.715 *longe pastorum rumpere somnos*; V. Fl. 7.144 *illa nova rumpit formidine somnos*; Quint. *Decl.* 2.16 *quos non ista vestigia frangant rumpantque somnos!*; Sen. *Dial.* 10.14.4 *illis miseris suum somnum rumpentibus*. Cf. Hor. *S.* 1.5.15.

nauticum celeuma: (Gr. Κέλευμα; κέλευσμα; *vid.* Stephani, 1889: 23–24) 'the call of the boatswain giving the time to the rowers' (OLD, TLL *s. v.* 758.64–759.2 [Wulff]): 3.67.4 *Lentos tinguitis ad celeuma remos*; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.32 *celeuma dixit Orpheus Oeagri filius*; Verg. *A.* 3.128 *nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor* (cf. Sil. 11.488 *nauticus implebat resonantia litora clamor*); *A.* 5.140–141 *ferit aethera clamor/nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis*; Liv. 22.19.7 *nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito*; Luc. 2.688–689 *ne litora clamor/nauticus exagitet*; Stat. *Theb.* 4.813–814 *nauticus in remis iuvenum monstrante magistro/fit sonus*; Quint. *Inst.* 1.10.16; Serv. *A.* 3.128; 5.177; 8.108; Hier. *Ep.* 14.4; Sidon. *Ep.* 8.12.5; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 8. 19.6 *nauta quando celeuma canit*. One of these nautical songs is *A. L.* 388a. For the rhythmic songs of sailors and rowers, see Wille, 1967: 122–124; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.7–10 *cantat et innitens limosae pronus harenae,/adverso tardam qui trahit amne ratem;/quique refert pariter lentos ad pectora remos,/in numerum pulsa brachia iactat aqua*. In late Latin, the term *celeuma* applies to any song accompanying work (TLL *s. v.* 759.3–10), cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 2.10.4 (see Colton, 1976a: 12–13).

clamor . . . helciariorum: cf. Prop. 1.14.3–4 *et modo tam celeris mireris currere lintres/et modo tam tardas funibus ire rates*. *Helciarius*, i.e. *qui funibus navem trahit adverso amne* (*vid.* Stephani, 1889: 50), comes from *helcium* ('rope'), and this from Greek ἕλκω ('pull'; 'drag'). See also Sidon. *Ep.* 2.10.4 *curvorum . . . chorus helciariorum*. For the suffix *-arius*, see Stephani, 1889: 50–52; Cooper, 1975: 70–76; 147–155.

23. Mulvius: the *Pons Milvius* (cf. 3.14.4), 'Ponte Molle', by which the *via Flaminia* crosses the Tiber in the north of Rome. See Le Gall, 1953: 86–91. The Tiber was navigable and very busy with trade (Plin. *Nat.* 3.9). Perhaps this also refers to revelries held at this bridge: Tac. *Ann.* 13.47 *pons Mulvius in eo tempore celebris nocturnis inlecebris erat*.

24. lapsae . . . volent carinae: this line has epic undertones: Enn. *Ann.* 14.376 *Labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas*; Verg. *A.* 8.91 *labitur . . . uncta abies*; *Ciris* 459 *labitur . . . resoluta ab litore classis*; Prop.

1.20.19; Luc. 4.430; Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.19 *pacatum volitant per mare navitae*; Gel. 18.11.4. *volitat super aequora classis*; Ov. *Met.* 7.460 *volucri . . . classe* (cf. Sil. 4.51); Sil. 3.156 *volucri . . . carina*. For the types of vessels which sailed the river, see Le Gall, 1953: 216–231.

sacrum Tiberim: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 16360 *Teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*; Verg. *A.* 8.31 *huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno* (Serv. *ad loc.*). For a detailed study on the river, see Le Gall, 1953.

25–30. Martial now overtly praises the owner, *dominus* (Maselli, 1995: 57).

25–26. cf. 3.58.51 *Rus hoc vocari debet, an domus longe?*; cf. 12.57.21 *est rus in urbe*.

seu potius: for the expression, cf. Cic. *Quinct.* 80; 88; *Ver.* 2.1.129; 2.3.115; 2.5.74; Plin. *Ep.* 4.11.6; 9.9.1; *Pan.* 14.3; 37.2; 38.1; 52.3; Calp. *Decl.* 20.

commendat: *commendare* (OLD *s. v.* 6) means 'to adorn' (cf. 4.29.5; Ov. *Ars* 2.284; Juv. 11.208) and 'to offer' (cf. Cic. *Fam.* 13.19.2 *commendo domum*; 13.21.2; 13.24.1): cf. *tuam putabis*.

dominus: notice the etymological play with *domus*.

tuam putabis: cf. **4.79**, the protagonist of which takes too seriously his host's hospitality. The intended addressee of these lines is any potential guest (Maselli, 1995: 59). Parataxis reinforces Martial's point.

27. tam non invida: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 7.5–6 *superbas invidae Karthaginis/. . . arces*; *Ep.* 1.15.7; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.110 *invida Memphis*; CIL XIV 3565b.9 MORS AD DOMV<S> TRAHET INVID<AS AVER>N<I>.

tamque liberalis: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 9.6 *Aderat et hospitum invitatio liberalis pro dignitate summi viri; De orat.* 2.234 *non nimis liberale hospitium meum*; *Att.* 9.12.1 *in Epirum vero invitatio quam suavis, quam liberalis, quam fraterna!*; Hyg. *Fab.* 16.1 *hospitio liberali excepit*; 125.19 *Alcinous hospitio liberaliter acceptum donisque decoratum in patriam Ithacam dimisit*; 129.1; 130.1; 191.3; 195.1; Serv. *G.* 1.163.

28. tam comi patet hospitalitate: cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.64 *Recte etiam a Theophrasto est laudata hospitalitas. Est enim, ut mihi quidem videtur, valde decorum patere domos hominum inlustrium hospitibus inlustribus.*

comi . . . hospitalitate: Pl. *Mil.* 676 *hospitio accipiam apud me comiter*; Liv. 9.36.8 *comi hospitio acceptum*; 23.33.7 *hostes pro hospitibus comiter*

accepit; 37.7.13 *comiter acceptus hospes*; 29.22.2 *hospitio comiter acceptis*; 45.20.8 *comiter atque hospitaliter*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.788 *comiter excipitur*; Apul. *Met.* 9.33 *comis hospes*. Cf. Sidon. *Carm.* 24.85 *Sancta suscipit hospitalitate.*

patet: in the sense of showing hospitality (TLL *s. v.* 658.51–65 [Kruse]; 663.74–664.19): Lucil. 761; Cic. *Mur.* 28; Ov. *Met.* 11.283–284 *mediae quoque commoda plebi/nostra patent, Peleu, nec inhospita regna tenemus.*

29–30. Martial brings up two mythical paradigms of hospitality and generosity: Alcinous, King of the Phaeacians, who helped Ulysses on his way back home, and Molorchus, a Nemean countryman who put Hercules up. Maselli (1995: 58) points out that these mythological allusions show deference to Julius Martialis' literary taste and liberality.

credas Alcinoi pios Penates: Alcinous received Ulysses hospitably in Scheria and sent him back to Ithaca. Baker (*ad loc.*) draws attention to the Roman detail in a Greek myth: *Penates*. The phrase *pios Penates* also appears in Stat. *Theb.* 1.572. For the metonymic use of *Penates* as 'home', see TLL. *s. v.* 1026.74–1027.27 (Kendel). They are patrons of hospitality (TLL. *s. v.* 1026.38–44): Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.48; *Deiot.* 15; Verg. *A.* 3.15; 8.123; Liv. 1.1.9; CIL VII 2733.

This mythical allusion can be linked with line 2, inasmuch as Alcinous' gardens were also renowned for their fertility: cf. Verg. *G.* 2.87 *pomaque et Alcinoi silvae*; Serv. *ad loc.*; Ov. *Am.* 1.10.56 *praebeat Alcinoi poma benignus ager!*; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.81 *bifera Alcinoi . . . pomaria.* For allusions to the *Odyssey* in Martial's epigrams, see Cristóbal, 1994: 66–69.

aut, **facti modo divitis**, **Molorchi**: cf. Apollod. 2.5.1–4; Call. *Aet.*, fr. 103; 108; 142; 193; 250. When Hercules set out to kill the Nemean monster, he was received by humble Molorchus: Serv. *G.* 3.19 *Molorchus autem pastor fuit, qui Herculem, venientem ad occidendum Nemeaeum leonem, suscepit hospitio.* Although Servius presents him as a shepherd, his name alludes rather to viticulture (ὄρχος/μέλειν; see Morgan, 1992, who suggests that this is an example of false etymology): cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.160 *sacra Cleonaei cogunt vineta Molorchi.* It is to be noted that Martial will refer below to a vine-growing place: *Setia.*

facti modo divitis: it has been suggested that Martial is following a version of the myth according to which Hercules compensated Molorchus for his hospitality, since every testimony points to his poverty: Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.29 *pauperis arva Molorchi* (Laguna *ad loc.*); 4.6.51 *parci . . . Molorchi* (Coleman *ad loc.*; Thomas, 1983: 103–105).

See also Mart. 9.43.3; [Tib.] 3.7.13. However, there must be an easier interpretation: Martial wanted to compare his friend to the hospitable Molorchus while eschewing any reference to penury, which could blemish the compliment (Gilbert, 1883: 8; Post *ad loc.*).

31. For a similar turn, cf. **4.55.27–28** (n). Ker (1950: 17) emended *nunc* and proposed *haec*. Hudson-Williams (1952: 29) defended *nunc*. This may have an adversative force (OLD *s. v.* 11), although it may well allude to his contemporaries' insatiability (Maselli, 1995: 59–60). *Omnia* seems to have a general meaning: 'you, who are not content with anything' (Post *ad loc.*). Fröhner (1912: 170) unnecessarily proposed *prava* instead of *parva*.

32–34. Attention must be drawn to the vocabulary stressing the ideas of barrenness and hard work (*centeno ligone, gelidum, domate*). This contrasts with the fruitfulness of Julius' land.

32–33. cf. Juv. 11.89 *erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.*

centeno: cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 10.207 *centena . . . arbore*; Sil. 11.490 *centeno . . . verbere*; Stat. *Theb.* 5.533; 6.213; *Silv.* 5.1.190; Mart. 8.45.4; see TLL *s. centenus* 816.45–60 [Hey].

ligone: Dig. 33.7.16 *palos perticas rastros ligones instrumenti vineae esse* (Mart. 9.57.7). A *ligon* is an implement for trenching with a long wooden handle (Ov. *Met.* 11.36 *longi . . . ligones*; *Pont.* 1.8.59) and an arched blade (Stat. *Theb.* 3.589 *incurvi . . . ligones*): Hor. *Epod.* 5.30–31 *ligonibus duris humum/exhauriebat*; Ov. *Am.* 3.10.31 *bene iactati pulsarant arva ligones*; Luc. 4.294–295 *rastris durisque ligonibus arva/. . . fodere*; Mart. 9.22.3 *ut Setina meos consumat glaeba ligones*; Juv. 11.89 (*vid. supra*). See also Hor. *Ep.* 1.14.27; Plin. *Nat.* 18.42.

gelidum . . . Tibur: cf. 4.57.10 (n.). The expression *gelidum Tibur* appeared in 1.12.1. For the adjective *gelidus* applied to places, see TLL *s. v.* 1728.28–59 (Geissler).

vel Praeneste: present-day Palestrina, 37 km south-east of Rome. For a description, see Strab. 5.3.11. *Gelidum* may also qualify the name of this place, which, being relatively high (415–752 metres above sea level), had cool weather: Verg. *A.* 7.682 *altum Praeneste*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.22–23 *frigidum Praeneste*; Juv. 3.190 *gelida Praeneste*. It was, thus, like Tibur, a favourite place to spend the summer (Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.2; Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.15 [*vid.* Coleman *ad loc.*]; Juv. 14.88; Plin.

Ep. 5.6.45; Suet. *Aug.* 72.2; 82.1). Martial further mentions Praeneste in 9.60.3; 9.73.3; 10.30.7.

domate: this suggests hard work in agricultural contexts (see TLL *s. v.* 194.18–31 [Bannier]): cf. Verg. *G.* 2.114 *aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem* (cf. Juv. 11.89); *A.* 9.608 *rastris terram domat; Aetna* 10 *cum domitis nemo Cererem iactaret in arvis*; Luc. 2.430; Stat. *Theb.* 4.123; 7.333; *Silv.* 2.2.56; 3.1.168.

33–34. Even if one single person owned all of Setia, he would not be as fortunate as Julius Martialis with his small area of land.

pendulamque/uni dedite Setiam coloni: 13.112.1; 10.74.10–11 *Nec quae paludes delicata Pomptinas/ex arce clivi spectat uva Setini.* Setia was an old colony, founded around 382 BC (Vell. 1.14.2; Liv. 6.30) in Volscan territory (see RE IIA2, 1923, *s. v.* [Phillip]). It was located on a steep slope (*pendula*; Gel. 16.9). Vine-growing (**4.69.1** n.) Setia was divided into small plots of land: cf. Liv. 6.21.4; 6.30.

35. me iudice: cf. 4.25.7–8 (n.); 4.42.15 (n.).

praeferantur: cf. 4.40.3 *Praetulimus tantis solum te, Postume, regnis.*

36. Iuli iugera pauca Martialis: for the repetition of the first line at the end of the poem, see Salemme, 1976: 51; Siedschlag, 1977: 121–124.

Traditionally, one-eyed Philaenis weeps with her only eye; Watson (1983: 260), however, reads the epigram otherwise: her bad eye is always suppurating (*semper plorat*). Watson adduces 12.22: *Quam sit lusca Philaenis indecenter,/vis dicam breviter tibi, Fabulle?/esset caeca decentior Philaenis*. One-eyedness is a frequent satiric motif in Martial's epigrams (Watson, 1982): the protagonist of 6.78, *lumine uno/luscus alteroque lippus*, ignores the doctor's advice and would rather go completely blind than give up drinking; there is an analogy between avarice and gradual blindness in 8.9; in 3.8 Martial plays with the motif of love blindness: *'Thaïda Quintus amat'. Quam Thaïda? 'Thaïda luscam'./Vnum oculum Thaïs non habet, ille duos* (cf. 3.11), as he does inversely in 3.39 *Iliaco similem puerum, Faustine, ministro/lusca Lycoris amat. Quam bene lusca videt!* One-eyedness forms part of the tradition of satire against (old) women: 2.33; 12.23 *Dentibus atque comis—nec te pudet—uteris emptis./Quid facies oculo, Laelia? non emitur*; 12.70.2 *lusca . . . anus*.

As regards its structure, Siedschlag (1977: 70) links this epigram with others in which the pentameter solves a doubt raised in the hexameter: 4.85 (n.); 6.67; 7.3; 10.84; 11.38; 14.179.

The epigram can be linked with **4.58**, on a woman who cannot shed a tear for her dead husband.

Further reading: Watson, 1983: 260; Plass, 1985: 194; for *lusci* in Martial's epigrams and Latin literature, see Watson, 1982; for invective against old women in Latin literature, see Richlin, 1984; for black humour regarding physical defects in classical literature, see Garland, 1995: 73–86.

1. Cf. Juv. 6.109 *semper stillantis ocelli*; Shackleton Bailey: 'Philaenis always weeps' or 'has a perpetual flux' (1993: 331).

Philaenis: a Greek poetess of the fourth century BC, author of erotic treatises (*Priap*. 63.17 *tot figuras, quas Philaenis enarrat*; Herrero-Montero, 1990). Martial uses this name in satirical contexts: a licentious *tribas* in 7.67 and 7.70 (Galán *ad loc.*); a *fellatrix* in 2.33; 9.40; 10.23.3 (*basiare te nolo*). Elsewhere she is portrayed as a *vetula*: 9.29.1 *Saecula Nestoreae permensa, Philaeni, senectae* (Henriksén *ad loc.*); 12.70.2 (*supra*). She has further corporal anomalies (2.33; 12.22), the most repulsive probably being her bad body odour (9.62; see Henriksén

ad loc.). Burzacchini (1977) points out that Martial's play with this name is conscious and meaningful, and compares these epigrams with some fragments of the Greek poetess. In 10.22 Martial contravenes her advice not to use make-up; in another fragment, Philaenis deals with the physical imperfections of the beloved, which Martial explores to the point of caricature (2.33; 4.65; 9.62; 10.22). In epigrams 7.67 and 7.70, Martial alludes, according to Burzacchini, to a treatise on *figurae Veneris*.

plorat: this verb is not normally used in the sense of 'weeping', or as a synonym for *stillare*, which questions Watson's interpretation (1983: 260), as he acknowledges, but Martial uses language in an original way. *Lacrimare*, in contrast, can refer to crying as the consequence of sentiment (TLL *s. v.* 845.5–56 [Flury]), or of other, physical causes (845.56–65: Cels. 2.3.4 *mali . . . morbi testimonium est sine voluntate lacrimare*; Plin. *Nat.* 29.36), as it is a technical term in medicine (Watson, 1983: 260 n. 28). *Flere* can also be used in the sense of *stillare* (TLL *s. v.* 900.65–68; 901.82–84 [Gudeman]), but only applied to inanimate objects: Lucr. 1.348–349 *in saxis ac speluncis permanat aquarum/ liquidus umor et uberibus flent omnia guttis*; Sen. *Thy.* 702 *flevit in templis ebur*; Prud. *Cath.* 5.24.

2. quaeritis modo?: for similar questions, see Siedschlag, 1977: 19–28, especially 26: cf. 3.27.3; 6.53.3; 6.54.3; 6.89.7; 11.38.2; 11.59.3; 13.74.2. For *quaeris* or *quaeritis*, cf. 1.96.14; 8.12.1; 9.77.5; 10.22.3; 10.74.12; 11.19.1; 11.59.3; 12.20.1.

Lusca est: cf. 2.33.3 *lusca es*; 12.22.1 *lusca Filaenis*. *Luscus* means *altero oculo privatus*. Jokes about one-eyed people were frequent, despite their tastelessness (Cic. *De orat.* 2.45–48).

The traditional motif of ideal country life (1.49.23–42; 1.55) is subverted. Linus has always lived in the countryside, which is apparently less expensive than the city. The first lines evoke the stresses and strains of the Urbs, symbolised by the toga, seldom worn outside Rome (3–4). There is no need to buy goods: hunting and fishing provide nourishment (5–8). It is also unnecessary to show wealth ostentatiously or to have a refined Greek slave (9–10). So far the selection of words has somehow undermined the idyllic scene, but now explicit mention is made of Linus' coarseness (11–12). *Vilius* (2) must be reinterpreted not only as inexpensive, but also as despicable. As usual, Linus has always been fortunate (13–16), although it is true that he has never taken a risk: his avarice is in his blood (*mater avara*). After such a thrifty life, how can he have squandered his wealth? (17–18).

The first and final couplets would have sufficed for an epigram: the central lines offer a detailed account of Linus' *vita municipalis* and clarify the meaning of *vilius*. The sequence is carefully built up: the *toga* is followed by the *synthesis*, especially worn at the table; food is accompanied with wine, and this evokes a charming waiter (*minister*). Linus' lack of refinement turns all these into drunkenness and sexual violence (11–12). Parsimony, ironically enough, is not considered a virtue here. The allusion to luck is by no means trivial either: it usually favours those who do not deserve it (cf. 4.21; 4.40; 4.51).

This description of country life is a parodic version of the *beatus ille* motif. For Horace's influence on Martial, see Szelest, 1963; Donini, 1964, and, for the particular case of *Epodon* 2, Duret, 1977. Cf. also Verg. *G.* 2.458–474 (Mynors *ad loc.*). Finally, avarice is a common theme in the epigrams (4.51 n.): Linus has probably lived in the country in order to keep his fortune longer (cf. Juv. 3.166–167; Plin. *Nat.* 14.50; Duncan-Jones, 1982: 345).

1. vitam . . . municipalem: cf. Pl. *Vid.* 31 *vita . . . rustica; vitam urbanam. Municipalis* may have a derogatory sense: cf. Mart. 12.pr.; Tac. *Hist.* 3.57; *Ann.* 4.62. However, there is an echo of the idealisation of rural life, especially in moral terms: cf. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 75;

Sen. *Dial.* 5.2.1 *quibus incultus mos agrestisque vita est, circumscriptio ignota est et fraus et quodcumque in foro malum nascitur.* Country life has not made Linus a better person, as will be revealed in the course of the poem.

Line: a spendthrift and debtor (1.75), hated by Martial (2.38). He is also portrayed as a *fellator* (2.54; 7.10.1; cf. 11.25) or hideous *basiator* (7.95).

2. nihil omnino: cf. 3.45.4; 4.78.10; 12.40.5. For the use of *nihil* with comparatives in satirical contexts, cf. 1.35.15; 2.71.1; 3.22.5; 3.69.3; 3.87.2; 4.56.3; 4.83.1–2; 5.63.3; 6.24.1; 6.33.1; 7.20.1; 8.6.1; 8.59.3; 9.57.1; 10.83.11; 12.63.13.

vilius: i.e. 'inexpensive' (cf. 1.pr.; 1.66.3; 5.78.4; 7.27.10; 9.26.6; 9.92.3; 9.99.7; 9.100.5; 10.73.5; 12.13.2; 12.48.1; 12.74.4; 13.9.2; 13.122; 14.6.11; 14.102.1), but also 'contemptible' (cf. 1.41.8; 8.75.9). *Vilis* may have a moral meaning: see e.g. Porph. *ad Hor.* S.1.6.30 *Hic Varrus vilissimae libidin<o>saequ<e> admodum vitae fuit, adeo ut Aemiliam virginem Vestae incestasse dictus sit* (cf. l. 11–12). D'Arms (1984: 446–447) denies the ambiguity of *vilius*, and claims that it only means 'economical': 'the point of the epigram turns on the improbability of finding a spendthrift in a municipal setting (. . .) The meaning of "*vilius*" is thus "more cheap, inexpensive": it carries no pejorative overtones'. However, it may be argued that the epigram also focuses on Linus' sordid way of life.

3–4. cf. 10.96.11–12 *Quattuor hic aestate togae pluresve teruntur,/ autumnis ibi me quattuor una tegit.*

3. togula: see Wilson, 1924; 1938: 36–54; RE VIA2 (1937) *s. toga* (Heichelheim); Paoli, 1963: 101–102; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.137–142; Tertul. *De Pallio* 5. The toga was the official dress of Roman citizens. Martial frequently links it with the *salutatio*: cf. 1.108.7; 2.57.5; 2.74.1; 2.74.6; 3.36.9; 3.46.1; 5.26.4; 6.48.1; 9.100.1; 10.19.4; 10.74.3; 11.24.11; 12.18.5; 12.72.4; 14.125.2. It was an uncomfortable garment (Wilson, 1924: 90; 1938: 46; Vout, 1996), not worn in the countryside, except for special occasions: Mart. 1.49.31 *nusquam toga*; 10.47.5 *toga rara*; 12.18.17 *ignota est toga*; Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.45 *nulla necessitas togae*; 7.3.3 *quousque calcei nusquam, toga feriata, liber totus dies?*; Juv. 3.171–172 *pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua/ nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus*; 11.204. The diminutive *togula* has clear pejorative

undertones and implies poor quality: cf. 4.26.4 (n.); 5.22.11; 6.50.2 (Grewing *ad loc.*); 7.10.11; 9.100.5 *Trita quidem nobis togula est vilisque vetusque*; 12.70.2.

est excussa: *excutio* means to shake clothes (TLL *s. v.* 1312.47–52 [Rehm]): cf. Pl. *Aul.* 646; Phaed. 5.5.19; Petr. 128.4 *excussit vexatam solo vestem.* This means that the toga is so rarely used that, when needed, it must be dusted off. On the other hand, Linus' slovenliness is subtly suggested. The reading of the third family (*tibi sumpta*) must be a gloss (see Schmid, 1984: 426). Lehmann (1931: 13) believes, however, that *excussa* is an authorial variant of *tibi sumpta.*

Idibus . . . et raris . . . Kalendis: Friedländer (*ad loc.*) explains that these dates were consecrated to the Lares: cf. Cato *Agr.* 143.2; Prop. 4.3.53; Gel. 2.24.1; 2.24.14. *Raris* may allude to the fact that each of these days only came once a month, but it also may mean that only on some of these days does he wear a toga. Some were consecrated to gods: the Ides of May to Mercury (12.67.1); in August to Diana (12.67.2); Macrobius says that all the Ides are sacred to Jupiter (Macr. *Sat.* 1.15.18). On the Kalends of March the *Matronalia* (5.84.11; 9.90.15; *Henriksén ad loc.*) were celebrated in honour of Juno, cf. [Tib]. 3.3.1; Juv. 9.53.

4. The juxtaposition *una decem* reinforces the hyperbole.

duxit: cf. 12.36.4 (TLL *s. v.* 2152.55ff. [Hey]; OLD *s. v.* 14b).

synthesis: see Brewster, 1918; McDaniel, 1925: 268–270; Wilson, 1938: 169–171; Paoli, 1963: 163, Goldman, 2001a: 235. It was a loose garment worn at dinner (5.79; *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* CIL VI 2068.8) or on festivals such as the Saturnalia (14.1.1; 14.142; Leary *ad loc.*). In 2.46 Martial says that Naevolus' wardrobe is full of *innumeris . . . synthesibus*; in 10.29.4 Sextilianus has given his lover a *synthesis.* It was used both by men and women, in all seasons. According to Suetionus, Nero appeared once in public *synthesinam indutus* (51.1). *Synthesis* is a Greek term for things that match (4.46.15 n.). It may allude to a two-piece suit, probably a tunic and a *palliolum* (cf. Iust. *Dig.* 34.2.38), made of the same fabric and colour. The *synthesis* can be an expensive dress, but Linus' has lasted ten years: it is subtly suggested that Linus has invited very few people in all this time.

5–7. Hunting and fishing are well-known pastimes in country life: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.31–36 *aut trudit acris hinc et hinc multa cane/apros in obstantis plagas/aut amite levi rara tendit retia/turdis edacibus dolos/pavidumque*

leporem et advenam laqueo gruem/iucunda captat praemia; Mart. 1.49.23–26 *Ibi inligatas mollibus dammas plagis/mactabis et vernas apros/leporemque forti callidum rumpes equo,/cervos relinques vilico*; 1.55.7–9 *Cui licet exuviis nemoris rurisque beato/ante focum plenas explicuisse plagas/et piscem tremula salientem ducere saeta*; 9.54.2–4. Apart from providing free food, they are good exercise: Mart. 3.58.26–28; Plin. *Ep.* 2.8.1; 5.6.46 *venatu corpus exerceo*; 9.7.4. However, Linus does not seem to be involved in these activities at all: *dedit, misit, venit* suggest rather the contrary. As in Horace's *Epodon* 2, this idealised version of rural life has ironic undertones: cf. Mart. 10.87.17–18 *Venator leporem, colonus haedum,/piscator ferat aequorum rapinas*. These lines are comparable to 3.47, in which the protagonist goes to the countryside carrying natural products bought in the city.

The game mentioned (*turdus, lepus, aper*) was highly regarded by the Romans (*vid. infra*): 3.77.1–2 *Nec mullus nec te delectat, Baetice, turdus,/nec lepus est umquam nec tibi gratus aper*.

5. aprum: Romans were very fond of wild boar meat (cf. Mart. 1.43; 3.50.8; 3.77.2; 7.27; 7.59.1; 7.78.3; 9.14.3; 9.48; 12.17.4; 12.48; 13.93; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8.210; Petr. 40.5; Juv. 1.140–141; Apic. 8.1). See André, 1981: 115–6.

leporem: this was a popular kind of meat (Mart. 3.47.11; 3.77.2; 3.94; 7.78.3; Apic. 8.8; *vid.* André, 1981: 118–119), which could also be sent as a gift (5.29.1; 6.75; 10.87.17; 13.92).

inemptum: cf. 1.55.12 *et sua non emptus praeparat ova cinis?* This adjective echoes Verg. *G.* 4.133 *dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis*; Hor. *Epod.* 2.48 *dapes inemptas adparet* (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.94; Col. 11.3.1; cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 4.15 *epulisque . . . inemptis*). An ironic use of the term can be found in *Priap.* 23.2 *furtivomve holus aut inempta poma*, where *inempta* means 'stolen'.

misit: the subject of *mittere* (OLD *s. v.* 18) can be a place (TLL *s. v.* 1186.48–52; 53–72; 73–81; 1186.82–1187.5 [Fleischer]): cf. Verg. *G.* 1.57 *India mittit ebur*; Tib. 2.2.3–4; Ov. *Ars* 2.421–422; Plin. *Nat.* 8.214; 10.117; 10.135; Mart. 1.43.7; 2.43.7; 13.23.1; 13.121; 14.152.1. *Mittere* is a verb frequently used for gifts: **4.14.14** (n.).

6. gravis turdos: another exquisite dish, cf. 3.77.1; 6.11.3; 7.20.6; 9.54.1; 13.92.1; Hor. *Ep.* 1.15.40; Petr. 69.6 (André, 1981: 122), which could also be sent as a gift (2.40.3; 6.75.1; 9.55; 13.51). Compare the expression *gravis turdos* with 2.40.3 *crassis . . . turdos*; 3.47.10

coronam pinguibus gravis turdis; Hor. *Ep.* 1.15.40–41 *obeso/. . . turdo*. *Gravis* means 'fat', but also 'nutritious' (cf. Cels. 2.18.7). The selection of vocabulary is far from arbitrary: *gravis* can also mean 'indigestible' (Cic. *N. D.* 2.24; Plin. *Nat.* 26.32).

silva . . . exagitata: *exagitare*, like *agitare* (OLD *s. v.* 3b), is a hunting verb (TLL *s. v.* 1150.57–66 [K.-M.]): Ov. *Ars* 3.662 *et lepus hic aliis exagitatus erit*. Its direct object can be a place: Sil. 2.94–5 *Dictaeos agitare . . ./. . . saltus*; 4.303 *lustra exagitat*; 8.565 *exagitant lustra*; 16.552 *lustra exagitare ferarum*; [Quint.] *Decl.* 3.4 *saltus agitare venatu*.

7. raptus . . . piscis: *raptus β γ: captus T*: 3.58.27 *Tremulave captum linea trahit piscem*; 4.30.11. *Capere* (TLL *s. v.* 335.70–336.43 [Bannier]) is a hunting and fishing verb: Apul. *Apol.* 31; Serv. *G.* 1.437; *A.* 5.823. The variant *raptus*, the *lectio difficilior*, present in most manuscripts, could allude to violence and even theft (OLD *s. v.* 2), cf. *Priap.* 23.2 *inemptas*; it also applies to death (OLD *s. v.* 4). Although the collocation *rapere piscem* is not attested in Latin, Martial is fond of *novae iuncturae* (Watson, 2002: 246–247). The line can be compared to 10.87.18 *piscator ferat aequorum rapinas*.

flumineo . . . de gurgite: Sil. 15.485 *fluminei . . . gurgitis undis*. Notice the poetic and ironic undertones of this periphrasis. *Flumineus* is seldom used by Martial: 10.58.4 *flumineos . . . lacus* (cf. 10.58.1 *aequorei*; 2 *litoream . . . domum*). It is only documented from Ovid onwards (*Ep.* 8.67; *Am.* 1.3.22; *Met.* 2.253; 14.599; 15.565; *Fast.* 2.46; 2.596), especially in Silver poetry: Luc. 1.685; 3.222; 8.36; Sil. 1.407; 3.458; 4.492; 9.231; 10.92; Stat. *Theb.* 9.266; *Silv.* 1.2.243; V. Fl. 2.12; 4.721. *Gurges* only appears once more in Martial's epigrams: 7.93.1 *sulphureo . . . gurgite*. It applies metonymically to fresh and salt water (TLL *s. v.* 2361.55–1363.54 [G. Meyer]).

venit: this verb also applies to natural produces with an ablative of provenance. It is sometimes combined with *mittere*: Mart. 1.43.7–8; Ov. *Ars* 2.421–422. Like *mittere*, it is used with gifts: cf. 4.46.12 (n.).

8. vina . . . non peregrina: *peregrinus* means 'imported' (cf. 4.19.4 n.): Liv. 2.35.1 *peregrinum frumentum*; Col. 3.4.1 *peregrina . . . semina* (TLL *s. v.* 1310.66–1311.7 [Schwind]). Linus' wines come from his own vines (cf. *inemptum*): cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.47 *et horna dulci vina promens dolio*. Compare this with 10.36, in which the addressee's wines are so bad that he does not even dare to try them.

ruber . . . cadus: cf. 1.55.10 *rubro . . . cado*. *Cadus* (Gr. κάδος) is a large wine jar (TLL *s. v.* 37.44–80 [Hoppe]): 1.18.2; 1.26.8; 6.27.6; 9.2.6; 9.93.2; 11.36.6; 12.48.14; 13.112.2; 13.118.2. Both *ruber* and *rubens* are epithets for red wine (Plin. *Nat.* 22.124 *vino rubro*; 26.46; Ov. *Fast.* 5.511 *vina rubentia*), although here *ruber* is used of the earthenware jar: 13.7.1 *rubra . . . testa*; 14.114.1 *rubicundam . . . testam* (see 4.88.6 n.). See André, 1949: 74–78.

9–12. The allusion to wine serves as an introduction to the following topics: slaves and sexual behaviour. Elsewhere the description of a *puer delicatus* (4.42) redounds to the praise of his owner: Linus, however, does not have a beautiful Greek slave, but slovenly rustic servants. Lines 11–12 are closely related to this: the *puer delicatus* is often linked with idealised sexuality, whereas Linus' sexual behaviour is unrefined and aggressive (*compressa, incaluit, vena*). His thriftiness can no longer be seen as a virtue.

9. Cf. Juv. 11.145–148 *plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos/porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus,/non Phryx aut Lycius (non a mangone petitus/quisquam erit et magno): cum posces, posce Latine* (see Wilson, 1898).

tener . . . minister: see Garrido-Hory, 1997. The *minister* is a *puer*, a luxury slave, with a specific function: he serves food, and especially wine (1.11.3; 3.58.44; 7.48.2; 8.59.7; 8.67.5; 9.22.11; 9.25; 10.98.1; 12.74.7; 14.108.1). He is usually a beautiful adolescent (7.50.3 *niveis . . . ministris*; 9.25.3 *mollem . . . ministrum*; 12.64 *roseos . . . ministros*), who arouses the guests (9.22.11; 9.25) with his sex appeal: 3.39.1; 11.23.9. He is frequently likened to Ganymede: e.g. 7.74.4; 8.39.4; 9.16.6. *Tener* alludes to his refinement, beauty and youth: cf. 9.25.9 *teneros . . . ministros*.

Argolica missus de gente: again the epic tone contributes to the irony of the poem: Verg. *A.* 2.78 *neque me Argolica de gente negabo*; Stat. *Theb.* 3.462 *gentibus Argolicis*; 11.155–6 *gentis . . . Argolicae*; *Ach.* 1.775–6; Ov. *Met.* 1.226 *missi de gente Molossa*. Greek slaves were highly regarded (Garrido-Hory, 1981: 58–61; 114–119).

10. stetit: at dinner the host and guests are lying down (*recumbunt*), whereas the attendants are standing up, hence the secondary meaning of *stare*, very close to *servire*: cf. Gracch. *Orat.* 26 *nulla apud me fuit popina neque pueri eximia facie stabant*; Suet. *Jul.* 49.2; *Cal.* 26.2; *Dom.*

4.2; Sen. *Ep.* 47.2; Mart. 12.66.8; Apul. *Fl.* 23 *pueros ac iuvenes eximia forma in cubiculo circa lectum stantis.*

inculti . . . foci: noteworthy is the etymological wordplay between *rustica*, *inculti*, and even *coloni* (from *rus* and *colo*). *Incultus* is a synonym for *rudis* and *rusticus* (TLL *s. v.* 1070.14–41 [Lambertz]): Cic. *Quinct.* 92; *S. Rosc.* 75; Sen. *Dial.* 5.2.1 *incultus mos agrestisque vita*; 9.1.7 *placet minister incultus et rudis uernula*; Apul. *Apol.* 23 *inculti et agrestes*. With people, it means 'slovenly' (TLL *s. v.* 1070.42–62): Cic. *Red. Sen.* 13 *incultum horridum maestumque*; Verg. *A.* 6.300; Hor. *S.* 1.3.34. In both senses it contrasts with *tener* (9).

Focus refers to the *familia* (OLD *s. v.* 2b; Hor. *Ep.* 1.14.2), and also the home (OLD *s. v.* 2a). *Incultus* might be associated with a meaning of *colo* in the semantic field of friendship: Cic. *Amic.* 55 *vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse iucunda* (cf. TLL *s. incultus* 1069.46–59). Linus has neither spent money on slaves and luxuries, nor shown the slightest appreciation of his friends.

rustica turba: cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.348; Sen. *Phaed.* 80. *Turba* means a group of slaves (Sen. *Dial.* 2.13.4 *servorum turba*; 12.11.3; *Ep.* 17.3 *non circumstat illam turba servorum* [cf. Sen. *Con.* 2.4.3]; 31.10; 47.2 *stantium servorum turbam*; 56.7), but has clear pejorative undertones. *Rusticus*, the opposite of *urbanus*, can have neutral or positive connotations (12.18.8–9 *Accepit mea rusticumque fecit/. . . Bilbilis*), but can also mean 'inelegant', 'unrefined' (OLD *s. v.* 5, cf. *inculti*). The connotations of *rusticus* in erotic terms must be borne in mind (Ov. *Ars* 1.607–608 *rustice . . . Pudor*; 2.566 *rustica . . . difficilisque*): the *puer delicatus*, alluded to in the previous line, is usually compliant; however, in the following, Linus has to force his slaves to satisfy his sexual urge (*compressa*).

11. Rural women are traditionally said to be chaste (*vid. supra s. rustica*; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.39 [Porph. *ad loc.*]; Mart. 3.58.40), but Linus conducts himself aggressively with them.

vilica: a servant in charge of a villa (1.55.11; 9.60.3; 10.48.7; 12.18.21; Juv. 11.69), normally the partner of the *vilicus* (see Cato *Agr.* 143; Varro *R.* 1.18.1; 1.18.3; 1.18.5 and Col. 12.1–4). According to Columella, a *vilica* should not be too young or beautiful (12.1); cf. Catul. 61.129 *sordebant tibi vilicae*. Linus has unrefined, cheap love affairs: he does not have a demanding, luxury-loving *puella* (cf. 4.29.5 *spoliatricem amicam*).

compressa: *comprimere* refers to the sexual act (Rodríguez, 1981: 106 and n. 69; Montero, 1990: 143–144), always with violent connotations (TLL *s. v.* 2157.70–2158.4 [Hey]): e.g. Pl. *Aul.* 28; 29; 30; 33; 689; *Cist.* 158; 162; *Rud.* 1073; Prop. 2.26.48; Liv. 1.4.2 *vi compressa Vestalis*; Apul. *Met.* 10.5. It is a euphemism for rape (Uría Varela, 1997: 412–414).

duri . . . coloni: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.691–2 *habebat/rus breve cum duro parca colona viro.* See TLL *s. durus* 2309.18–54 [Bannier] and cf. Verg. *G.* 1.160 *duris agrestibus*; 4.512 *durus arator; Nux* 105 *duris . . . colonis*; Hor. *S.* 1.7.29–30 *durus/vindemiator*; Ov. *Met.* 14.643 *duri messoris*; Mart. 6.73.1 *rudis . . . colonus.*

12. incaluit: Luc. 2.557–8 *fervidus . . . sanguis/incaluit.* To 'get drunk' and 'become sexually aroused'. For the first sense, see TLL *s. v.* 844.11–13 (J. B. H.): Liv. 1.57.8 *incaluerant vino*; 39.42.10; Tac. *Hist.* 4.29; *Ann.* 11.37; 14.2; Curt. 5.7.5; 8.1.22; cf. Mart. 8.45.6; 9.43.4. For its sexual meaning, see TLL 843.81–844.3 and Fortuny, 1986: 87: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 11.25; 18.42; *Met.* 2.574 *vidit et incaluit* (cf. 3.371; *Fast.* 2.307); *Tr.* 2.1.380.

saucia: 'tipsy': Sen. *Dial.* 4.19.5 *Vinum incendit iras, quia calorem auget; pro cuiusque natura quidam ebrii effervescunt, quidam saucii*; Petr. 67.11 *interim mulieres sauciae inter se riserunt ebriaque iunxerunt oscula*; Mart. 3.68.6 *quid dicat, nescit saucia Terpsichore*; Apul. *Met.* 9.5 *mero et prandio matutino saucia.* Ironically, *saucia* also evokes the erotic motif of *vulnus amoris*: cf. Enn. *Scen.* 216 *Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia*; Catul. 64.250; Lucr. 4.1048 *mens . . . saucia amore.*

vena: i.e. *penis*, see Adams, 1982: 35; Rodríguez, 1981: 100; Montero, 1990: 117; cf. Pers. 6.72 *cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena*; Mart. 6.49.2 *stat rigida supina vena*; 11.16.5 *O quotiens rigida pulsabis pallia vena*; *Priap.* 33.2 *tenta dei vena*; Lact. *Op. Dei* 12.4 p.43. Cf. Hor. *S.* 1.2.33 *venas inflavit taetra libido.* Greek φλέψ can also have an erotic meaning (TGL IX *s. v.* 939 A): cf. e.g. Alcaeus, *A. P.* 6.218.1 (Gow-Page, 1965 II: 25); Leonidas *A. P.* 16.261.4; Athen. *Deipn.* 2.64.

mero: pure wine, not mixed with water (cf. 1.11.4; 1.56.2; 3.57.2; 6.89.8): a further hint at Linus' lack of refinement.

13–16. Fortune, the unfair deity, never harmed Linus, who has taken no risks.

13–14. Fire and shipwrecks are traditional *Fortunae casus*: Cic. *Off.* 2.19 *procellas, tempestates, naufragia, ruinas, incendia, deinde a bestiis ictus, morsus, impetus* (cf. *Parad.* 6.51); Catul. 23.9; Sen. *Ben.* 7.16.3; Mart. 6.33.3; Quint. *Decl.* 377.9 *Quia natus sum ad miserias hominum, incendia, naufragia, bella*; [Quint.] *Decl.* 9.16 *periturum hominem, sive ille naufragio eiectus, seu spoliatus incendio sive exutus latrocinio erat, naturae patriaeque restitui*; Sen. *Con.* (*exc.*) 5.1.1 *cui me vitae reservas? ut aedificem? aspice incendium. ut navigem? aspice naufragium*; Serv. *A.* 4.653 *fortuna, id est casu, qui ad omnia pertinet quae extrinsecus sunt, ut ad ruinam, incendia, naufragia*; Ulp. *Dig.* 2.13.6 *si naufragio vel ruina vel incendio vel alio simili casu rationes perdidisse probet* (cf. *Dig.* 13.6.18; 16.3.1.1; 16.3.18; 24.1.32; 35.2.30; 35.2.73; 44.7.1.4 etc.).

13. Nec nocuit tectis ignis: fire had become a widespread danger in the Urbs (Watson-Watson, 2003: 301–302): Mart. 3.52.2 *Abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens*; Juv. 3.7–8; Sen. *Ep.* 91.13. The protagonist of Juvenal 3 thinks that the countryside is free from this risk: Juv. 3.197–198 *vivendum est illic, ubi nulla incendia, nulli/nocte metus*. According to Braund (1989: 33), it is one of the 'stock worries of the well-off': cf. Catul. 23.9; Prop. 2.27.9. See Vitr. 2.8.20.

nec Sirius agris: Verg. *G.* 4.425 *iam rapidus torrens sitientis Sirius Indos; A.* 3.141 *tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros*; Tib. 1.7.21 *arentes cum findit Sirius agros*. *Sirius* is the greater Dog-star, marking the hottest time of the year.

14. Trade is an ambitious, high-risk enterprise: cf. Juv. 14.276–303. Paradoxically, Linus is so avaricious that he has never invested anything.

nec mersa est pelago: Juv. 14.301 *mersa rate*. *Pelagus* (Gr. πέλαγος) is, like *gurges* (7), a poetic term used ironically. *Mergere* is a verb related to shipwrecks: TLL *s. v.* 832.47–55; 75–78.

fuit *γ*: fluit *β: fluere* is never used of navigation. See also Gilbert, 1884: 518.

15–16. It seems that games of chance using dice (*tesserae*) involved higher stakes (*aleae*) than games with knucklebones (*tali*): 14.15.2 (Ker, Leary *ad loc.*). Gambling ruined many (Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.21; Pers. 5.57), so that these lines could be interpreted as a compliment to Linus: cf. Sen. *Ben.* 7.16.3. In fact, Romans deemed gambling a harmful vice: cf. e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 2.10; 2.23; *Phil.* 2.56; 2.67; 3.35; 13.24; *Off.*

3.91; Col. 1.8.2; Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.22; Juv. 1.90–95; 14.4–7 (for the ban on gambling, see 4.14.7–9 n.). However, this couplet aims to pave the way for the final distich: in view of Linus' thrifty way of life, if he has not lost his fortune in gambling, it is very difficult to explain why he is now broke.

tessera: cf. 13.1.5; 14.15; 14.17.1. See Leary's notes on these passages. Quite similar to modern dice (cf. Gel. 1.20.4), with six numbered faces, they were shaken in a dice-box (*pyrgus* [*Schol. Ad Juv.* 14.5; Sidon. *Ep.* 8.12], *turricula* [Mart. 14.16], *phimus* [Gr. φιμός; Hor. *S.* 2.7.15], *fritillus* [cf. 4.14.8 n.]) and thrown onto a board (*tabula, alveus*). The game was usually played with three dice and the winner was the player who scored most points. See more details in Marquardt, 1892: 521–523; Lafaye, D.-S. V 125–128; Leary, 1990: 123–125.

blando . . . talo: for the knucklebones (*tali*), cf. 4.14.9 (n.). For the adjective *blandus* applied to games, cf. 4.14.7 (n.). In Greece this was a children's game (cf. e.g. Paus. 6.24.7; Leary, 1996: 72).

16. alea sed parcae sola fuere nuces: *alea* here means 'bets'; cf. 14.15.2; 14.19. It was not unusual to bet nuts instead of money: cf. 5.30.8; 13.1.7; 14.1.12; 14.19.1 *Alea parva nuces et non damnosa videtur; Nux* 75–76. *Parcus* hear means 'economical' (OLD *s. v.* 1a). Like the *tali*, nuts are suitable for children (cf. Leary, 1996: 72) and their games (Lafaye, *D.-S.* IV 115–116, cf. Catul. 61.133; Phaed. 3.14; Pers. 1.10; Mart. 5.84.1; Hor. *S.* 2.3.171; Suet. *Aug.* 83).

17–18. There might be an implied reproach: Linus, who has been consistently portrayed as a mean fellow, does not share his fortune with his friends, so he gives the impression of being broke. This interpretation is particularly reinforced by the closeness of epigram **4.67**, on an ungenerous patron (see also 4.21 and Maurach, 1972). The point may, however, be more straightforward: he is such an incorrigible spendthrift that he has managed to squander his fortune even in the country. Wastefulness is the subject of other epigrams, such as 3.10 and 9.82.

17. Dic: 2.89.6; 4.7.6; 9.47.8. This imperative denotes indignation and surprise just before the end of the epigram.

decies: cf. 4.37.3 (n.).

18. fecisti rem, **Line**, **difficilem**: notice the echoes of the first line: the repetition of the vocative and the homoioteleuton *egisti/fecisti*, and the final lengthy adjectives with a similar ending, *municipalem/difficilem*. This emphasises the idea that it is very difficult to become bankrupt in the country.

67

Gaurus asks his friend (read 'patron'), a praetor, for one hundred thousand sesterces in order to become an *eques* (1–4). The latter's angry reply is that he cannot make such a donation because he is going to give a much larger amount to Scorpus and Thallus, two successful charioteers (5–6). The poem ends with Martial's indignant complaint (7–8) on the lack of economic correspondence in social exchange (cf. 4.61; Garrido-Hory, 1985: 386–187) and excessive expenditure on entertainment.

Martial deals with the same subject in 5.25 (Canobbio *ad loc.*), where the protagonist has to leave the seats reserved for the *equites*, even though he has enough wealthy friends who could help him become one; they, however, prefer to spend their money on an equestrian statue for the famous Scorpus (see Colton, 1966; Malnati, 1988).

A refusal to lend or donate is the theme of other epigrams: 2.30; 2.44; 4.15 (n.); 4.76 (n.); 5.82; 6.5; 6.20; 7.43; 9.46; 11.68; cf. 10.15.

Further reading: Watson-Watson, 2003: 164–166. On horse racing and its social impact, see Auguet, 1972: 120–148, and Humphrey, 1986: 1–24.

1. A *census* of 400,000 *sestertii* was necessary to become a member of the equestrian rank: cf. 5.25.1 (Canobbio *ad loc.*); 5.25.7; 5.38.3; Juv. 14.326. Some senators made donations to help their clients become *equites*: (Friedländer *ad loc.*): Plin. *Ep.* 1.19.2 *Esse autem tibi centum milium censum, satis indicat quod apud nos decurio es. Igitur ut te non decurione solum verum etiam equite Romano perfruamur, offero tibi ad implendas equestres facultates trecenta milia nummum.*

Praetorem pauper: juxtaposition and alliteration stress the economic differences between them (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*).

praetorem: a merely honorary position (OCD[3] *s. v.*), the praetor superintended and sponsored theatrical spectacles (Juv. 6.380; TLL. *s. v.* 1061.18–25 [Thome]) and circus games (TLL *s. v.* 1060.71–1061.18): Cic. *Phil.* 10.7; *Brut.* 78; Liv. 25.12.10; 27.23.5; 27.33.8; 41.27.5; Ov. *Am.* 3.2.65–66; Tac. *Ann.* 11.11; Mart. 12.28.9; Plin. *Ep.* 7.11.4; Juv. 10.36–46; 11.195 *praeda caballorum praetor sedet.*

pauper: not exactly 'poor' (cf. 4.5.1 n.; 11.32.8 [Kay *ad loc.*]), since he has three hundred thousand sesterces (3), but probably one of the *tribuni aerarii* (see Henderson, 1963: 63–65). Martial applies this epithet even to members of the equestrian order (4.40.4 *pauper eras et eques*; cf. 5.13.1–2; 2.90.3), but more often to the humiliated client (5.19.8; 5.81.1; 10.10.11). Sometimes it carries a pejorative tone (6.77.1; 8.19.1).

centum: *centum milia* (cf. l. 6), see Ramírez Sádaba, 1987: 156–157.

Gaurus: see Garthwaite, 1998: 167–170. This name always appears in satirical epigrams, and has traditionally been identified with Statius (see Henriksén *ad* 9.50): cf. 2.89. Although it seems that Statius' family had financial problems affecting their permanence in the equestrian rank (Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.117–118), this identification is difficult to prove (Pepe, 1950: 144–145). In this epigram *Gaurus* is not apparently the butt of satire, but rather a victim of the praetor's meanness. Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*) rightly suggest that there may be a pun on *Gaurus* and Gr. γαυριᾶν, a verb suitable for horses (cf. Plu. *Lyc.* 22; *vid.* LSJ *s. v.; s.* γαυρότης), the indirect cause of his friend's refusal. Gaurus implies 'haughtiness' (Solin, 1982: 779). In other passages, *Gaurus* is a rich, greedy patron (5.82) or a wealthy old man besieged by *captatores* (8.27).

2. cana notus amicitia: cf. 9.84.4 *Ille tuae cultor notus amicitiae.* They are old friends (TLL *s. cana: i. q. vetus* 297.49–79 [Meister]): Verg. *A.* 1.292 *cana Fides*; Mart. 1.15.2 *Si quid longa fides canaque iura valent.* For the use of *cana* ('hoary') in the sense of old, see Watson, 2002: 246. A long-standing friendship should be a powerful argument, but, as Martial often complains, it is not always so: 5.19.9; 8.14.7; 8.18.3; 9.84.7. *Notus* may indicate an acquaintance (OLD *s. v.* 1a), not necessarily a close friend (Pl. *Ps.* 127; Ter. *Eu.* 238), hence the praetor's reply. *Notus* may also imply that Gaurus is a well-known friend of his: everyone knows that they have been friends for a long time. *Amicitia* is an ambiguous term, since it is applied to both friendship and patronage (Garrido-Hory, 1985: 384–385; Nauta, 2002: 14–16).

The variant *cara* (*β*) is the *lectio facilior*, probably influenced by the widespread expression *carus amicus*: 4.5.5 (n.); 4.10.3 (n.); 4.73.5; 13.55.1.

3. cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.57–59 *est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque,/sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt:/plebs eris.*

deesse: this must be bisyllabic to fit into the metre (Friedländer *ad loc.*): cf. 8.55.3.

4. domino plaudere: an ambiguous phrase. *Dominus* sometimes refers to the Emperor (cf. 4.30.4 n.). If Gaurus had the necessary *census*, he could rightly sit on the seats reserved for the *equites* and applaud Domitian from there: 6.34.5–6 *Quaeque sonant pleno vocesque manusque theatro,/cum populus subiti Caesaris ora videt.* According to Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*), this patriotic claim would make his petition more reasonable and compelling. However, *dominus* can also refer to the patron (4.83.5 n.): Gaurus, honoured by the praetor, would pay tribute to his benefactor.

iustus eques: legitimate: 1.103.2 *nondum . . . iustus eques.* Notice the subtle moral implication: unlike his friend, Gaurus would be fair and reward him for his favour.

5. Praetor ait: *ait* generally introduces direct speech: cf. 1.42.3; 1.85.3; 1.117.18; 2.69.6; 6.82.4; 8.27.2; 9.44.4; 9.86.6; 10.2.6; 11.20.7.

Scorpo: see Syme, 1977. Martial mentions this famous charioteer in six epigrams: he alludes to his success in 5.25.10 (Cannobio *ad loc.*); in 11.1.16 he is a favourite topic of conversation; Martial complains about his exorbitant income in 10.74.5. Epigrams 10.50 and 53 are his epitaphs (see Ciappi, 2001): he died at the age of 27, after countless victories. Although there were other charioteers with this name, Stein (RE IIIa1 [1927] *s. Skorpos*) identifies him with *Flavius Scorpus* (CIL VI 10048). He also appears in CIL VI 8628, a sepulchral inscription for *T. Flavius Abascantus*, who was probably his patron.

Thallo: another famous charioteer, slave of *L. Avillius Planta.* His name appears in two inscriptions: CIL VI 121 (AD 90), and CIL VI 10048, where he is called *agitator factionis russatae.*

6. atque utinam centum milia sola darem: the praetor's complaint is rather hypocritical, since by organising races he gains popularity and fame (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*).

7. Ah pudet . . . pudet ah: the interjection *ah* mainly denotes pain and indignation; it is seldom used in prose (Cic. *De orat.* 2.285; Var. *Men.* 361). For its alternative, *a*, see TLL *s. v.* 1441.31–41 (Ihm.).

For its joint use with *pudet*, cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.7.19; *Ars* 3.804; *Met.* 9.531; *Pont.* 4.1.16; 4.13.19; Mart. 6.10.4; for the emphatic repetition of *ah*, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10.47–49; [Tib.] 3.4.61–62; Prop. 3.15.13–15; Ov. *Met.* 2.489–491; Mart. 11.91.3 *Ah scelus, ah facinus!* The repetition of the verb and the interjection emphasises Martial's reproaching tone: cf. 12.15.9 *pudet, ah, pudet fateri.*

ingratae: cf. 5.19.8 *ingratas . . . amicitias*; Juv. 11.192 *ingratos . . . sodales. Ingratus* is the ungenerous friend (TLL *s. v.* 1561.46–76 [Szantyr]): *Rhet. Her.* 4.52 *ingratus in amicos*; Cic. *Planc.* 80 *quae porro amicitia potest esse inter ingratos?*; Sen. *Con.* 2.5.5. It can be transferred to inanimate objects (TLL *s. v.* 1562.48–63): Suet. *Cal.* 38 *testamenta . . . ingrata.*

male divitis arcae: cf. 5.25.11 *o frustra locuples* (Canobbio *ad loc.*). *Arca* is usually a money box (TLL *s. v.* 432.13–65 [Klotz]; Pl. *Bac.* 943; *Men.* 803; Catul. 23.1; Sen. *Ben.* 4.6.1; *Frag.* Haase, p. 141; Mart. 2.30.4; 2.44.9; 2.51.1; 3.41.2; 5.42.1; see Richter, 1926: 143). It usually has its owner's features: 3.31.3 *dominae . . . arcae*; 8.38.11 *munifica . . . arca*; 8.44.10 *superba . . . arca*. For the expression *dives arca*, cf. Catul. 25.5 *cum dives arca rimulas ostendit oscitantes*; Phaed. 4.12.2 *Quia dives arca veram laudem intercipit*; Cic. *Parad.* 6.44 *Animus hominis dives, non arca, <quae> appellari solet. Male divitis* should be related with *ingratae*: cf. 10.15.3–4 *Mutua cum peterem sestertia quinque, negasti,/non caperet nummos cum gravis arca tuos.*

8. Martial often complains about charioteers' (and even horses') fame (10.9.5 *non sum Andraemone notior caballo*; 11.1.15–16; cf. 3.63.12; 10.48.23) and their high earnings: 10.74.2–6 *Quamdiu salutator/anteambulones et togatulos inter/centum merebor plumbeos die toto,/cum Scorpus una quindecim graves hora/ferventis auri victor auferat saccos?* (cf. 4.5 n.; 10.76).

non vis β: non das γ: the *lectio* of the second family implies that the praetor is just offering an excuse.

equo: the praetor would rather make a donation to a horse (*equo*) than to a (would-be) knight (*equiti*). For this wordplay, see Joepgen, 1967: 133–134. *Equo* may metonymically refer to the charioteer, or to an equestrian statue (Shackleton Bailey; Watson-Watson *ad loc.*; see TLL *s. v.* 738.69–78 (H. G. Wackernagel): Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.154; 2.2.160; Prop. 3.9.10; Ov. *Pont.* 4.1.33; Sen. *Dial.* 6.16.2): cf. 5.25.9–10 *Quam non sensuro dare quadringenta caballo,/aureus ut Scorpi nasus ubique micet?*; 8.44.5–6. CIL VI 10052 bears witness to the fact that Scorpus was honoured with a statue (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*).

Other examples of wordplay based on paronomasia can be found in 11.92 and 7.71.

68

Satirical epigram on a mean host who offers his guests a poor quality dinner, while he enjoys a lavish one. See 4.85 (n.) and cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.6.1–3 (2 *Nam sibi et paucis opima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat*). The joke is based on paronomasia: ***invi****tas*, ***invi****tor* e ***invi****deam* (Joepgen, 1967: 138–139; Gilbert, 1883: 6 n. 4).

Further reading: Mohler, 1931: 255–256. For the *cena* as a satirical motif, see Shero, 1923; Castillo, 1971: 155–156; Morford, 1977.

1. On antithesis, see Siedschlag, 1977: 29–35 and 4.36.1 (n.).

Invitas centum quadrantibus: 9.100.1 *Denaris tribus invitas*; 12.29.13–14 *Et 'Rogat ut secum cenes Laetorius' inquit./ Viginti nummis? non ego: malo famem.* Notice the contrast between the one hundred thousand sesterces requested in the previous epigram (4.67.1) and the one hundred quadrantes offered here.

invitas: without an explicit object. Either *me* or *nos* has to be understood: 4.83.6 (n.); cf. 8.22.1; 9.100.1.

centum quadrantibus: at the cost of 100 *quadrantes*: the host pays that amount for the dinner rather than giving it to the client in cash. The *sportula* (Mohler, 1931: 251–262) consisted of 100 *quadrantes* (Mart. 1.59.1; 3.7.1; 6.88.4; 10.70.13–14; 10.75.11; Juv. 1.120–121); it may also be interpreted that his dinner is worth 100 *quadrantes*. In Martial's book III, explicit reference is made to Domitian's abolition of the *sportula* (3.7; 3.14; 3.30.1 *Sportula nulla datur; gratis conviva recumbis*; 3.60.1–2 *Cum vocer ad cenam non iam venalis ut ante:/ Cur mihi non eadem, quae tibi, cena datur?*; 3.60.10; see Merli, 1998: 144–148) and resumption of the *cena recta* (*Dom.* 7.1). This, however, did not have an effect on mean patrons such as Sextus, who offers a dinner worth the old *sportula*. From book VI onwards, the *sportula* and *centum quadrantes* reappear (6.88.4; 7.86.9; 8.42.1; 8.49.10; 9.85.4; 10.27.3; 10.70.13–4; 10.75.11). Salanitro (1991–92: 288) claims that this poem shows that the abolition of the *sportula* did not last long.

One hundred *quadrantes* amounted to 25 asses or 6 ¼ sesterces. A *quadrans* in poetry is always equivalent to an insignificant amount (Hor. *S.* 2.3.92; Mart. 2.44.9; 5.32.1; 7.10.12; Juv. 7.8). See Duncan-Jones, 1982: 138–244.

et bene cenas: cf. 7.78.2; 9.14.4; 9.19.2; 10.31.2–3 (cf. *cenare belle* 11.34.4; 11.52.1); Catul. 13.1, 7; Lucil. 3.1239; Cic. *Fin.* 2.24–25; Hor. *Ep.* 1.6.56; Juv. 5.166; cf. 1.59.4 *tam male cum cenem. Et* has an adversative force (Hofmann-Szantyr: 481).

2. Note the chiasmus and the change of person: *invitas . . . cenas/cenem invitor.*

Sexte: this name frequently appears in money-related contexts: he is bankrupt in 2.3 and 2.13; he is a mean *fenerator* in 2.44, and is portrayed as an arrogant patron in 2.55. In 7.86 he no longer wishes to invite Martial to his birthday party, because the poet has not sent him a present (7.86.11 *Pascis munera, Sexte, non amicos*). Elsewhere he does not remunerate Martial for his services as a lawyer (8.17). His avarice is the theme of 10.57. Other unrelated satirical epigrams on this character are 2.87; 3.38; 5.38; 10.21. Only once does the name Sextus belong to a real person, Domitian's librarian and secretary (5.5.1: see Howell *ad loc.*).

invideam: similar wordplay in 3.21.2 *Non fuit haec domini* ***vita*** *sed in**vidi**a.* For the theme of envy in the epigrams, see **4.27** and **4.77** (n.).

69

Contrary to the discourteous habits of others (**4.85** n.), Papylus always offers his guests wines of quality, but he has become a widower four times and rumour has it that his wine-flagon is to blame. Martial declares himself sceptical about the gossip, but neither does he want to drink, just in case.

Murdering and poisoning of husbands and wives are frequent themes in the epigrams: 6.31 (see Grewing *ad loc.*); 12.91. The majority are reoffenders (8.43.1; 9.15; 9.78.1), and their behaviour is a form of legacy-hunting (**4.56** n.): 10.16; 10.43; cf. 1.10; 2.26; 2.65; Juv. 6.137–141. As divorce was not unusual in Rome (Treggiari, 1991; Corbier, 1991: 57–63), the motive for the crime seems to be merely economic. A man who did not like his wife could easily divorce her, but in that case he would have to return the dowry. If she died, on the other hand, he could inherit from her. Murder by poison was difficult to discover. Poisoning is one of Juvenal's favourite topics: 1.69–72; 1.158–159; 6.133–134; 6.630–640; 14.252–255 (cf. Mart. 5.76, *vid.* Howell *ad loc.*). See also Hor. *S.* 2.3.131; Mart. 1.20; 2.34 (cf. Juv. 5.146–148); 6.92; Juv. 9.100. Wife-poisoning was not exclusive to the literary realm (Plin. *Nat.* 27.4). For a thorough study of poisoning, see Kaufman, 1932: 156–167 and Lippold, RE *Supp.* V 223–228 *s. Gift.*

Structurally and thematically, this epigram resembles 6.75: Pontia (cf. 4.43.5 n.) sends Martial exquisite goods, and he promises to keep them for himself (cf. e.g. 7.53): *has ego non mittam* evokes *nec puto nec credo*. However, he will not eat them: *nec edam* (= *nec sitio*). According to Sullivan, the humour is based on (a lack of) logic: 'The rumours that Papylus' fine wine is lethal are rejected—and so is Papylus' invitation to have a drink. Here a premise is accepted, but the appropriate conclusion is denied' (1989: 192).

Further reading: Housman, 1907: 716 (=1972: 716); Barwick, 1959: 46.

1. Luxuries must be distrusted: Juv. 10.25–27 *sed nulla aconita bibuntur/fictilibus; tunc illa time cum pocula sumes/gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro*. See La Penna, 1999, and Leary, 1999, on wines in the epigrams.

Setina: wines from Setia (present-day Sezze) were excellent. Martial often mentions them: 6.86.1; 8.50.19; 9.2.5; 10.14.5; 12.17.5; 13.112 (Leary *ad loc.*); 13.124.1; 14.103.1. See further Leary, 1999: 37. Cf. also Strab. 5.3.10; Plin. *Nat.* 3.60; 14.52; 14.61; Juv. 10.27; Sil. 8.376; 10.33; Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.90.

Massica: the famous wines from *mons Massicus*: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.19; S. 2.4.51; Mart. 1.26.8; 3.26.3; 4.13.4 (n.); 13.111.1.

2. Papyle: cf. **4.48.1** (n.). Note that in that passage he is rebuked for his passive homosexual behaviour.

sed rumor . . . negat: cf. 3.73.5 *Sed rumor negat esse te cinaedum*; 3.89.2 *Rumor ait linguae te tamen esse malae*; 3.87.1 *Narrat te, Chione, rumor numquam esse fututam*; 4.16.2 (n). Shackleton Bailey translates *negat* as 'prevents us from drinking', following Housman's explanation: 'optima vina a te posita rumor quidam nobis convivis negat, quemadmodum dapes Tantalo negantur; obstat scilicet quominus ea bibere velimus' (1907: 716). In this sense, cf. 12.57.4–5. However, *negat* can be taken as a *verbum dicendi* with double accusative or with an elided accusative: cf. 3.94.1 *esse negas coctum leporem*; 9.81.2.

tam bona vina: both exquisite (cf. Tib. 1.1.24) and innocuous: cf. 10.36.3–4 *A te, Munna, venit: miseris tu mittis amicis/per freta, per longas toxica saeva vias.*

3. Poison could be poured into drinks (Juv. 1.69–70; 6.633; Kaufman, 1932: 164).

caelebs: 'not having a wife' ([Quint.] *Decl.* 247.8 *qui maritus erit, non est caelebs*): this means both 'bachelor' (Ov. *Met.* 10.245) and 'widower' (Liv. 1.46.7; Sen. *Phaed.* 1215; Gel. 2.15.7).

lagona: a jar for preserving (Cato *Agr.* 122.1; 123.1; Col. 12.12.2; 12.12.3; 12.41.1; 12.47.2; Sen. *Ep.* 114.5; 118.15) and carrying wine (Mart. 4.46.9; 7.53.6; 9.72.4; Juv. 7.121). It is not a poetic term, although both Martial and Juvenal use it very frequently: 4.43.5 (n.); 6.89.4; 6.89.7; 7.20.19; 9.87.7; 10.45.6; 10.48.19; 12.82.11; 12.91.4; 14.116 (Leary *ad loc.*); Juv. 5.29; 8.162; 12.60; 14.271.

When his father died, Ammianus only inherited a rope. Such a base being as Ammianus, says Martial, would long have yearned for his father's death, but he probably knew about his disinheritance, so that, in truth, he did not want him to die. The reasons for this mutual hostility are obscure in this epigram, but clarified by comparison with others: Ammianus may have committed incest with his own mother: 2.4 (for incest, see 4.16 n.).

Wills and legacies are a recurrent satirical theme: cf. Mart. 3.10; 4.61.11; 5.32; 5.39; 7.66; 8.44.12; 9.8; 9.48; 10.97; 12.73; 13.126; Juv. 6.216–218; 6.548–549; 10.232–238. Another disinherited character can be found in 3.10.

Further reading: Champlin, 1989a; 1991; Hopkins, 1983: 235–247; Saller, 1991: 26–47; 1994: 161–180.

1. Fathers could disinherit their offspring (Hopkins, 1983: 237 n. 47), but this was neither common nor appropriate unless there was a strong reason, especially an unforgivable offence: Sen. *Cl.* 1.14.1 *Numquid aliquis sanus filium a prima offensa exheredat?* Disinherited sons could appeal against it (*querella inofficiosi testamenti*), since it ruined their reputation (Champlin, 1989a: 205–206; 1991: 16 n. 44).

Nihil . . . praeter: 1.43.2 *positum est nobis nil here praeter aprum*; 5.18.4; 6.72.4; 12.88.2 *Nil praeter nasum Tongilianus habet.*

aridam restem: although some 15th century manuscripts and editions read *vestem* (cf. Pl. *Rud.* 574 *vestimenti aliquid aridi*), *restem* is right. It suggests that Ammianus should hang himself (Pl. *Per.* 815 *restem tu tibi cape crassam et suspende te*; *Poen.* 396 *capias restim ac te suspendas*; Liv. 1.26.6. *infelici arbori reste suspendito*), out of sheer envy and despair: cf. Mart. **4.77** (n.). Champlin (1989a: 205, n. 26; 1991: 16 and n. 47) explains that it was traditional that those who had misbehaved towards the deceased were bequeathed a rope (with which to hang themselves): CIL VI 12649.14–16 Atimeto Lib. cvivs dolo filiam amisi restem et clavom vnde sibi collvm alliget; VI 20905 (= CLE 95).6–7 venenariae et perfidae dolosae dvri pectoris clavom et restem sparteam vt sibi alliget et picem candentem

PECTVS MALVM COMMVRAT SVVM. Cf. also *Testamentum Porcelli* (Buecheler, 1958: 346–347): *et nec nominando coco legato dimitto popiam et pistillum quae mecum attuleram: de Thebeste usque ad Tergeste liget sibi collum de reste.* Hanging was an ignominious form of death (cf. 4.77.5).

Aridus, means 'dry' (cf. SPARTEAM *supra*), but also defines the legacy as worthless: cf. 10.75.11 *sportula . . . arida* (cf. Pl. *Aul.* 297; *Per.* 266 *triparcos homines, vetulos, avidos, aridos*; Ter. *Hau.* 526 *sed habet patrem quendam avidum, miserum atque aridum*; Cic. *Quinct.* 93 *vitam omnino semper horridam atque aridam; S. Rosc.* 75 *in victu arido, in hac horrida incultaque vita*; cf. TLL *s. v.* 568.59–72 [Oertel]).

2. Ammiano: cf. 2.4; 2.17.4 (see Kajanto, 1982: 140). *Mammianus*, the variant of the second family, (Kajanto, 1982: 149) is unsuitable for metrical reasons.

ultimis . . . ceris: *cera* means, metonymically, *tabella cera oblita* (TLL *s. v.* 852.16–853.4 [Goetz]), and, more specifically, 'will': CIL XII 4036 SVPREMAS ERROR NE POSSET RVMPERE CERAS; Suet. *Jul.* 83.2 *in **ima** cera Gaium Octavium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit*; cf. Mart. 5.32.1 *tabulis . . . **supremis***; 5.39.1–2 ***supremas** tibi . . . / signanti tabulas*; 6.63.3 (Grewing *ad loc.*); Tac. *Ann.* 16.14; Quint. *Decl.* 261.5; 332.4; Ulp. *Dig.* 37.11.11; 43.5.1.4.1; 50.16.163.

3. Marulline: this name only appears here. It derives from *Marullus* (cf. 5.77.1; 6.39.1; 10.55.1 and 6).

4. A ruthless legatee wishes his benefactor to die soon: cf. 11.67 *Nil mihi das vivus; dicis post fata daturum. / si non es stultus, scis, Maro, quid cupiam*; 12.40.5–6 *Nil tamen omnino praestas mihi. 'Mortuus,' inquis, / 'Accipiam bene te'. Nil volo: sed morere.* It was logical to think that Ammianus must have yearned for his father's death, especially if, as suggested, they were rivals in sexual terms.

71

Erotic satirical epigram: nowadays girls in Rome never say no, which would make them more attractive (**4.38**). Yet they do not say yes either, which leaves men in a state of constant expectancy. The epigram is built on repetitions, parallelism and *variatio*, stressing their habitual exasperating attitude, in order, according to Salemme (1976: 57), to 'predisporre chi lege alla battuta finale, ad aumentare la tensione un attesa del gioco di paroli'. Compare with 1.9; 1.79. See further Siedschlag, 1977: 26.

This poem is a sequel to **4.38**, and forms a diptych with **4.81**, whose protagonist, having read this, adopts an extreme attitude and insistently rejects her lover.

Further reading: Plass, 1985: 188; Lorenz, 2004: 266–267.

1. Quaero diu: cf. 4.23.1; 5.56.2; 8.31.5.

totam . . . per urbem: see **4.84.1** (n.).

Safroni Rufe: in 11.103 (*vid.* Kay *ad loc.*) he is a demure and modest friend of Martial's. For other occurrences of the name *Rufus*, see 4.13.1 (n.).

2. si qua puella neget: for the erotic sense of *negare*, see 4.7.2 (n.); 4.12.2 (n.); 4.38.1 (n.); cf. 4.81.2.

nulla puella negat: repetition and assonance (*nulla puella*) underline Martial's mock-despair.

3–4. Women are so starkly and unrelentingly forward that their behaviour seems to follow religious, moral, and even legal rules.

Tamquam fas non sit: a further ironic use of *fas* in 4.78.5 (n.). For its meaning, see Cipriano, 1978.

turpe: this denotes immorality and inappropriateness in erotic terms: Ov. *Am.* 1.9.4 *turpe senilis amor*; 2.10.4 *duas uno tempore turpis amo*; 2.17.1–2; Mart. 6.45.4; 6.90.2.

tamquam non liceat: cf. 2.60.4.

5. Casta igitur nulla est?: this seems to be an ironic question for Ov. *Am.* 1.8.43 *casta est quam nemo rogavit*, also comparable with **4.84.4** *Tam casta est, rogo, Thais? Immo fellat.*

Casta appears not only in eulogising contexts (1.31.1; 7.69.10; 10.92.9), but also in satirical epigrams: chaste Laevina turns wanton in the waters of Baiae (1.62); affected Laelia is ironically called *casta matrona* (10.68.9); even the traditionally coy *Sabinae* do not live up to their reputation: 9.40.5–6 *illam lingeret ut puella simplex,/quam castae quoque diligunt Sabinae*. In fact, chastity is not incompatible with the enjoyable reading of Martial's saucy epigrams: 3.86.1; 3.86.3; 7.88.4; 9.90.8.

Sunt castae mille: *mille* denotes a vague exaggerated quantity: 5.22.9; 6.93.11; 7.20.13; 10.10.2; 11.31.1; 11.100.5; 12.29.4.

5–6. Quid ergo/casta facit?: for this sort of question, cf. 1.10.4; 1.41.2; 2.28.5; 3.84.2; 4.53.8; 9.4.4; 12.36.6. *Casta* does not necessarily mean *pudica*.

6. Non dat, **non tamen illa negat**: cf. 3.90 *Volt, non volt dare Galla mihi, nec dicere possum,/quod volt et non volt, quid sibi Galla velit*. Women have learnt Ovid's teaching: *Ars* 3.475–476 *Sed neque te facilem iuveni promitte roganti,/nec tamen e duro quod petit ille nega*.

dat: *dare* can be used as a euphemism for sexual intercourse (Adams, 1981: 127; Fortuny, 1986: 82–84; Uría, 1997: 397–400): cf. Catul. 110.4; Ov. *Am.* 1.4.70; *Ars* 1.454; 3.462; Mart. 2.25.1; 2.31.1; 2.49.2; 2.56.4; 3.90.1 (*supra*); 7.75.2; 10.75.14; 10.81.3; 12.55.3; *Priap.* 50.3. In Greek there is a similar use of the verb δίδωμι: *A. P.* 12.19.2; Strat. *A.P.* 12.237.2.

negat: *vid. supra*. Lorenz (2004: 266) aptly links this ending with **4.12**.

An apparently enthusiastic reader asks Martial for a copy of his work (cf. 1.117; 5.73; 7.3; 7.77), but the latter refuses to give it. Elsewhere, he adduces that he does not want to receive his friend's *ouevre* in return (cf. 5.73; 7.3), whereas here his refusal reveals the addressee's meanness and shamelessness: cf. 7.77 *Exigis, ut nostros donem tibi, Tucca, libellos./Non faciam: nam vis vendere, non legere.* The epigram begins with an indirect account of Quintus' pressing words (*exigis*): *donem* suggests that what Quintus wants is a free copy. Martial's reply is sharp and impolite. He explains where his books can be found (cf. 1.117.9–17). The mere allusion to an expense makes Quintus scorn the work he was so eager to possess (cf. 1.117.18). Martial's scheme has worked out: Quintus' reply has legitimised his initial refusal.

Although this can be linked with another refusal poem in the collection (**4.15**), it is not unusual that by the end of the book Martial should focus on literature and publishing. Rather than being aimed at advertising, it seems to be a metaliterary trick or even a complimentary token for his bookseller.

The first allusion to the bookselling world is made in the *Xenia*: 13.3.1–4 *Omnis in hoc gracili Xeniorum turba libello/constabit nummis quattuor empta tibi./Quattuor est nimium? poterit constare duobus,/et faciet lucrum bybliopola Tryphon.* Martial uses *praeceptio* or *anticipatio* to agree with the likely objection of the reading public—who complain about the price of the book—as an effective form of *captatio benevolentiae.* In 1.117 (Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*) Atrectus, another bookseller, is mentioned: in his bookshop Martial is a best-seller (15), and a de luxe copy costs five *denarii* (16–17; see Birt, 1882 = 1974: 82–84). Readers can also buy a pocket book at Secundus' store (1.2; Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*). Finally, Martial names Quintus Pollius, who still sells his juvenile work (1.113 Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*). Undoubtedly, Martial did not live on royalties, although he probably sold originals to booksellers who made and sold copies (Leary *ad* 13.3.4). Accordingly, neither here nor in 1.117 is Martial determined to make a profit, but rather to avoid the expense of giving a present to a scrounger (Starr, 1987: 215). In fact, the poet had to pay for the writing materials (2.1.4; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.6–9) and the scribe (2.1.5–6).

Further reading: Watson-Watson, 2003: 84–86. For book-trading in Rome, see Birt, 1974 (= 1882): 356–360; Kenyon, 1980; Kenney, 1982: 15–22; Starr, 1987. For the publication of Martial's epigrams, see Sage, 1919; Allen, 1970: 345–357.

1. Exigis ut donem: cf. 7.77.1 *Exigis ut nostros donem tibi, Tucca, libellos*; 5.73.1–2 *Non donem tibi cur meos llibellos/ oranti totiens et exigenti*; 7.3.1. Stronger than *poscere* (cf. 8.64.1), *exigere* implies commanding urgency (cf. 3.46.1 *Exigis a nobis operam sine fine togatam*), which seems somewhat incompatible with the meaning of *donare*. Writers used to give complimentary copies to friends and patrons (Starr, 1987: 213–216): if Martial gave a copy to Quintus, this would amount to an acknowledgement of a non-existent friendship (Starr, 1987: 222).

nostros . . . libellos: *libellos* can be doubly interpreted as booklets for semi-private circulation and as published books (**4.10.1** n.). Quintus asks for the former, and is told to buy the latter.

Noticeable is the use of the plural *nostros*, juxtaposed to *tibi*: Martial is openly keeping his distance from Quintus.

Quinte: a common name in satirical epigrams: he is in love with one-eyed Thais (3.8; 3.11; see Scherf, 2001: 41–42), marries one-eyed Laelia (5.75; cf. 12.23; 10.68), and has financial problems with one-eyed Hyllas (8.9). He is criticised for his excessive luxury (3.62). In 3.11 Martial changes this name, as a certain Quintus has been offended by the Thais epigrams: 5–6 *mutemus nomen amantis:/ si non vult Quintus, Thaïda Sextus amet* (cf. 5.21.1). He should not be confused with Quintus Ovidius, a friend of Martial's: 7.93; 9.53; 13.119; cf. 1.105; 7.44–45; 9.52; 9.98; 10.44 (see Kleijwegt, 1998: 270–272).

2. Non habeo: this is not an unlikely reply: according to Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*), Martial could have given all his copies to friends and the bookseller, only keeping the original.

bibliopola: (Gr. βιβλιοπώλης; see Stephani, 1889: 8–9) Suet. *frag.* p.134.18 *librarios ante bibliopolas dictos* (Isid. *Orig.* 6.14.1); cf. 1.117.; 1.113; 13.3.4 (Leary *ad loc.*); 14.194.2; Plin. *Ep.* 1.2.6; 9.11.2; CIL VI 9218; Porph. *ad* Hor. *Ep.* 1.20.2; *S.* 1.4.71; *Ars* 345; *A. L.* 764.11; Sidon. *Ep.* 2.8.2 *mercennarius Bibliopola*; 2.9.4 *armaria extructa bibliopolarum*; 5.15.1; 9.7.1; CIL VI 9218. Generally, booksellers provided copies of books to order. For their role in the publishing trade, see Kenney, 1982: 21–22.

Tryphon: RE VIIa1 (1939) *s. Tryphon* 23 (Stein). He was Quintilian's editor (*Inst.* 12.pr.) and was mentioned by Martial as his bookseller in 13.3.4 (Leary *ad loc.*).

3. Quintus' reply shows his true feelings about Martial's work, as well as his meanness.

Aes dabo: 1.76.4 *aes dabit . . . nulla puella* (Stietzel, 1907: 51). *Aes* may simply mean 'money' (TLL *s. v.* 1075.33–61 [Bickel]): cf. Pl. *As.* 201 *aes habent; Aul.* 376 *aes non erat*; 520 *datur aes; Poen.* 24; Hor. *Ars* 21; Liv. 10.30.10; Gel. 9.2.1.

nugis: as in 4.49.2 *lusus . . . iocosque*, *nugae* can have pejorative connotations. For its use as a literary term, see **4.10.4** (n.).

emam: 1.2.1–3 *Qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos/et comites longae quaeris habere viae,/hos eme, quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis*; 1.29.4 *Si dici tua vis, hoc eme, ne mea sint.*; 2.20.

tua carmina: *carmen* is a vague term for poetry. Noteworthy is the use of the possessive *tua* (≠ 1 *nostros libellos*), in keeping with Quintus' sneering tone.

sanus: often used in negative and interrogative contexts: cf. **4.80.2** (n.) *non es sanus*; 12.47.2 *Sanos, Classice, nunc nega poetas*; cf. Pl. *Aul.* 769 *Sanus tu non es qui furem me voces*; Ter. *Ad.* 336 *mi homo, sanun es?*

4. Non . . . faciam tam fatue: 6.8.6 *fatue fecit. Fatuus* is the opposite of *sanus*: cf. 10.19.4; Pl. *Bac.* 1088; Cic. *Deiot.* 21 *Fatuus et amens es*. The adverb *fatue* is only used by Martial and Quintilian (*Inst.* 6.4.8), but the expression is similar to *stulte facere*: Pl. *Bac.* 57; 1013; *Cist.* 86; *Men.* 81; 439; 701; *Mer.* 501; *Mil.* 1376; *Mos.* 187; *Per.* 375; *Trin.* 461; 1168; Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.162; *Fam.* 2.7.1; *Rhet. Her.* 4.57; Ov. *Ars* 2.591. For other collocations of *facere* with adverbs, see OLD *s. v.* 28 and TLL *s. v.* 120.20–43 (Ammann): cf. Pl. *Mos.* 719; Ter. *Hec.* 624; Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.63. The alliteration of /f/ may stress Quintus' contempt.

Nec ego: 'neither am I such as fool as to give you my work for free'. Martial would pay for a copy if the recipient were a cultivated or influential man: giving such a present to Quintus amounts to a waste of money. At first sight, however, Martial seems to agree with Quintus ('I wouldn't do it either, if I were you'), adopting the same mock-modest stance as in 1.117.18 *'Tanti non es' ais? Sapis, Luperce.*

73

On his death-bed Vestinus asks the Parcae for a little more time (1–4): he will go on living just to benefit his dear friends (5). Such an unselfish prayer moves the stern goddesses (6). He distributes his wealth among friends and dies (7). Death has been inevitable, but his last action has made it less sorrowful. This epigram is a serious counterpoint to **4.70**, a satirical poem on death and wills. Vestinus is dignified by his last wish and his death is seen in a positive light: cf. 4.32.4; 11.69.12.

Champlin (1991) analyses the sentimental value of wills to the Roman mentality. The will was more than a legal document: it was a vehicle for expressing emotions and affection, and an honour to heirs, inasmuch as it was a sign of public aknowledgement (ibid. 11–13). Consequently, wills can be subject to moral judgement (ibid. 19), as in this case.

Further reading: Corsaro, 1973: 182–183; Morris, 1992; for wills and legacies, see Hopkins, 1983: 235–247; Champlin, 1989a; 1991; Saller, 1991: 26–47; 1994: 161–180.

1–5. Champlin (1991: 64–65) offers some other passages in which impending death causes a will to be signed: Caes. *Gal.* 1.39; Tac. *Ann.* 14.29; Suet. *Vita Horati; Cl.* 44.1; *Dig.* 36.1.63; 32.102.1. The same situation—though with a comic intent—can be read in the *Testamentum Porcelli.*

The epigram begins as a *soterion*: in the first lines it seems that Vestinus is going to recover.

1. gravis: 'seriously ill' (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.443; Verg. *G.* 3.95 *Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis aut iam segnior annis*; Sen. *Oed.* 1052 *Quicumque fessi corpore et morbo graves; vid.* TLL *s. v.* 2282.79–2283.53 [Bräuninger]). *Gravis*, together with *duceret*, suggests sluggishness and fatigue.

extremas . . . horas: a euphemism for the death-bed: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.20 *extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora* (cf. *Ciris* 406); Sen. *Nat.* 3.18.6; V. Max. 8.7.ext.3; cf. Mart. 4.54.4 (n.); Luc. 8.611. *Extremus* is elsewhere related to death (TLL *s. exter (extremus)* 2002.41–56; 2002.65–

2003.21 [Hiltbrunner]): Sen. *Herc. O.* 315 *extremus dies*; *Ep.* 12.6 *ad diem extremum.*

Vestinus: *vid.* RE VIIIA1 (1955) *s. Vestinus* 1 (Hanslik). Since this character is said to have died young (in AD 88), Hanslik suggests that he may be a son of M. (Iulius) Vestinus Atticus (cf. RE s. *Vestinus* 3), *consul ordinarius* in AD 65 (Tac. *Ann.* 15.48; see PIR^2 I 634), executed by Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 15.69; Suet. *Nero* 35.1). This young man is also mentioned in Statius' *Silva* 4.6 (93–95; *vid.* Coleman *ad loc.*), addressed to Novius Vindex (the recipient of Martial's 9.43–44; Henriksén *ad loc.*). From Statius' passage it can be inferred that the noble Vestinus died prematurely, after distributing his wealth among his friends, including Vindex (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.94–95 *infra*). On Martial's and Statius' relationship with Novius Vindex, see White, 1975: 286–287 and n. 35. According to Nauta (2002: 75 n. 128), Martial probably composed this epigram to please Vindex.

duceret: this can be used with a time expression: cf. Lucr. 2.997; Verg. *G.* 3.379; *A.* 6.539 *nos flendo ducimus horas.* In addition, it belongs to the semantic field of spinning (cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.34; 4.221; 14.264–265; *Ep.* 19.37; cf. Tib. 1.3.86; Ov. *Ep.* 9.77; *Met.* 4.36; Serv. *ad Verg. G.* 2.121; *A.* 1.22), thus anticipating the image of the Parcae and paralleling the visual metaphor of the thread of life: cf. Catul. 64.312; 64.327 *currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi*; [Tib.] 3.3.35–36 *tristesque sorores,/stamina quae ducunt quaeque futura neunt*; Sil. 3.96 *ultra me improperae ducant cui fila sorores*; 4.28; Mart. 6.58.7 *Si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores*; Juv. 12.64–65 *postquam Parcae meliora benigna/pensa manu ducunt hilares* (Courtney *ad loc.*).

2. For the Styx, see **4.60.4** (n.). *Stygius* is applied to the underworld (cf. 1.101.5; 1.114.5; 9.51.3; 11.84.1; 12.90.3 *Stygias . . . umbras*; 6.18.2 *Stygias domos*; 10.72.10; 12.52.12), especially its infernal waters: 1.78.4 *Stygios . . . lacus*; 5.25.6; 6.58.3 *Stygias . . . undas*; 9.101.8 *Stygia . . . aqua*; cf. Verg. *A.* 3.215; 6.134; 6.323; 6.369; 6.374; 12.91; Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.8 *Stygia . . . unda.* Setting out for the Styx is a widespread poetic euphemism for death: e.g. 1.101.5; 1.101.10 *dixit ad infernas liber iturus aquas*; 4.60.4 (n.); 9.29.2; Verg. *A.* 7.773; *Culex* 240; Ov. *Pont.* 1.3.20; 2.3.43 Luc. 3.13; Sen. *Her. F.* 1131; *Phaed.* 928; *Her. O.* 1550.

3. ultima . . . pensa: cf. *extremas horas. Vltimus* refers to time (OLD *s. v.* 4a): Verg. *A.* 2.248 *ultimus . . . dies*; Petr. 99.1 *ultimam . . . lucem*,

especially the end of life (OLD *s. v.* 6c): Sil. 4.28–9 *ducentes . . . ultima fila/grandaevos senes*; Sen. *Ep.* 4.9; 24.20 *ultima hora*; cf. Verg. *A.* 10.814–15 *extremaque Lauso/Parcae fila legunt* (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.380). For the meaning of *pensa*, see **4.54.9** (n.). It is a poetic plural: see TLL *s. v.* 1048.43–60 (Gatti) and cf. *Epic. Drusi* 240; Sen. *Apoc.* 4.1.7; 4.1.11; 4.1.16; Petr. 29.6; Sen. *Her. F.* 181; Mart. 7.96.4; 9.17.2; 9.76.7; Stat. *Theb.* 3.206.

volventis: spinning wool with the spindle: Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.2 *nec inexorabile Clotho volvit opus*; Verg. *G.* 4.348 *dum fusis mollia pensa devolvunt; A.* 9.476 *revoluta . . . pensa; Ciris* 446 *non licuit gravidos penso devolvere fusos?*; Porph. *ad Hor. Carm.* 3.12.4–5 *Hoc autem est, in quo pensa vel trama<s> revolvunt.*

oravit: cf. 9.17.2 *Parcarum exoras pensa brevesque colos.*

sorores: the Parcae: see **4.54.9** (n.); cf. 6.58.7–8 *si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores/stamina*; 11.36.3–4 *rupta sororum/fila*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.15–6 *dum sororum/fila trium patiuntur atra*; [Tib.] 3.3.35 *tristesque sorores*; Prop. 2.13.44 *quaevis de tribus una soror*; Ov. *Am.* 1.3.17; *Ep.* 12.3; *Met.* 15.781; Sen. *Her. F.* 181 *durae peragunt pensa sorores*; Luc. 6.703; 9.838; Sil. 17.361–2 *nil fila sororum . . . adversus posco*; Stat. *Theb.* 1.632; *Silv.* 3.3.21 (*vid.* Laguna *ad loc.*). See Carter, 1902: 82.

4. traherent: cf. Luc. 6.703–704 *repetitaque fila sorores/tracturae*; Stat. *Theb.* 8.119; *Epic. Drusi* 240 *pollice quae certo pensa severa trahunt.* Technically, *trahere* applies to spinning: Var. *Men.* 190 *manibus trahere lanam*; Prop. 3.11.20; Ov. *Ep.* 3.75; 10.90; *Met.* 13.511; 14.264–5 *quae vellera motis/nulla trahunt digitis nec fila sequentia ducunt; Fast.* 2.743; *Tr.* 4.1.13; Stat. *Theb.* 2.440.

parva . . . mora: *parvus* can be found in time expressions (cf. Lucr. 3.553; *vid.* TLL *s. v.* 559.66–80 [Gatti]). *Parva mora* means a brief postponement: cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.165; Liv. 7.12.11; Ov. *Am.* 2.14.26; *Ep.* 2.144; 18.114; *Met.* 1.671; 8.671; *Fast.* 3.394; 3.408; 6.537; Mart. *Sp.* 24.6; Sen. *Tro.* 787 *parva quam petimus mora est.* Compare with Verg. *A.* 9.143 *leti discrimina parva.*

stamina pulla: the thread of life. *Stamina* is a poetic plural: cf. 9.76.7; 10.44.5–6 *at non et stamina differt/Atropos*; Tib. 1.7.2; [Tib.] 3.3.36; Ov. *Met.* 8.453; *Tr.* 4.1.63–4; 5.3.25–26; 5.13.24; *Ib.* 244; *Eleg. Maec.* 1.76; 1.140; Sen. *Apoc.* 4.1.3; 4.1.13; *Oed.* 982; *Her. O.* 1098; [Sen.] *Oct.* 15; Luc. 3.19; 6.777; Stat. *Theb.* 5.274–275; 7.775; 8.13; *Silv.* 3.3.126; 5.1.169; Sil. 1.282; 17.120. *Pullus* implies darkness, particularly applied to animal skins (Verg. *G.* 3.389), wool (Liv.

42.2.4), and fabrics, mainly as a sign of mourning (e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 3.67; Liv. 45.7.4). For the uses of *pullus*, see André, 1949: 71–72. The expression *stamina pulla* appears in Ov. *Ib.* 244 *nevit et infesta stamina pulla manu*; Mart. 6.58.7 *si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores/stamina* (Grewing *ad loc.*). In both passages the dark colour has fatal symbolic undertones (*vid.* André, 1949: 260–261): cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.16 *fila . . . atra*; Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.63–64 *hic quoque cognosco natalis stamina nostri,/stamina de nigro vellere facta mihi*; 5.13.24 *non ita sunt fati stamina nigra mei*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.241–2 *nigrae . . . Sororum/colus*; 6.376 *nigrae . . . Sorores.* Contrarily, Juvenal's white thread is a positive image: 12.64–66 *Parcae meliora benigna/pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi/lanificae* (cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 4.1.5; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.24–5).

The image of the Parcae spinning the thread of life is very old (Hom. *Il.* 20.128; 24.209), and not exclusive to Graeco-Roman mythology (Lattimore, 1962: 159). For its presence in Greek and Latin epitaphs, see Lattimore, 1962: 159–161.

5. caris dum vivit amicis: *caris* (*α γ*): *carus* (*β*). *Carus* is the *lectio difficilior*, probably influenced by Hor. *S.* 1.6.70 *si et vivo carus amicis* (cf. *Eleg. Maec.* 1.15 *omnia cum posses tanto tam carus amico*). However, *caris* could be an emendation or a blunder, since the expression *carus amicus* is extremely widespread (4.10.3 n.). On the other hand, the collocation *amicis vivere* is not usual; *vivere* with a dative is not very common: Ter. *Ad.* 865 *sibi vixit*; Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.107 *mihi vivam*; Ov. *Tr.* 3.4.5 *vive tibi.* At any rate, *caris* is preferable here: it is Vestinus' affection for his friends that inspires this epigram. *Vivere* has a number of connotations: Vestinus wants to go on living until he has signed his will (OLD *s. v.* 5a); besides, it is suggested that his memory will remain alive among his friends (OLD *s. v.* 5c; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.30; Champlin, 1991: 22; 26; 28): cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.94–95 *Vestinus . . . quem nocte dieque/spirat et in carae* ***vivit*** *complexibus umbrae.*

dum: the clause introduced by *dum* is syntactically dependent on *mora*: Sen. *Tro.* 760–761 *Brevem moram largire, dum officium parens/nato supremum reddo*; *Med.* 288 *precor, brevem largire fugienti moram,/dum extrema natis mater infigo oscula,/fortasse moriens*; Juv. 10.340–341.

6. Cf. Prop. 4.11.7 *vota movent superos*; Ov. *Ib.* 94 *vota, minus magnos commoveantve deos*; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.68 *et votis precibusque virum concede moveri*; Luc. 7.211 *spesque metusque simul perituraque vota movebunt.* For *movere* in relation to prayers, cf. e.g. Prop. 1.15.26 *Cynthia, et oblitos parce movere*

deos; Tib. 2.6.54 *Moverit e votis pars quotacumque deos*. The Parcae are traditionally inflexible (cf. 4.54 n.): thus, their granting Vestinus' wish is extraordinary.

tetricas . . . deas: the Parcae (*vid. supra*): cf. 7.96.4 (Galán *ad loc.*). *Tetricus* is an almost exclusively poetic adjective (Citroni, 1975: 207), often used by Martial; he applies it to anything incompatible with life and enjoyment, or to grave stern attitudes. It is closely related to *tristis* (1.62.2; 5.20.6; cf. Serv. *ad Verg. A.* 7.713 *unde tristes homines tetricos dicimus*): [Tib] 3.3.35 *tristes . . . sorores* (*vid.* Navarro *ad loc.*); Stat. *Theb.* 5.274 *tristes . . . Parcae.*

tam pia vota: suggested in line 5 and made explicit in 7. While retaining its religious sense (cf. *vota, deas*; cf. e.g. Prop. 3.3.10 *versos ad pia vota deos*; Ov. *Fast.* 1.722), *pia* also suggests affection for relatives and acquaintances. The Parcae bestow on him some more time, because his prayer is unselfish: he will use his extra time to benefit his loved ones. *Pia* also suggests the afterlife, subtly and indirectly contributing to the praise of the deceased (cf. e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.17). The phrase *pia vota* appears in Ov. *Am.* 2.6.43; *Rem.* 813; *Met.* 1.221; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.155; V. Fl. 1.685.

7. Vestinus is portrayed as generous even on his death-bed. Friedländer (*ad loc.*) points out that it was praiseworthy to have many legatees: see Plin. *Ep.* 8.16, the beginning of which reads *testamenta hominum speculum esse morum*. One could, in fact, bequeath one's fortune to a great many beneficiaries, not necessarily relatives (see Hopkins, 1983: 236–237). According to Champlin (1991: 142–153), childless people tended to include several friends in their wills (142–143). It was also frequent to bequeath small quantities of silver and gold to friends, even though they were not the main heirs (148–149).

largas . . . opes: *largus* implies both generosity (Verg. *A.* 11.338) and wealth (4.40.8 n.): cf. Catul. 66.92 *largis . . . muneribus*; Ov. *Ars* 3.408 *largae . . . opes*; Tac. *Ann.* 1.31 *largiora stipendia*; Mart. 5.25.4 *largas . . . opes.*

partitus: this implies equitable sharing: cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.113 *Quibuscum vivi bona nostra partimur, iis praetor adimere nobis mortuis bona fortunasque poterit?*; Quint. *Decl.* 336.14 *Si hereditate tibi ager iste venisset, inhumane cum fratre non partireris*. *Partior* often occurs in the context of deaths and wills: Afran. *Com.* 50 *cum testamento patria partisset bona*; Pl. *Mil.* 707 *mea bona in morte cognatis didam, inter eos partiam*; cf. Hyg. *Astr.*

2.17.3. See also *partitio* (TLL *s. v.* 530.14–25 [van Leijenhorst]): e.g. Cic. *Leg.* 2.50.

a luce recessit: another euphemism for death. *Lux* alludes to life metaphorically (Catul. 5.5; Verg. *G.* 4.255). The underworld is dark: e.g. Verg. *A.* 6.268–269; 462. For similar euphemistic expressions, cf. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 63 *eos indignissime luce privarit* (cf. *Quinct.* 74); Verg. *A.* 4.452 *lucem . . . relinquat*; 4.631; 10.855–856; Luc. fr. 2 *gaudent a luce relictam* (*var. lect.* reductam) *Eurydicen*; *Inscr. Christ.* (Diehl) 2777. See further Lattimore, 1962: 161–164.

8. Quint. *Decl.* 335.3 *Mori volo senex*; Sen. *Thy.* 400 *plebeius moriar senex.* To die in old age was more than a good wish, given that life expectancy was short (Burn, 1953; Frier, 1982; 1983; Parkin, 1992: 92–95). The advanced age of the deceased is one of the motifs of the *consolatio*: *Eleg. Maec.* 1.136; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.29–30; Dion. Hal. 6.5 (see Esteve Forriol, 1962: 61). At the end of this epigram, the topic of the *mors inmatura* is counterbalanced by the idea that a life lived to the full is equivalent to longevity (see Heilmann, 1998: 209; *Epic. Drusi* 448 *acta senem faciunt*): *Epic. Drusi* 285–286 *Quam parvo numeros implevit principis aevo,/in patriam meritis occubuitque senex*; 447–454; Sen. *Dial.* 6.24.1 *Incipe virtutibus illum, non annis aestimare: satis diu vixit; Ep.* 93.2–4; Tac. *Agr.* 44.3 *et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit*; [Quint.] *Decl.* 4.11 (see Esteve Forriol: 1962: 62); Mart. 10.53.3–4 *Invida quem Lachesis raptum trieteride nona,/dum numerat palmas, credidit esse senem.* Just as an old man's death is naturally accepted (Suder, 1995), Vestinus' is less painful, now that he has fulfilled his unselfish wish.

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This forms a diptych with **4.35**. Whereas the earlier poem narrated some antelopes' fight to the death, this one focuses on the present (*temptent, ardent*) and anticipates their fatal end (*in mortem*). In 4.35 there was an implicit reference to the Emperor; his presence is explicit here. *Mitte canes* seems to be a disquieting open invitation to repress a conflict through violence. However, the Emperor's intervention may be seen in positive terms: if he lets the dogs loose, the antelopes will stop fighting and flee, thus saving their lives thanks to their swiftness: cf. *Sp.* 33.

This epigram is inserted beween two poems on death: **4.73** narrates an exemplary decease, whereas the final lines in **4.75** deny the idea that deep love must be put to the test by death.

Further reading: see 4.35.

1. Cf. Verg. *G.* 3.265 *quid quae* ***imbelles*** *dant* ***proelia*** *cervi?*

Aspicis: cf. 4.3.1 (n.); 4.35.2 *vidimus*. The verb implies admiration and surprise (3.35.2; 6.73.5; 9.25.4; 9.86.7; 13.58.1; 14.109.2; 14.115.1), especially in the context of spectacles: 5.31.1–2 *Aspice, quam placidis insultet turba iuvencis/et sua quam facilis pondera taurus amet*; 8.30–3–4 *Aspicis, ut teneat flammas poenaque fruatur/fortis et attonito regnet in igne manus!* As regards its use in questions, cf. 1.24.1; 6.38.1; 8.59.1; 9.23.3.

imbelles . . . dammae: cf. 4.35.1 *molles dammae* (for *imbellis* as a synonym for *mollis*, cf. 7.58.5; Stat. *Theb.* 8.594 *infra*); Stat. *Ach.* 2.121 *imbelles . . . dammas*. *Imbellis* means unprepared for war, used particularly of women and children (TLL *s. v.* 419.50–420.26 [Haffter]), and, more specifically, it may be a synonym for *inermis* (TLL *s. v.* 420.25–46; cf. 13.94.2). It is metaphorically applied to some animals (TLL *s. v.* 420.47–56 *fere i. q. timidus*): Verg. *G.* 3.265 *cervi*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.31–32 *columbam*; Ov. *Fast.* 5.372 *capreae*; Sil. 2.685 *imbelle pecus*; Stat. *Theb.* 8.594 *imbelles vitulos mollesque iuvencas*; 9.115 *imbellem . . . iuvencum*. For the term *damma*, see 4.35.1 (n.).

temptent: *temptare proelia* is an epic Virgilian expression: *A.* 2.334; 3.240; 11.912; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3.5.

1–2. fortia . . . proelia: for the antithesis *imbellis/fortis*, cf. Cic. *Amic.* 47; Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.45–6; Liv. 44.38; Quint. *Inst.* 7.1.43; [Quint.] *Decl.* 3.1; Stat. *Theb.* 8.593–4.

Proelium is sometimes applied to the animal world (TLL *s. v.* 1651.53–65 [Marchionni]): Verg. *G.* 3.220; 3.265 (*supra*); *A.* 10.455 *meditantem in proelia taurum*; 12.716–7 *cum duo conversis inimica in proelia tauri/frontibus incurrunt*; Mart. *Sp.* 9.2 *Quae non promisit proelia rhinoceros*; 6.38.8 *Sic vitulus molli proelia fronte cupit*; Sil. 4.564 *trepidum gemina inter proelia taurum*; Stat. *Theb.* 11.256; 6.869 *proelia villosis ineunt complexibus ursi*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.13.5; Sen. *Phaed.* 342 *poscunt timidi proelia cervi*. For the expression *forte proelium*, cf. Vell. 2.24.1.

2. The enjambment, placing *proelia* in a prominent position, suggests fast movement and surprise.

tam timidis . . . feris: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.28 *cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula dammae; G.* 3.539 *timidi dammae cervique fugaces*; Stat. *Ach.* 2.122 *sectari aut timidas passus me cuspide lyncas*. *Fera* denotes any wild quadruped (TLL *s. v.* 607.1–59 [(Klee) Vollmer]): cf. e.g. Lucr. 1.163; Verg. *G.* 1.139. There may be wordplay with *ferus*, a synonym for *saevus, crudelis, inmitis*, thus establishing an oxymoron.

quanta sit ira: cf. 4.35.5 *tanto furore*. For the *ira* of wild animals, see TLL *s. v.* 365.51–58 (Stiewe-Hi.): Lucr. 3.298; 3.303; Verg. *G.* 4.236 (*apibus*); A. 2.381; 9.62; Ov. *Ars* 2.373 (*aper*); Mart. *Sp.* 9.3; 22.2.

3. in mortem: cf. 4.35.2 *iacere*; 6 *cecidere*.

parvis . . . frontibus: some conjectures have been put forward, although there are no manuscript variants: Koestlin (1876: 270) suggested *pavidis frontibus*, thus making a link with *imbelles* and *timidis*. Postgate (1892) proposed *torvis frontibus*, by analogy with 4.14.11 and 4.35 (n.). Bulls (Plin. *Nat.* 8.181; Sen. *Phaed.* 303; Petr. 126.18) and warriors (Sen. *Her. F.* 723; *Tro.* 467; Sil. 3.76; Stat. *Theb.* 1.186) are said to have *torvam frontem*: cf. *Eleg. Maec.* 1.116–117 *vivacesque magis cervos decet esse paventes/si quorum in torva cornua fronte rigent?* These emendations are tempting but unnecessary: *parvis frontibus* characterises antelopes and also differentiates them from other animals with a broad forehead (like oxen: Var. *R.* 1.20.1; 2.5.7; Col. 6.1.3 *fronte lata*; or cows: Col. 6.21.1 *frontibus latissimis*).

concurrere: **4.35.1** (n.).

ardent *T*: audent $\beta\,\gamma$: cf. 4.35.5 *caluere*; 3.58.11 *vitulusque inermi fronte prurit in pugna*; Verg. *A.* 2.315–316 *sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem/cum sociis ardent animi*; 11.895 *praecipites, primaeque mori pro moenibus ardent* (*var. lect.* audent); Ov. *Met.* 5.166 *et ruere ardet utroque*. For the use of *ardere* with the infinitive, see TLL *s. v.* 486.61–74 (Weynand). Further expressions similar to *in mortem (concurrere) ardent* are Man. 4.220 *in bellum ardentis animos*; Verg. *A.* 2.347 *ardere in proelia*; 12.71 *ardet in arma*; Quint. *Decl.* 344.9 *ardentis in mortem impetus*. *Ardere* is applied to animals in Verg. *A.* 7.481 (*canes*) *ardentes*; Stat. *Theb.* 11.254 (*iuvencus*) *spumisque animos ardentibus efflat*.

Audent, the most widespread variant, echoes *temptent* (in fact, they are synonyms: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 19.8).

4. Caesar: **4.1.1** (n.).

parcere: in the sense of 'not harming' and 'saving their lives', cf. 1.14.5 *Vnde potest avidus captae leo parcere praedae?*

Mitte canes: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 932 *mitte vel rabidos canes*.

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A tribute to Mummia Nigrina for sharing her fortune with her husband. Roman women were economically independent of their husbands and could administer their own patrimony (Rawson, 1986: 19). Thus, Nigrina's act of generosity is seen as a token of conjugal love.

The epigram can be divided into four sections:

1–2. Laudatory address to Nigrina

3–4. Explanation of the previous line: Nigrina's generosity

5–6. Mythological paradigms of extremely passionate marital love

7–8. Nigrina's token of love outshines them.

She is the centre of the poem, her husband's name not being mentioned (*marito, coniuge, viro*). The financial and the erotic are balanced, but the second prevails: *amor* closes the poem. It is not, however, romantic love: there is no need to die of love; rather, it must be shown in life. Martial transforms an economic anecdote into a love poem, but he is not original in so doing: conjugal sharing of wealth is a deep-rooted philosophical principle: cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.54 *una domus, communia omnia*; Plu. *Mor.* 142f–143a (Treggiari, 1991: 250–251).

Women are seldom praised by Martial; they are rather the butt of scornful invective, especially in sexual terms: Nigrina, Claudia Rufina (11.53), Marcella (12.21; 12.31), Argentaria Polla (7.23), or historical characters such as Arria (1.13) and Porcia (1.42) are rare exceptions in his epigrams. For the image of women in Martial's work, see Sullivan, 1991: 191ff.; Vidén, 1993: 160–172.

1–2. Cf. Verg. *A.* 3.321 *o felix una ante alias Priameia virgo*. For Martial's use of apostrophe, see Siedschlag, 1977: 14–16.

1. felix animo: *felix* is a standard expression in *makarismoi* (Mynors *ad Verg. G.* 2.490). For its use, often with an ablative, see Dickey, 2002: 325. Cf. Mart. 6.28.7 *decore felix*.

felix . . . marito: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 5.107 *felix Andromache, certo bene nupta marito!*; *Met.* 7.799 *coniuge eram felix, felix erat illa marito*; 9.333 *habetur coniuge felix*; 10.422 *'o' dixit 'felicem coniuge matrem!'*; 11.266 *felix et coniuge Peleus*; 12.217–8 *felicem diximus illa/coniuge Pirithoum; Pont.* 4.11.22 *coniugio felix*. *Felix* is usually applied to happy marriages (TLL *s. v.*

442.63–84): Catul. 100.8; Hor. *Epod.* 12.25; 15.17; Prop. 1.18.7; 2.17.11; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.236; cf. Catul. 64.373; Verg. *A.* 12.821; Sen. *Tro.* 873.

Nigrina: *Mummia Nigrina* was married to *Rusticus Antistius* (*vid. infra*): cf. 9.30 (Henriksén *ad loc.*), where Martial further stresses their marital love: 3 *rettulit ossa sinu cari Nigrina mariti.* Their names are preserved in a funerary inscription: CIL VI 27881 DIS MANIBVS. TYCHE. VIX. ANN. XX ANTISTI RVSTIC(I) ET MVMMIAE NIGRINAE, FEC(IT) CELTIBER CONSERVVS CONIVGI CARISSIM(AE) . . . D(ECESSIT) V I(DVS) MAR(TIAS) I(MP.) D(OMITIANO) XIII COS. See more details in Stein, RE XVI1 (1933) *s. Mummius* 28; PIR[2] M 714; Syme, 1983: 372–373=1988: 292–293.

marito: *Antistius Rusticus* (PIR[2] A 675) died in Cappadocia (9.30), where he had been a *legatus* in AD 91–93 or 94: he had been proconsul of Baetica (AD 84, according to Syme) and suffect consul in AD 90. A detailed study of his career can be found in Stout (1926) and Syme (1983 = 1988: 278–294). Stout (1926: 47) suggests that he was originally from *Hispania*; Syme suggests a Cordovan origin (1983: 361 and n. 9; see also Étienne, 1994: 243).

2. Latias . . . nurus: cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.366 *nuribus mittit . . . Latinis* (cf. *Fast.* 3.247); 15.486–7; *Fast.* 4.133; Sil. 7.74; Mart. 10.6.4 *Latia . . . nurus*; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.24–25 *Latinae . . . nurus.* Martial usually praises women by remarking that they seem to be Roman: 11.53 (on Claudia Rufina, born in Britannia), and Marcella (12.21, from Hispania): 12.21.8 *Romanam deceat quam magis esse nurum.*

In poetry, *nurus* can denote not just a daughter-in-law, but any young married woman (see Forcellini, *s. v.* 4): Serv. *A.* 2.501; 6.682; cf. e.g. Ov. *Ars* 3.248 *nurus Parthas*; Luc. 1.165; Stat. *Theb.* 5.200; 11.183.

3. Cf. *ILS* II 2, 9393.37 (*Laudatio Turiae*) OMNE TVOM PATRIMONIVM ACCEPTVM AB PARENTIBVS COMMVNI DILIGENTIA CONS[SERVAVIMVS]. Donations between husband and wife were forbidden, unless they were aimed at promoting his career (Syme, 1983: 373=1988: 293; cf. *Dig.* 34.1–67). The fact that Nigrina shared her fortune with her husband, however, does not imply that he was of humble origins: according to Syme he belonged to a Senatorial family. Perhaps allusion is made rather to an unusually large dowry: given the instability of Roman marriages and the fact that husbands could retain part of it in cases of divorce (Saller, 1984: 203), large dowries became

less and less frequent. Nigrina's offering must be viewed as a token of love and a promise of a lifelong marriage bond (cf. 4.13.7–10).

patrios . . . census: cf. 2.90.5 *patrios . . . census*; Prud. *Psych.* 581. *Patrius* means direct paternal inheritance (TLL *s. v.* 759.32–47 [Teßmer]): Ov. *Am.* 3.13.32; *Met.* 8.843; *Tr.* 4.5.8; 5.4.21; Mart. 9.82.4. Noteworthy are the alliteration and sound effects: ***cum coni**uge **cen**sus.*

miscere: its literal meaning aside, the amorous connotations of the verb are not to be ignored, cf. 4.13.3 (n.).

4. gaudentem . . . viro: 11.53.7 *Sic placeat superis, ut coniuge gaudeat uno*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.14.5 *unico gaudens mulier marito*; Ov. *Ib.* 353–354 *Tam quoque, di faciant, possis gaudere fideli/coniuge*; Stat. *Theb.* 4.210 (for *gaudere* with ablative, see TLL *s. v.* 1705.56–1706.45 [Hey]). The ideal of the *univira* is present in the passages quoted above (see Williams, 1958: 23; cf. CLE 455 SOLO CONTENTA MARITO; 643.5 VNO CONTENTA VIRO; 2214). The meaning of *gaudere* is quite close to Ov. *Rem.* 13–14.

socio: *socius* (OLD *s. v.* 4b), *socialis* (OLD *s. v.* 3) and *sociare* (OLD *s. v.* 1b) belong to marriage vocabulary: cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 4.16; 7.96; 9.594; Ov. *Ep.* 2.33; 4.17; 12.139; *Am.* 3.6.82; *Ars* 1.566; *Met.* 1.620; 7.800; 8.521; *Tr.* 2.1.161; *Ib.* 15; see Treggiari, 1991: 250–251. While marriage is presented as a pact or alliance, the motif of *militia amoris* is subtly evoked in the sequence *socio . . . viro*: cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.9.5–6 *quos petiere duces animos in milite forti,/hos petit in socio bella puella viro.*

participique: the variant *participemque* (*L Q*) seems to be a blunder probably triggered by *gaudentem*. *Participare* (*T*) could complement *gaudentem* (*vid.* OLD *s. gaudeo* 1e; TLL *s. v.* 1704.60–1705.10 [Hey]), with an elided object: cf. e.g. Apul. *Met.* 9.24 *uxor mensam . . . nobiscum participat.* This would imply a parallelism in *iuvat miscere/gaudentem participare.* However, the union of *socius* and *particeps* is very frequent in Latin: Pl. *Mil.* 1013 *Socium tuorum conciliorum et participem consiliorum*; Cic. *Font.* 47 *fortunarum omnium socium participemque; Red. Pop.* 15; *Planc.* 104; *Rep.* 2.35; *Fam.* 2.7.2; *Att.* 1.18.1; 4.1.1; 9.10.5; Plin. *Pan.* 9.1; 19.4. Compare also with Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.164 *participemque tori.* For the ablative *participi*, see TLL *s. v.* 493.43 (van Leijenhorst) and cf. V. Max. 5.8.4; Spart. *Geta* 5.3.

5–8. The final couplets are a variation on an Ovidian passage:

Si mea mors redimenda tua, quod abominor, esset,
Admeti coniunx quam sequereris erat (. . .)

corpus in **accensos mittere** forte **rogos**.
Morte nihil opus est. (Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.105–112).

5–6. See Szelest, 1974a: 300–301. Alongside Penelope and Laodamia, Evadne and Alcestis are paradigms of marital love and fidelity: cf. Prop. 3.13.24 *nec fida Euadne nec pia Penelope* (cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.15–18; Hyg. *Fab.* 256.1); Prop. 2.6.23 *felix Admeti coniunx et lectus Vlixis*; Ov. *Tr.* 5.14.35–40; *Pont.* 3.1.105–112 (*supra*); Ael. *NA* 1.15.

5. Arserit: Post (*ad loc.*) evokes both Evadne's sacrifice and passion. *Ardere* is applied to pyres, cremation (TLL *s. v.* 4484.40–55 [Weynard]), and burning to death (Prop. 2.26.30; Ov. *Met.* 7.394; Sen. *Med.* 666). It can also be used in amatory contexts: Verg. *A.* 4.101 *ardet amans Dido*; Ov. *Ep.* 16.104; *A. L.* 343.1; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2.1; Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.13; Mart. 8.63.1.

Euhadne: Capaneus' wife, who threw herself onto her husband's pyre after his death in Thebes: Hyg. *Fab.* 243.2 *Euadne Ph<y>laci filia propter Capaneum coniugem qui apud Thebas perierat in eandem pyram se coniecit*; Serv. *A.* 6.447 *uxor Capanei fuit, quae se in ardentem mariti rogum praecipitavit*; cf. Prop. 1.15.21 *coniugis Euadne miseros elata per ignes/occidit, Argivae fama pudicitiae*; Ov. *Ars* 3.21–22; *Tr.* 4.3.64; 5.5.54; *Epic. Drusi* 321; Stat. *Theb.* 12.126; 12.800; *A. L.* (Riese) 273.9. See also E. *Supp.* 984–5; Apollod. 3.7.1; Q. Smyr. 10.481; Ael. *NA* 6.25.

flammis iniecta: cf. Ter. *An.* 140 *quae sese in ignem inicere voluit, prohibui*; V. Max. 2.6.14 *coniugis se flammis superiacit et cum eo tamquam felicissima crematur*; Plin. *Nat.* 8.143 *accenso regis Lysimachi rogo iniecit se flammae*; *Nat.* 10.18 *defuncta postremo in rogum accensum eius iniecisse sese et simul conflagrasse*. For *flammis* as a metonym for the funeral pyre, cf. Verg. *A.* 5.4; Luc. 9.235; Mart. 1.107.6.

6. Alcestin: Admetus' wife, who chose to die instead of her husband. Read Euripides' *Alcestis* and cf. Pl. *Smp.* 179; Diod. S. 4.52.2; Apollod. 1.9.15; *Culex* 262; Hyg. *Fab.* 51; 243.4; Serv. *A.* 3.46; 4.694. For the image of her as an exemplary wife, see Thornton, 1997: 182–183; 263.

sub astra ferat: *ad astra ire*, *ferre*, *tollere* and similar expressions allude to fame metaphorically (TLL *s. astrum* 974.6–17 [Dittman]):

see Cic. *Att.* 2.25 *quam ornate nostras laudes in astra sustulit*; Verg. *Ecl.* 5.51 *Daphninque tuum tollemus ad astra*; 5.52; *A.* 3.158 (cf. *A.* 1.287–288); 7.99 *nomen in astra ferant*; 7.272; 9.641 *sic itur ad astra*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.22–23; *S.* 2.7.29; Ov. *Met.* 15.875–876; *Pont.* 2.9.62 *lucida Pieria tendis in astra uia*; Sil. 3.164; 7.94; Sen. *Her. F.* 195; *Thy.* 825; Mart. *Sp.* 1.6. The use of *sub* with accusative to express upward movement is poetic: e.g. Sil. 2.337 *tollit sub sidera gentem*; cf. Verg. *A.* 5.853 *oculosque sub astra tenebat.*

7–8. Even in book I, deeply imbued with Stoic ideas (1.13; 1.42), there is a comparable rejection of suicide: cf. 1.8.5–6 *Nolo virum facili redimit qui sanguine famam,/hunc volo, laudari qui sine morte potest.*

7. tu melius: cf. 11.7.13; 12.52.7 *tu melior.* For this type of expression, with an elided verb *agendi* (see Hofmann-Szantyr: 424), especially with *bene* and *melius* (TLL *s. bonus* 2123.83–2124.13 [Sinko]), cf. Cic. *De orat.* 1.253; 3.221; *Fin.* 4.43; Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.13; 10.3.25; Tac. *Ann.* 1.43; Plin. *Ep.* 9.19.1. In Cicero's letters is found the expression *sed haec tu melius* (with elision of *scis*: *Fam.* 4.13.7; 9.2.5;12.23.4; *Att.* 13.7.1 *haec omnia tu melius*). The brachylogy is most effective here to stress Nigrina's superiority.

certo . . . pignore vitae: cf. 1.93.5 *sacro laudatae foedere vitae.*

For the expression *certum pignus*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.91 *do pignora certa timendo; Fast.* 3.346; 3.354; *Tr.* 2.1.66 *invenies animi pignora certa mei*; *Pont.* 3.4.27; 4.13.32 *animi pignora certa sui; Aetna* 460; 519. With the meaning of 'token', it usually goes with *amoris* or *amicitiae*: Verg. *A.* 5.538 *monumentum et pignus amoris*; 5.572; Ov. *Ars* 2.248 *certi pignus amoris; Met.* 3.283; 8.92; Luc. 4.502; Sen. *Her. O.* 490; Sil. 8.149; 17.364; Stat. *Theb.* 9.62; *Silv.* 3.2.81; cf. Liv. 39.10.1; Plin. *Ep.* 8.4.7; Mart. 9.96.6 *absentis pignus amicitiae*; cf. Liv. 32.38.3; Tac. *Ann.* 14.25; V. Max. 4.7.3; 7.6.2. *Vitae* is an *aprosdoketon*, at the end of the line in the same position as *amor* and opposed to *morte.*

Pignus is generally used in a figurative sense (7.17.11; 7.86.4; 9.99.6; 10.73.1), but its pecuniary connotations cannot be forgotten: *pignus* is a 'pledge', a 'surety' (OLD *s. v.* 1; cf. 12.25.1), or a 'stake' (OLD *s. v.* 2).

8. ut tibi non esset morte probandus amor: Martial rejects myth as foreign to real life (cf. 4.49). The idea that one need not

die of love is Ovidian: Ov. *Tr.* 5.14.41–42 *morte nihil opus est pro me, sed amore fideque:/non ex difficili fama petenda tibi est; Pont.* 3.1.113 *Morte nihil opus est*. The opposite is illustrated by Valerius Maximus: 4.6.2 *tam uiolenta morte testatus quantum maritalis flammae illo pectore clausum habuisset*; 4.6.3 *saneque, ubi idem et maximus et honestissimus amor est, aliquanto praestat morte iungi quam distrahi uita.*

76

Martial asks an unnamed friend for a loan, but he only receives half of it. Next time, the poet will ask for twice as much. For loans as a satirical motif, see 4.15 (n.), and for avarice, 4.51 (n.). Meanness contrasts with Nigrina's unselfishness in **4.75**.

Structurally, this epigram can be compared to 2.25 *Das numquam, semper promittis, Galla, roganti./Si semper fallis, iam rogo, Galla, nega*; 11.68 *Parva rogas magnos; sed non dant haec quoque magni./Vt pudeat levius te, Matho, magna roga*; 12.12 *Omnia promittis, cum tota nocte bibisti;/mane nihil praestas. Pollio, mane bibe* (Siedschlag, 1977: 84).

Simple as its subject-matter may be, the form of this epigram is quite intricate. The hexameter begins with triple alliteration of /m/: ***Mi**lia **mi**sisti **mi**hi*; the /s/ of *mi**s**i**s**ti* is repeated in ***s**ex . . . bi**s** **s**ena*. Both lines have a parallel structure, with *variatio* in *misisti/feram* and *sena/duodena*. The repetition of the verb *petere* suggests that Martial is not abashed by his friend's negative response. Noteworthy also are the parallelism and assonance in the pentameter:

> **Mi**lia **mi**sisti **mi**hi *sex* | BIS *sena* petenti:
>
> ut BIS *sena* ferAM, | BIS *duodena* petAM.

1. cf. SHA Pert. 15.7 *praetorianis promisit duodena milia nummum, sed dedit sena.*

Milia . . . sex: cf. 4.51.1 *Cum tibi non essent sex milia.* The same amount is given by a *captator* to the aged Fabius in 9.8.

misisti: a common verb for sending gifts: cf. 4.14.4 (n.).

bis sena: cf. e.g. 6.28.8 *bis senis*; 7.63.9; 7.40.6 *ter senas.*

petenti: cf. 2.30.6 *Quod peto da, Gai: non peto consilium*; 2.44.5 *Ne quid forte petam timet cavetque*; 10.15.3 *Mutua cum peterem sestertia quinque, negasti* (TLL *s. v.* 1962.25–43 [Dubielzig-Bk.])

2. The repetition of *bis* reinforces the idea that the friend is only going to give him half, regardless of how much Martial asks for. Irony is self-evident: cf. 1.75 *Dimidium donare Lino quam credere totum/qui mavolt, mavolt perdere dimidium.* Other jokes based on amounts of money in 1.75; 6.30; 8.37; 11.76.

77

Martial ironically rejects his ideal of a moderate happy life: he wants to be rich just to provoke Zoilus' envy. This feeling is, in fact, the theme of many epigrams: cf. 1.86.3; 1.115; 3.21; 3.58.44; 4.27 (n.); 4.68.2 (n.); 8.61; 9.97; 10.33.5–6; cf. *A. P.* 11.256; 10.51; 10.90; 10.91; 11.192; 11.196; see Brecht, 1930: 84), especially in literary poems (Dickie, 1981): 1.40; 7.12.12; 8.61.3–5; 9.97.2. A key to this epigram is the idea that envy harms the envious: Verg. *G.* 3.37 *Invidia infelix*; *A.* 11.337; Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.57–59; cf. *A. P.* 10.90; 10.192.

This epigram must be associated with **4.27**: in both, Martial desires wealth, not for its own sake, but with the excuse that it will feed the envy of a vile man.

1. divitias . . . rogavi: cf. 11.58.6 *Tunc libertatem divitiasque roget?*; 1.39.6 *et nihil arcano qui roget ore deos.*

deos: cf. 1.103.1–4 *'Si dederint superi decies mihi milia centum'/dicebas nondum, Scaevola, iustus eques,/'Qualiter o vivam, quam large quamque beate!'/Riserunt faciles et tribuere dei.* Unlike Scaevola, Martial does not mask his real intentions (l. 5).

2. The line is imbued with a mock-philosophical tone: cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.70 *contenti . . . et suo et parvo.*

contentus modicis: Sen. *Con.* 10.pr.16 *nisi modicis contentus esset*; Sen. *Nat.* 1.pr.11 *contentus modico* (cf. *Ep.* 114.27; V. Max. 4.3.6); Quint. *Decl.* 268.4 *Nihil enim videtur habere philosophia praestantius quam quod modicis contenta est, ampliores opes non desiderat*; Tac. *Ann.* 14.53; Juv. 9.9; cf. *Priap.* 53.1; Suet. *Tib.* 11.1; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.89 *parvo est contentus!* (cf. 5.97; *Amic.* 86; *Fin.* 2.91); *Att.* 12.19.1; Hor. *S.* 1.3.16; 2.2.1; 2.2.110; Tib. 1.1.25; Sen. *Ben.* 7.2.5; *Ep.* 110.18; Luc. 4.374. See TLL *s. contentus* (Gudeman), especially 678.65–70, and *s. modicum* 1234.7–24 (Buchwald).

meoque laetus: Sen. *Her. F.* 161 *laeta suo paruoque domus*; Enn. *Ann.* 245 *suo contentus*; Cic. *Flac.* 71 *suo contenti*; Sen. *Ben.* 1.11.1; Plin. *Ep.* 9.30.3.

3. paupertas: for poverty in the epigrams, see 4.5.1 (n.); 4.40.4 (n); 4.67.1 (n.). Martial presents himself as *pauper* in 2.90.3; 5.13.1; 5.18.10.

For the personification of poverty, cf. Curt. 3.2.15 *paupertate magistra*; Col. 12.2.3; Calp. *Ecl.* 4.155–156 *vellit nam saepius aurem/invida Paupertas et dicit: 'ovilia cura!'*; Hor. *S.* 2.2.51–52 *paupertas inpulit audax/ut versus facerem.*

veniam dabis: cf. *Sp.* 31.1; 2.90.4; 12.60.5. *Veniam* appears primarily in prayers (OLD *s. v.* 1; cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 4.50 *tu modo posce deos veniam*; Liv. 8.9.7; Ov. *Ars* 2.38). *Veniam da* is used to ask for forgiveness (OLD *s. v.* 2, 4: Pl. *Am.* 924; Ter. *An.* 901; *Hau.* 1049; *Ad.* 937; 942; Ov. *Met.* 11.132; *Priap.* 68.2; Juv. 5.42; Mart. *Sp.* 31.1; 2.90.4; 12.60.5). Just like *ignosces* in 4.26.4 (n.), it works as an advance apology for what is going to be said: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 17.225; 19.4. Both senses are perceptible here: Martial apologises to personified poverty for eschewing her—and for his frankness—and asks her for a favour: to abandon him. For the use of the future instead of the imperative, see Ernout-Thomas, 250 § 267; Hofmann-Szantyr: 310–311 § 174.

recede: cf. 3.68.3; 4.30.14; see also 8.1.3; 11.16.10.

4. Causa est quae subiti novique voti?: cf. 10.41.3 *subiti quae causa doloris?*; 6.53.3 *Tam subitae mortis causam, Faustine, requiris?* Structurally, a question increases curiosity just before the final point: 2.11.10 *Maeroris igitur causa quae? Domi cenat*; 4.87.4 *Ergo quid in causa est? Pedere Bassa solet*; 11.59.3 *Causa quae sit, quaeritis?*; cf. 10.36.8.

5. Pendentem volo Zoilum videre: suicide by hanging—an ignominious death—is often associated with envy: 1.115.6 *Iam suspendia saeva cogitabas* (Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*); 8.61.2 *Et quaerit altos, unde pendeat, ramos; A. P.* 11.196.1–2. Silius Italicus presents personified envy strangling herself: Sil. 13.584 *hinc angens utraque manu sua guttura Livor*. For the traditional idea that jealousy causes self-injuries, see 4.27.5. Besides, hanging was a proverbial form of suicide: Apul. *Met.* 4.15 (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 4.4). This aside, expressions like *suspende te* are often part of curses and insults: Pl. *Bac.* 903 *Cleom. Hodie exigam aurum hoc?* | *Chrys. Exige, ac suspende te; Capt.* 636; *Cas.* 599 *Quin tu suspendis te?; Per.* 815 *Restim tu tibi cape crassam ac suspende te; Poen.* 309 *Abi domum et suspende te*; 311; 746 *Suspendant omnes nunciam se haruspices*; *Ps.* 428 *si meo arbitratu liceat, omnes pendeant*; Ter. *An.* 255 *'abi cito ac suspende te'. Pendentem volo Zoilum videre* is an indirect way of saying: *Zoile, suspende te.*

Suspendeam and the like are used in oaths: Pl. *As.* 816 *suspendam potius me, quam tu haec tacita auferas; Poen.* 148 *ubi dissolutus tu sies, ego pendeam; Cas.* 111–112 *Tun illam ducas? hercle me suspendio,/quam tu eius potior fias, satiust mortuom.* Zoilus may have sworn to hang himself if Martial becomes rich; therefore, the poet would like it to come true. For other epigrams ending with similar bad wishes, see 4.33 (n.).

pendentem: TLL. *s. v.* 1032.22–52 (Reineke), especially for suicide in 42–52: cf. (in a different context) Ov. *Rem.* 18; *Met.* 14.738; Sen. *Ep.* 4.4. Hanging was the implicit fate of Ammianus in **4.70**.

Zoilum: Giegengack, 1969: 130–132. Zoilus is severely criticised throughout the epigrams, especially in books II and XI (Barwick, 1958: 302–304). Of servile origin (3.29; 11.37; 11.54; 12.54)—as his Greek name (Gr. Ζωίλος) suggests (cf. CIL VI *index*; cf. *Dig.* 38.2.479)—he flaunts his acquired (or non-existent) wealth (2.16; 2.58; 2.81; 5.79), above all at his gaudy dinner (3.82; cf. 2.16.4; see Williams *ad loc.*), strongly reminiscent of the *cena Trimalchionis* (Grewing, 1997: 574 n. 104). Despite his desperate attempts to get ahead, Martial presents him as a nobody: 11.12 *Ius tibi natorum vel septem, Zoile, detur,/dum matrem nemo det tibi, nemo patrem* (Kay *ad loc.*). He is also characterised by his *os impurum* (2.42.2; 6.91.2 [Grewing *ad loc.*]; 11.30.2; 11.85; cf. 11.92) and caricaturesque appearance: 12.54.1 *Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine laesus.* Kay (*ad* 11.92) associates him with the sophist Cynic *Zoilus Homeromastix*, famous for his cruel literary attacks, mainly on Homer: Ov. *Rem.* 335–336; Vitr. 7pr.8; Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.14.

A satirical epigram against Afer, a servile flatterer, who, despite being sixty, does not behave as a respectable old man. His behaviour must be compared with Titullus' in 7.44.3–8 *At tu, miser Titulle, nec senex vivis,/sed omne limen conteris salutator/et mane sudas urbis osculis udus,/foroque triplici sparsus ante equos omnis/aedemque Martis et colosson Augusti/curris per omnes tertiasque quintasque* (cf. 10.10). This epigram has lexical and thematic echoes from Seneca's *De Tranquilitate animi* (*Dial.* 9.12) and could also be related to **4.5**, with a catalogue of comparable activities, and **4.37**, addressed to the same Afer.

Further reading: Bonvicini, 1999: 127.

1. Condita . . . messis: *messis* means 'harvest', a metonym for the summer (TLL *s. v.* 857.35–45 [R.]) or synecdoche for a year (TLL *s. v.* 857.46–56): e.g. 1.101.4; 6.28.8; 10.103.7; 12.34.1–2; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 6.57; Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.77. *Condere messem* is an agricultural metaphor, literally 'to store the harvest': Col. 9.1.6; Var. *R.* 1.17 *condendis fructibus vindemiae aut messis*; Tib. 1.1.42; Fro. *Aur. Imp.* 4.2.4 *messem perfectam et horreo conditam.*

sexagensima: cf. 6.70.1 *Sexagesima, Marciane, messis/acta est et, puto, iam secunda Cottae.* Old age was thought to begin at 60 (Suder, 1978: 150–190; 1987: 65–79; 1991), which implied the end of public life: Sen. *Dial.* 10.20.4 *Lex a quinquagesimo anno militem non legit, a sexagesimo senatorem non citat*; Var. *Vita Pop. Rom.* 523M.71 *cum . . . habebant sexaginta annos, tunc denique erant a publicis negotiis liberi atque otiosi.* Old age was a time for *otium*: Sen. *Dial.* 10.3.5 *Audies plerosque dicentes: 'a quinquagesimo anno in otium secedam, sexagesimus me annus ab officiis dimittet'.* Sixty years is a stock expression for old age: 7.9 *Cum sexaginta numeret Cascellius annos,/ingeniosus homo est: quando disertus erit?*; Juv. 13.16–18 *stupet haec qui iam post terga reliquit/sexaginta annos Fonteio consule natus?/an nihil in melius tot rerum proficis usu?*

2. et facies multo splendeat alba pilo: cf. 2.29.6 *et splendent volso bracchia trita pilo; Priap.* 76.1–2 *quod sim iam senior meumque canis/cum*

barba caput albicet capillis. A grey beard symbolises old age and experience: cf. Pl. *Bac.* 1101 *Cano capite atque alba barba*; Verg. *Ecl.* 1.28 *candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat*.

Irony is conveyed by the union of *splendeat*, which implies brightness, and *alba*, which does not do so, together with such an unpoetic expression as *multo pilo*, a subtle allusion to his slovenliness (9.47.5; 12.59.4: cf. 4.53.3–4). There is a double entendre in the description of his white beard, as in 4.36 (n.): yielding to fellatio, a degrading act, would match the rest of his disgraceful activities. See Lorenz, 2004: 273, n. 57.

3. discurris . . . vagus: cf. 8.33.15 *Nec vaga tam tenui discurrit aranea tela*; 1.14.4 *per aperta vagus curreret ora lepus*; 5.31.3–4 *vagus ille per armos/currit*; 7.39.1 *Discursus varios vagumque mane*; [Tib.] 3.1.3 *Et vaga nunc certa discurrunt undique pompa/perque vias urbis munera perque domos*. *Currere* and *discurrere* are frequent in the context of the *salutatio*: 8.44.8 *Curris per omnes tertiasque quintasque*; 12.29.3 *non a prima discurram luce per urbem*. *Discurrere* aptly applies to the hustle and bustle of city life: Sen. *Dial.* 5.6.3 *in multa discurrenti negotia*; cf. *Dial.* 9.12.3. It is also part of military language and is applied to soldiers (TLL *s. v.* 1366.14–78 [Rubenbauer]): Verg. *A.* 11.468 *tota discurritur urbe*. Afer is old enough to be a veteran and a retired man: this military image stresses his inappropriate behaviour.

tota vagus urbe: cf. 1.2.6 *urbe vagus tota, me duce certus eris*.

cathedra: (Gr. καθέδρα) unlike other types of seats (*sella, subsellium, scamnum*), this had arms and a high back (see Paoli, 1963: 80). For its different shapes, see Richter, 1926: 127–129. It would appear to be a woman's seat: Hor. *S.* 1.10.91; Prop. 4.5.37; Phaed. 3.8.4; Mart. 2.14.8 *adsidet et cathedris, maesta iuvenca, tuis*; 3.63.7 *femineas . . . cathedras*; 12.38.1 (cf. Calp. *Ecl.* 7.27); 11.99.1; Sidon. *Ep.* 2.9.4 *inter matronarum cathedras*. It could also be used by men (Plin. *Ep.* 8.21.2) and it symbolises teachers, philosophers (TLL *s. v.* 612.66–613.15 [Hoppe]; OLD *s. v.* 1b), and poets: Mart. 1.76.14 *steriles . . . cathedras* (Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*); Juv. 7.203 (Courtney *ad loc.*; cf. Juv. 7.47).

Here, it is suggested that Afer likes gossiping with women or that he has unmentionable affairs: cf. 12.38 *Hunc qui femineis noctesque diesque cathedris/incedit tota notus in urbe nimis,/. . ./uxori qui saepe tuae comes inprobus haeret,/non est quod timeas, Candide: non futuit*.

4. cui non mane feras . . . 'have': this alludes to the *salutatio matutina*: cf. 1.49.36; 1.108.5; 1.108.10 *Mane tibi pro me dicet havere liber*; 2.18.3 *Mane salutatum venio*; 3.36.3; 4.8.12 (n.); 4.26.1 (n.); 5.22; 6.88.1; 7.39.1; 8.44.4–5; 9.92.5–6; 9.100.1; 10.10.2; 10.74.1–4; 11.7.3; 12.29; 12.68.1; 14.125. *Have* works as a lexicalised noun: cf. 1.55.6 *et matutinum portat ineptus have* (*vid.* Citroni *ad loc.*); 5.51.7 *have Latinum*; 7.39.1 *have potentiorum*. The expression *dicere have* (3.95.1 *dicis have*; 9.6.2; 14.73.2 *dicere . . . have*; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 8.16.4; Ov. *Rem.* 640 *dicat 'ave'*) would have been more idiomatic. The use of *ferre* is meaningful: it denotes effort and struggle. *Cui* refers back to *cathedra*: patrons are thus dehumanised and the *salutatio* appears as a meaningless mechanical routine.

irrequietus: although it is a favourite adjective for other Flavian writers (Sil. 3.353; 14.60; Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.188), Martial only uses it here. It denotes incessant movement, mainly of stars (Plin. *Nat.* 2.6; 2.11; Sen. *Dial.* 10.10.6; 11.7.2.) and rivers (Ov. *Met.* 1.579). It has resounding literary echoes (Ceres looking for her daughter: Ov. *Met.* 5.443; Charybdis: *Met.* 13.730).

5–6. Nobody can get rid of an unrelenting client: cf. 11.98.14–16 *Non consulatus ipse, non tribunatus/senive fasces, nec superba clamosi/lictoris abiget virga basiatorem.*

5. et sine te nulli fas est prodire tribuno: Friedländer explains that friends used to be present at the inauguration of magistrates. This passage, however, seems to allude to an everyday, rather than occasional, event. *Prodire* might mean *in publicum* or *in conspectum prodire* (OLD *s. v.* 2b; cf. Cic. *De orat.* 2.249) and refer to the custom that *clientes* should accompany their patrons in their daily activities (cf. 3.36.5; 10.74.1–4; 12.29.8). The expression *fas est*, in conjunction with *nulli*, stresses the irony: cf. 4.71.3 (n.). See TLL *s. v.* 1597.35–45 (Vestergaard), on the use of *prodire* in forensic contexts, and TLL *s. v.* 1597.75–1598.6.

6. caret officio . . . tuo: *officia* are obligations (1.55.14 *vivat et urbanis albus in officiis*) and *officium* means obsequiousness (OLD *s. v* 1e): Juv. 3.126 *quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod/pauperis hic meritum*; cf. 5.13. It can also denote a courtesy act, such the *salutatio* (TLL *s. v.* 519.73–83 [Oomes]): cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.35; Man. 3.149;

V. Max. 8.11.2 *eo cum forte mane uterque in domum Calvini Domiti ad officium convenisset*; Sen. *Dial.* 10.14.3 *isti qui per officia discursant*; Juv. 2.132–133 *'officium cras/primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini'*. Martial applies the term *officiosus* to the *salutator*: 1.70.1–2 *Vade salutatum pro me, liber: ire iuberis/ad Proculi nitidos, officiose, lares*; 5.22.13; 10.58.11–14. The term carries pejorative undertones: 10.88.2; 12pr. For the expression *caret officio*, see Luc. 10.230; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.34; Apul. *Met.* 2.4.

consul uterque: Cic. *Fam.* 8.11.1; Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.6; [Tib.] 3.5.18; Liv. 2.41.7; 2.63.7; 8.6.9; 8.23.1; 9.43.4; 10.37.14; 10.44.1; Luc. 2.565; 5.8; Sil. 12.480; Mart. 8.78.14.

7. et sacro decies repetis Palatia clivo: cf. 1.70.5 *Inde sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo* (Citroni and Howell *ad loc.*). In both passages, as well as in Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.35 (Porph. *ad loc. Per sacrum clivum, id est: per viam sacram; hac enim triumfantes in Capitolium ibant*), *sacer clivus* seems to be a poetic name for the *via Sacra* (specifically 'in salita, subito dopo la *Regia* ed il Tempio di Vesta', Coarelli, LTVR *s. Clivus Sacer*). The *Sacra via* connected the Forum and the Palatine (cf. e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 3.68): it is not surprising that Afer walks this street several times a day.

decies: like *decem* (4.46.19 n.; 4.66.4 n.), *decies* denotes an indefinite number, usually hyperbolically (TLL *s. v.* 168.55–72 [Gudeman]): Pl. *Am.* 576; *Aul.* 70; Hor. *Ars* 294; 365 *decies repetita*; Pers. 6.79; Mart. 2.67.3; 3.52.3; 12.56.1; 12.77.10.

Palatia: cf. **4.5.7** (n.).

8. For this kind of plural, cf. 1.24.3 *Qui loquitur Curios adsertoresque Camillos?*; 7.58.7 *Quaere aliquem Curios semper Fabiosque loquentem*; 9.27.6 *Curios, Camillos, Quintios, Numas, Ancos*; 9.28.4 *Curios Fabriciosque graves*. Parthenius (4.45.2 n.) was Domitian's *a cubiculo*, and Siger(i)us was his subordinate *cubicularius* (Boulvert, 1970: 241–7). Both were freedmen, but highly influential. Later (AD 96) they took part in Domitian's assassination (cf. Tert. *Apol.* 35). For the status and functions of Imperial freedmen, see Boulvert, 1970, Weaver, 1972, Millar, 1992: 69–83, as well as Jones, 1992: 61–69, for the particular case of Domitian's court.

Sigeros: *Sigerus*, Domitian's *cubicularius*; see PIR[1] S 500; Houston, 1971: 599 (Siger[i]us); Stein, RE IIA2 (1923) *s. v.* The form *Sigerius* is attested in some codices (e.g. *G*), as well as in CIL VIII 10983. This was accepted by Schneidewin (1842). In that case, the /e/

should be short (see Marina Sáez, 1998: 296) or rather the /i/ should suffer synizesis (Gilbert, 1883: 14). However, Cassius Dio mentions him three times, with η and without ι: 67.15.1.3 (cf. S224.11); 760.6. Stein points out that the name *Sigerus* can be read in an inscription (CIL VIII 21100= ILS II 5132), although referring to a gladiator. For the loss of /i/ after a liquid consonant, cf. Mart. 1.108.3 *Vipsanas* (*Vipsanias*); 2.29.5 *Marcellano* SB (*Marcelliano*); 6.94.1 *Calpetano* (*Calpetiano*). Some humanist codices, editions and commentaries, like that of Calderinus, read *Saturios*: in fact, Suetonius mentions a *Satur* (*var. lect.* Saturius), *decurio cubiculariorum*, involved in the murder of Domitian (17.2). Stein suggests that both *Satur* and *Sigerus* could be the same person.

meros: i.e. *solos*: see TLL *s. v.* 848.26–60 (Brandt): cf. e.g. Cic. *Att.* 9.13.1 *mera scelera loquuntur*; 9.13.8 *merum bellum loquitur*.

Partheniosque: 4.45.2 (n.).

sonas: see Forcellini *s. v.* 10. The verb belongs to lofty style, as presumably used by the obsequious Afer: Verg. *A.* 12.529–530 *atavos et avorum antiqua sonantem/nomina*; Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.26; Ov. *Met.* 10.205 *te carmina nostra sonabunt*; Sil. 2.491; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.82. *Sonare* is an epic verb (Ov. *Ars* 1.206 *et magno nobis ore sonandus eris; Tr.* 2.1.529 *bella sonant alii telis instructa cruentis*), but it also appears in bucolic poetry referring to echoes (Cristóbal, 1980: 302–318): Verg. *Ecl.* 1.5; 5.64; 6.44. In the epigrams *sonare* also means 'applaud', 'acclaim' (7.97.11), with connotations of rhetorical pompousness: 6.19.7–8 *et Sullas Mariosque Muciosque/magna voce sonas*.

9. Cf. Juv. 8.163–164 *'fecimus et nos/haec iuvenes'*.

sane: with concessive meaning: 3.1.5; 10.21.5. See also 5.15.6.

Afer: this name is frequent in Martial's epigrams. He is not wealthy, but travels on an ostentatious litter (6.77); he does not receive Martial when he visits him (9.6). Afer is portrayed as a jealous host (9.25), married to a dreadful wife (10.84), and as a homosexual (12.42.1). In this very book (4.37 n.) he is a greedy, boastful man: Martial now reveals the devious and debasing ways by which he earns his fortune.

9–10. deformius . . . /nihil est: cf. 2.54.5 *Nil nasutius hac maligniusque*; 3.22.5 *Nihil est, Apici, tibi gulosius factum*; 4.56.3 (n.); 4.83.1–2 (n.); *A. P.* 11.286; 7.519.3–4; 7.727. See Siedschlag, 1977: 18.

10. ardalione sene: the term *ardalio* appeared in 2.7 (Williams *ad loc.*), the protagonist of which is eager to show off at any cost: he is an orator, writes history and poetry, mimes and epigrams, and is a literary critic, astrologer, singer, dancer, musician, and ball player. Martial concludes: 2.7.7–8 *Nil bene cum facias, facias tamen omnia belle,/vis dicam quid sis? magnus es ardalio*. *Ardalio* is attested in an inscription, and is clearly a word of abuse: CIL IV 4765 AEPHEBE, ARDALIO EST. Phaedrus gives a definition of the term: 2.5.1–4 *Est ardalionum quaedam Romae natio,/trepide concursans, occupata in otio,/gratis anhelans, multa agendo nihil agens,/sibi molesta et aliis odiosissima.*

Ardalio seems to come from Gr. ἄρδαλος, which means 'dirty' (Erot. 56.9–11), but also 'agitating' (*Hesychius lexicogr. alpha* 7090 ἀρδαλωμένους· ταρασσομένους). See TGL 1910 *s. v.* c–d; DGE *s. v.*; Ernout-Meillet: 44–45. The manuscript variant *ardelio* must be due to false etymology (Calderinus: *ab ardeo = festino*).

79

An importunate guest buys Martial's villa. The poet's gain is twofold: Matho had spent so much time there that Martial did not consider it his own property any more. This probably fictional joke is part of the Tibur cycle (**4.57**; **4.60**; **4.62**).

Further reading: Kutham, 1932; Scamuzzi, 1966: 169–172.

1. Hospes: for its use with a genitive—also a dative or ablative—indicating a place, see TLL *s. v.* 3204.79–84 (Lausberg): Ov. *Tr.* 3.12.50 *ille meae domui protinus hospes erit*; Sen. *Phoen.* 511 *patria remotus, hospes alieni laris; Her. O.* 371 *hospes Timoli*; Mart. 8.14.8 *arboris ergo tuae tutior hospes ero* (i.e. *pomarii,* TLL *s. hospes* 3024.82).

nostri . . . Tiburtini: several attempts have been made to interpret this epigram in autobiographical terms: it has been claimed that Martial had some land in Tibur (Hardie, 1983: 51–52), but this conflicts with **4.57**, where the poet seems to be invited to Faustinus' villa (cf. 5.71; 7.80). Kutham (1932: 782–783) and Scamuzzi (1966: 169–172) suggest that Martial is referring here to Nomentum, where he had some property (2.38; 6.43; 7.93.5; 9.60; 10.94), and is calling it *Tiburtinum* ironically, due to the vicinity of both localities (15 km approx.). There is a Catullan precedent in giving a *fundus* a more elegant name (Catul. 44.1–5), a 'fashionable address' (Fordyce, 1961: 198; see also Ellis, 1889 *ad loc.*). At any rate, even if Martial were alluding to his Nomentan property, the autobiographical reading is faced with a further obstacle: Martial kept it until book X (10.61.3); apparently he sold his Italian property in order to go back to Hispania.

Helm (RE VIIIA1 (1955) *s. Valerius* 233: 57) thinks that this is a fictional anecdote unrelated to his life. Nauta concludes: 'In fact, the deal with Matho could well have been made by Faustinus (or one of his neighbours); it could have been the subject of a Tiburtine anecdote, wittily versified by Martial for the amusement of his host' (2002: 51). It could be an invented tale as well.

Tiburtini: with elision of a noun: *ruris*; cf. Sen. *Ben.* 4.12.3 *Tusculanum aut Tiburtinum*; Mart. 9.60.6 *Nomentano . . . meo*. For *Tiburtinus*, cf. 4.57.10 (n.).

Matho: he appears in several satirical epigrams dealing with sexual invective (7.10.3–4), literary rivalry (7.90; 10.46), and client-patron relationships (8.42; 11.68). He is the addressee of 6.33. There is another Matho in Juvenal's *Satires*: 1.32–33 *causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis/plena ipso* (Ferguson, 1987: 151–152; PIR[2] M 364).

2. Imposui: cf. 4.40.10 (n.).

rus tibi vendo tuum: according to Post (*ad loc.*), the prolonged usufruct of a property entitled one to ownership. In Roman law, in fact, *occupatio* was a form of acquisition derived from *derelictio*: abandoned property could be legally acquired by those who usufructed it for two years (Thomas, 1976: 168). However, *derelictio* of land was difficult to prove and this kind of *occupatio* was not very common (Buchland, 1975: 206–207). Martial is joking about this and about Matho's behaviour: he has been hanging around for so long in his villa that he could be said to be its owner. He has followed to the letter his host's words of hospitality, 'make yourself at home' (cf. 4.64.25–26).

Maron is crazy about declamation: just like the protagonist of **4.41**, he cannot keep quiet despite being ill. To judge by his loquaciousness and his inelegant sweating he seems to be delirious. If he has not noticed it, he is indeed not sane (1–2). Anaphora and repetition (*declamas*), and the *variatio aeger/hemitritaeos* (a Greek medical term), together with *phrenesin*, parody Maron's verbose style (Salemme, 1976: 30 n. 67). Irony continues in the following couplet: Martial belittles Maron's speech by presenting it simply as a remedy for his fever: he declaims in order to sweat and heal himself (3–4). *Est ratio* ironically reinforces *non es sanus*. Martial's mocking vein contrasts with Maron's seriousness: he is convinced of the importance of his speech (5): *'Magna tamen res est'*. Martial uses his reply to ask him to stop talking (6). Epigram 4.41 apart, this poem must also be associated with **4.37**; **4.39**; **4.46**; **4.61**, all on similarly loquacious individuals.

In some manuscripts this epigram is joined to 4.79, due to the confusion of the names Maron and Matho (cf. 11.67 and 68). Some attempts have been made to rearrange its couplets so as to give it greater coherence. Structurally, each distich could make an independent epigram: this was, in fact, De Philippis' solution (1906: 66, quoted by Barwick, 1932: 66). Scriverius had printed the first distich as a separate epigram; Schneidewin suggested that lines 3–4 should be deleted, and Gilbert (1883: 4) rearranged the first two couplets, so as to achieve a gradation in *aeger, hemitritaeos*, and *in febre*. The rest of the editors (Heraeus, Lindsay, Shackleton Bailey) maintain the traditional arrangement. For a detailed study of the structure of this epigram, see Barwick, 1932: 66–68.

Further reading: Friedrich, 1908: 634–635; Barwick, 1932: 66–68; Joepgen, 1967: 92–93; Mans, 1994: 112; Eden, 2001: 582.

1. Declamas in febre: the protagonist of 4.41 recites with a sore throat. *Declamare* refers specifically to rhetorical exercises (TLL *s. v.* 181.59–182.31 [Stöger]), as well as speaking loudly and vehemently (TLL *s. v.* 181.45–58). Martial does not criticise *declamatio* itself (Orenzel, 1978: 66), although he mocks another *declamator* in 2.7.1

Declamas belle, causas agis, Attice, belle. For *declamationes*, see Bonner, 1949, and Orenzel, 1978: 65–67.

Maron: in book XI Maron is presented as wealthy (11.34.3) and as a greedy *captatus*: 11.67 *Nil mihi das vivus; dicis post fata daturum./Si non es stultus, scis, Maro, quid cupiam.* Noteworthy are the echoes of *non es sanus* and *si nescis*. In 12.90 Maron wishes the death of an old friend, who has a high fever: 1–2 *Pro sene, sed clare, votum Maro fecit amico,/cui gravis et fervens hemitritaeos erat.* Maro(n) is a namesake of Virgil, although devoid of his eloquence.

phrenesin: Stephani, 1889: 13. Cf. Cels. 2.1.15 *insania febricitantium, quam <ph>renesin appellant.* Greek φρενιτίζω means to be delirious (Galen. 16.493). The symptoms are described by Celsus 3.18.1–2 *Incipiam ab insania, primamque huius ipsius partem adgrediar, quae et acuta et in febre est*: φρενῆσιν *Graeci appellant. Illud ante omnia scire oportet, interdum in accessione aegros desipere et loqui aliena*; 3.18.3–4 *Eius autem plura genera sunt: siquidem ex phreneticis alii tristes sunt; alii hilares; alii facilius continentur et intra verba desipiunt; alii consurgunt et violenter quaedam manu faciunt* . . . One of them is unreasonable loquaciousness: Sen. *Dial.* 5.26 (cf. 2.13).

Phrenesis also means insanity (cf. *non es sanus*): Sen. *Dial.* 3.13.3 *phrenesin atque insaniam*; Juv. 14.136. For a similar wordplay, cf. 11.28 *Invasit medici Nasica phreneticus Eucti/et percidit Hylan. Hic, puto, sanus erat.* To declaim while having a fever is a symptom of delirium (TLL *s. v.* 2054.18–64 [Breimeier]), and sheer madness: being ill, Maron should be quiet and rest (cf. Cels. 1.pr.70). *Phrenesis* may have a moral sense as well (TLL *s. v.* 2055.2–15): obstinate talkers torment their listeners (cf. 4.61.14 *miserere ian, crudelis, et sile tandem*).

2. si nescis: cf. 4.56.8.

non es sanus: further wordplay, on the physical and mental senses of *sanus* (healthy/sane): cf. 6.84 *Octaphoro sanus portatur, Avite, Philippus./Hunc tu si sanum credis, Avite, furis.*

amice: ironic, as in 4.15.5 (n.); 5.53.1.

3. Declamas aeger: people feigning to be sick are often criticised in the epigrams (1.98; 2.16; 2.26; 2.40; 5.39; 9.85; 11.86; 12.56). Some orators feign a condition as a form of *captatio benevolentiae*: 4.41 (n.); 6.41.

hemitritaeos: (*vid.* Stephani, 1889: 13) tertian fever (TLL *s. v.* 2607.9–41 [Groth-H.H.]):

> Tertianarum vero duo genera sunt. Alterum eodem modo, quo quartana, et incipiens et desinens, illo tantum interposito discrimine, quod unum diem praestat integrum, tertio redit. Alterum longe perniciosius, quod tertio quidem die revertitur, ex quadraginta autem et octo horis fere triginta et sex per accessionem occupat (interdum etiam vel minus vel plus), neque ex toto in remissione desistit, sed tantum levius est. Id genus plerique medici h(mitritaion appellant (Cels. 3.3.2).

See also *Corp. Hipp.* 940f; 961.h; 1221; 1234; Galen. 7.135; Orib. *Syn.* 6.23; Samm. 51.932–3 *mortiferum magis est quod Graecis hemitritaeos/vulgatur verbis*; Mart. 2.40.1 *Vri Tongilius male dicitur hemitritaeo* (Williams *ad loc.*); 12.90.2 *Cui gravis et fervens hemitritaeos erat.*

Only here is *hemitritaeos* applied to the patient (TLL *s. v.* 2607.40–43: *is qui hemitritaeo laborat*). Friedrich (1908: 634–635) proposed *hemitritaeo*, but Heraeus (*ad loc.*) argues that such adjectives are usually used of the sick in Greek medical writings (cf. ὕδροψ, λήθαργος). In Latin, derived adjectives with the suffix *-*ko* (*lethargicus, phreneticus, hidropicus*) are preferred. In any case, the use of a Greek adjective suggests Maron's grandiloquent, ornate style. For the use of Greek lexis in the epigrams, see Adamik, 1975.

4. si sudare aliter non potes: Martial derides Maron by suggesting that his declaiming is merely part of his treatment. Sweating, especially in hot baths, was one of the most widespread remedies for fever: Cels. 1pr.70 *protinus febrem somno et sudore discussit*; 2.17.1; 3.21.6; 3.3.4 *atque alias per sudorem ad integritatem venitur.*

Sweating and fatigue can come at the end of a vehement speech: Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.147 *Cum vero magna pars est exhausta orationis, utique adflante fortuna, paene omnia decent, sudor ipse et fatigatio et neglegentior amictus et soluta ac velut labens undique toga*; cf. Petr. 44.9 *cum ageret porro in foro, sic illius vox crescebat tamquam tuba. Nec sudavit umquam nec expuit.* Orators used a *sudarium* to wipe off their sweat: Quint. *Inst.* 6.30.60; 11.3.148.

est ratio: cf. 12.91.4.

5–6. 'Magna tamen res est'/. . . res est magna tacere: for the resource of reusing one's opponent's words and giving them a new meaning, cf. 1.67 *'Liber homo es nimium', dicis mihi, Ceryle, semper./In te qui dicit, Ceryle, liber homo est?*; 2.67; 5.61. For similar instances of wordplay, cf. 1.17; 1.81; 7.70; 9.15; 9.87 (see Siedschlag, 1977: 88 n. 7).

Maron excuses himself with a lawyer's stock-phrase: 1.17.1–2 *Cogit me Titus actitare causas/et dicit mihi saepe 'Magna res est'*. According to Citroni (*ad loc.*), this was a colloquial saying (cf. 6.46.2; 12.54.2; see also e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 5.19). Joepgen (1967: 92) interprets that either his declaiming despite his illness is an achievement or that he is declaiming a major work. Eden (1991: 582) suggests that *magna res* alludes to an important occasion (perhaps a trial), for which he is preparing himself. *Magna res* may also refer to his own speech, with the implication that it is bombastic (cf. *Pall.* 72 *Quid clamorem exorsa verbis parvam rem magnam facis?*). Martial answers that, being ill, 'dann ist es eine "grosse Leistung" nicht zu stöhnen, nicht zu klagen, sonders zu schweigen' (Joepgen); 'the "matter of great importance" is keeping quiet' (Eden). A good remedy for fever and delirium is rest and sleep: Plin. *Nat.* 26.118 *Phreneticos somnus sanat.*

There is a further possible interpretation: Maron belongs to a group of recalcitrant talkers (1.95; cf. 2.27; 3.45; 8.5; 9.68.11–12; Hofmann, 1956–57: 449–450) and *magnus* may mean 'difficult' (TLL *s. v.* 134.18–51 [Bulhart]): Cic. *Fam.* 13.5.1 *rem magnam difficilemque*; *Att.* 45.12.47 *magna res est et difficile*). If, as Joepgen explains, Maron argues that his is a great deed, Seneca's words should be remembered: Sen. *Ep.* 77.6 *Non est res magna vivere: omnes servi tui vivunt, omnia animalia: magnum est honeste mori, prudenter, fortiter.* When you have a fever, says Martial, 'the difficult (and the right) thing is to shut up', thus evoking the idea of delirium and Maron's inability to keep quiet: 6.41 *Qui recitat lana fauces et colla revinctus,/hic se posse loqui, posse tacere negat.* Barwick (1932: 66 n. 4) quotes a passage in which fever is accompanied by moaning: Mart. 12.17.2.

erras: *erras* or *falleris* serves as a transitional formula just before the conclusion (Siedschlag, 1977: 66 n. 2): 2.26.4 *erras: blanditur Naevia, non moritur*; 2.83.5 *erras: iste potest et irrumare*; 7.31.7 *O quam, Regule, diligenter erras!*; cf. 1.28.2; 3.62.8; 14.9.2.

cum viscera febris/exurit: *exurere* is not often applied to fever (TLL *s. v.* 2125.45–54 [Scmeck]): Man. 1.881 *exustis letalis flamma medullis*; Sil. 2.464 *exurit siccatas sanguine venas*; Quint. *Decl.* 350.7 *calore nimio vitalia exurant*; cf. Consult. *Zacch.* 1.13 *igni viscera exusta torrentur.*

81

Metapoetic game on the repercussions of the epigrams: after reading epigram **4.71** (and 4.38), Fabulla has abandoned her wantonness. Now she persistently refuses her lover's advances. Martial mocks her for having taken his counsels too seriously (cf. 4.38), by means of an intertextual play: Ov. *Ars* 3.475–6 *Sed neque te facilem iuveni promitte roganti,/nec tamen e duro quod petit ille nega*. Martial parodies her newly acquired prudishness with an effective use of euphemism. For Martial's role as a *magister amoris*, see Galán Vioque, 1997: 88–89; 2002: 144.

A comparable pair of epigrams are 3.68 and 3.86.

Further reading: Plass, 1985: 188; Lorenz (2004: 266–267) offers a valuable analysis of the *negare* poems.

1. Epigramma nostrum: cf. 2.77.1 *epigrammata nostra*. The reference here is to **4.71**. In **4.17** Martial also simulates a female reader's reaction.

Fabulla: she is always portrayed as an old hag (1.64.4 *nec dives neque bella nec puella es*), whose attempts to hide the signs of decay are often criticised: 2.41.11; 6.12 (Grewing *ad loc.*); 8.33.17; 8.79 (Schöffel *ad loc.*). Irony can be thus perceived in *puellarum* (2). *Fabulla* also appears in Juvenal: 2.68 *est moecha Fabulla* (Ferguson, 1987: 94–95).

For criticism of old women, a long-established satirical motif (Richlin, 1984: 67–80), cf. 1.19; 3.32; 3.93; 4.5.4 (n.); 4.20; 7.75; 8.79; 9.29; 9.37; 10.39; 10.67; 10.90; 11.29.

2. Cf. **4.71** (n.).

3. rogata: *rogare* has sexual connotations: e.g. Catul. 8.13; Prop. 1.5.32; Ov. *Am.* 1.8.43–44; 2.19.19 *saepe rogata nega; Ars* 1.485; 1.719; 3.472; 3.475; Mart. 2.25.1 *Das numquam, semper promittis, Galla, roganti*; 3.54.1; 4.84.3 (n.). See Adams, 1981: 127.

preces: this is a parody of erotic poetry (cf. 3 *rogata*): cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.439–440 *Blanditias ferat illa tuas imitataque amantem/verba; nec exiguas, quisquis es, adde preces*; 1.710 *Excipiet blandas comiter illa preces; Met.* 3.375–376 *o quotiens voluit blandis accedere dictis/et mollis adhibere preces!*; 13.855–856 *tantum miserere precesque/supplicis exaudi!*

neglexit: Prop. 2.16.48 *Iuppiter et surda neglegit aure preces*; cf. Prop. 1.7.13 *neglectus amator.*

4. Iam, Fabulla, promitte: for the use of this euphemistic verb in erotic contexts, see TLL *s. v.* 1868.55–75: e.g. Ov. *Am.* 3.2.59 *quod dea promisit, promittas ipsa, rogamus*; Tib. 1.8.63 *Vel cum promittit, subito sed perfida fallit*; Sen. *Con.* 2.7.6; Mart. 2.25.1 (*supra*); see also Adams, 1981: 128, as well as Fortuny, 1988: 106.

5. Negare iussi: cf. **4.38** *Galla, nega . . ./sed noli nimium, Galla, negare diu.*

Negare: for its use in erotic contexts, see 4.7.1 (n.); 4.12.1–2 (n.); 4.38.1–2 (n.); 4.71 (n.) and Adams, 1981: 127.

pernegare: i.e. *obstinate vel vehementer negare* (TLL *s. v.* 1583.22–45): cf. e.g. Pl. *Trin.* 357 *Non edepol tibi pernegare possum quicquam quod velis*; Sen. *Ben.* 5.17.2 *Romanus praeturam negavit, consulatum pernegavit.*

82

This epigram begins the final section of the book, mirroring the opening sequence, particularly 4.10. Here, Martial similarly offers his work to a patron (Venuleius) by means of an intermediary (1–3). Venuleius, a busy man, can devote his leisure time to reading it, above all after dinner. Lines 4–6 focus on the convivial and light-hearted nature of epigram. The final distich ironically deals with the idea that too many epigrams may be tiresome: the poet therefore advises the addressee to read just one of the two books he will receive. The epigram is apparently conventional, since these same ideas are scattered throughout Martial's work: reading epigrams is not a demanding activity (lines 2–3: *otia parva, paulum*); it is not necessary to read his work from beginning to end (cf. 4.29); a moderately (*medius*) relaxed attitude is required (cf. 4.8; 10.20), in keeping with the tone of the genre (3–5). Nevertheless, this poem is full of ambiguous terms and ironic hints. This, together with the profound gap between the poet's and the recipient's interests, may provide a clue to an ironic second reading.

In dedicatory epigrams, the prevailing semantic field is that of friendship and generosity, whereas here there are several pecuniary expressions (*imputet, exigat*; cf. lines 5–6). Is Martial subtly implying that Venuleius is stingy not only with his means but also with his time? Another particular feature of this epigram is its apparent lack of a knitted logical sequence. However, it is bound together by means of repetitions: lines 2 and 3, for instance, begin with the same syllable, and have *et* in the second position; *sed* is repeated at the beginning of lines 5 and 6.

Further reading: Dams, 1970: 195; Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 171; for the publication and dedication of epigrams, see White, 1974; 1996; Citroni, 1988; Fowler, 1995: 47–48; Nauta, 2002, 111–112.

1. As in other dedicatory epigrams, the poet entrusts his work to a friend or patron via an intermediary (cf. 4.10).

Hos quoque . . . libellos: noteworthy is the deictic, drawing attention to the work itself, already in the reader's hands (cf. line 5 *haec*;

3.1; 5.1; 6.1; 7.80.3; 14.2.1); *quoque* suggests that this is not the first time Martial has sent his poetry to Venuleius. Friedländer (*ad loc.*) claims that Martial is offering him books III and IV (cf. lines 7–8), whereas White (1974: 47) interprets these *libellos* as 'pre-publication assortments'. For the discussion on the meaning of *libellus*, see **4.10.1** (n.).

For Nauta (2002: 111–112), it is unlikely that these were private collections and that book IV was part of a larger group: 'Would Rufus have had to read through two rolls (a task Martial characterises as perhaps too demanding) in order to find, near the end of the second roll, that he is instructed to pass them on to someone else? Or, if Rufus is merely a fictional construct, would Venuleius have had to read to the end of Book 4 to find a teasing dedication to himself?' It is not utterly inconceivable, but Nauta offers two possible explanations for the dedication at the end of the book: as Sage remarks (1919: 170), perhaps dedicated books were accompanied by a loose dedicatory epigram (which could be inserted into the collection); it is also possible that the poet told the dedicatee where the epigram could be found. Be that as it may, dedicatory epigrams are placed both in the opening and final sections of the book (Moreno Soldevila, 2004b).

commenda: the verb has a complex interpretation. It means 'to hand in' (cf. 4.10), or 'to give in trust for safe keeping' (OLD *s. v.* 1): cf. 1.52.1–2 *Commendo tibi, Quintiane, nostros . . . libellos*. The recipient thus becomes the 'defender' of the work. The verb may also be applied to children's education or upbringing (cf. Prop. 4.11.73): figuratively, the book would be the poet's offspring and it could be improved by the friend's criticisms (cf. 4.86.2 n.). On the other hand, the verb can simply mean 'commend' (OLD *s. v.* 4), as in 7.68.1–2 *commendare meas, Instanti Rufe, Camenas/parce precor socero: seria forsan amat.*

Venuleio: this is the only time Martial mentions him: perhaps this was a failed attempt to win his favour. Friedländer suggests that he might be Venuleius Montanus Apronianus, consul in AD 92, but there are no definite arguments to support this.

Rufe: this might be Canius Rufus, a poet friend of Martial's (1.61.9; 1.69; 3.20.1; 7.69; 7.87; 10.48.5). For the different occurrences of this name in the epigrams, see 4.13.1 (n.).

2. imputet: cf. 5.80.2. Broadly speaking, *imputare* can mean 'do a favour', 'condescend', 'grant' (cf. 10.30.26; 12.48.13). However, the verb originally belongs to a pecuniary semantic field, and is espe-

cially related to loans. Patronage is based on a reciprocal system: if Venuleius devotes some time to Martial, he will not do it for free. Martial will have to repay him. In fact, he does so already, by naming him in his book (cf. 4.31). For the difference between *donare* and *imputare* in a similar context, see 5.80.2.

nobis: Martial and his books, Martial and Rufus, or just Martial? The last option would contrast with the (false) modesty that pervades the poem.

otia parva: brief, light-hearted books make short reading. *Otia parva* also implies that Venuleius is very busy (cf. 3 *immemor et paulum curarum operumque suorum*). For the use of *parvus* with time expressions, see 4.73.4 (n.). This line should be compared with 1.107.3 *otia da nobis*; 4.14.10 *nostris otia commoda Camenis*; 12.1.3 *otia, Prisce, brevi poteris donare libello*; 5.80.1–2 *Non totam mihi, si vacabis, horam/dones*. However, in all the quoted passages the verbs used are *dare* and *donare*, whereas here *imputet* is a less altruistic option, which paves the way for further interpretations: in a second reading, *parva* could be taken ironically as a sign of the addressee's meanness.

roga: notice the tone of teasing modesty: Martial accepts that Venuleius is very busy, but also hints that he would hardly spare even a little of his time.

3. paulum: this further stresses the brevity of the books of epigrams and Venuleius' demanding occupation. *Paulum* counterweights *immemor*: cf. 4.14.6 *paulum seposita severitate*.

curarum operumque suorum: cf. 7.97.5. *Curae* and *opera* are synonyms to a certain extent, although the former is more abstract (cf. 1.15.7). Noteworthy is the contrast between *suorum*, at the end of this line, and *meas*, at the end of the following, connected with *nugas*. There is a startling contrast between the lives of Venuleius and Martial. In view of his concept of the ideal life, is Martial being serious in his compliment? Compare this with 7.97.4–6, where Martial advises his book to 'go and visit' his friend Pudens, even if he is busy: *Illi tu dabis haec vel occupato:/instent mille licet premantque curae,/nostris Camenibus tamen vacabit.*

4. Cf. 7.28.8 *Exige, sed certa, quos legis, aure iocos*; Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.19 *Illa vero non nisi aure exiguntur quae fiunt per sonos.*

non tetrica . . . aure: *auris* denotes the attitude of the reader and critic (6.1.3 *aure diligenti*; 6.82.6; 7.12.2 *excipiat nostros qua solet aure iocos*;

7.28.8 *certa . . . aure*; 7.69.5; 7.99.4; 9.26.9), as is the case with *frons* (cf. 4.14.11 n.). For the play between reading and orality in epigram, see Fowler (1995) and Starr (1991), who describes Roman literature as 'aural' rather than 'oral' (p. 338). See also Cavallo, 1989: 331–334. For further meanings of *auris* in these contexts, see 4.86.1 (n.).

Tetricus alludes to a grave attitude, incompatible with epigram: 10.64.2 *non tetrica nostros accipe fronte iocos*; 11.2.7 *lectores tetrici*. In a broader sense, it denotes any obstacle to enjoyment and life (cf. 4.73.6 n.). For the litotes, cf. 4.14.11 *Nec torva lege fronte*. Notice the striking juxtaposition of *tetrica* and *nugas*.

nugas: see **4.10.4** (n.).

exigat: the verb may be interpreted as 'to criticise' (Ker; Shackleton Bailey; cf. 'juzgue': Guillén), cf. 5.80.3; 7.28.8; Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.2; *vid.* TLL *s. v.* 1462.76–1463.45 (M.). Other translators have taken it as 'to complete' ('leer hasta el final': Ramírez de Verger and Dulce Estefanía; *vid.* TLL *s. v.* 1464.31–1465.2). Yet Martial is not asking Venuleius to read his book from beginning to end (cf. lines 7–8). As happens elsewhere (cf. 4.10; 4.86), Martial is apparently asking for an appraisal. However, like *imputet*, *exigat* has a meaning related to the economic and fiscal system (Var. *R.* 2.1.28; Pl. *As.* 439; Plin. *Ep.* (Tra) 10.54), thus implying a subtle wordplay.

5–6. Wine is a key element to the reception of epigrams, and a metaphor of their lightheartedness (4.8.7–12). Drunkenness, however, can blunt the reader's perceptiveness (Adams, 1975: 71). The *comissatio* signals the appropriate time for reading, but there is some slight ambiguity in the selection of terms: *Medius Bacchus*, apart from referring to moderation, is evocative of *Medius Janus* (Cic. *Off.* 2.87; Hor. *S.* 2.3.18–19; Muecke *ad loc.*), in the Forum, where traders and usurers worked (cf. *imputet; exigat*). *Trientem* is a cup holding one third of a *sextarius*, but it is also an interest rate (Ulp. *Dig.* 26.7.7.10; Paul. *Dig.* 35.2.3.2) and the name of a coin (Juv. 3.267).

6. sua . . . proelia: *comissationes* or *convivia* (TLL *s. v.* 1652.67–70): Pl. *Men.* 185 *Ego istic mihi hodie adparari iussi apud te proelium*; 186 *in eo uterque proelio potabimus; Pers.* 112; cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.28 *itaque erant exitus eius modi ut alius inter manus e convivio tamquam e proelio auferretur, alius tamquam occisus relinqueretur, plerique ut fusi sine mente ac sine ullo sensu iacerent,—ut quivis, cum aspexisset, non se praetoris convivium, sed Cannensem pugnam nequitiae videre arbitraretur;* cf. also *Priap.* 20.3 *sutilibus Liber committit*

proelia thyrsis. It must be borne in mind that *proelium* is an amatory term (cf. TLL. *s. v.* 1652.70–1653.3) and that wine and love go hand in hand.

medius . . . Bacchus: cf. Prop. 2.30b.38.

Bacchus amat: cf. 14.107.1; [Tib.] 3.6.57 (Navarro *ad loc.*).

7. duos: cf. *hos quoque . . . libellos*.

tibi charta plicetur: the reader is always given an active role: they are often invited to choose the parts of the book they want to read (13.3.7–8). It is not necessary—claims Martial—to read all his *oeuvre* (cf. 4.29): the shortest epigrams (10.1), or even the *lemmata* in the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* (14.2.3–4), can be sufficient.

Although the implication is clear (the work is short, but can be even shorter), this expression is rather ambiguous. First, who is *tibi* referring to? If the second person is identifiable with *Rufus*, the poet might be telling his friend: 'keep one of the two rolls for yourself; you will no doubt enjoy it better'. Fowler (1995: 48) interprets that there is wordplay with *divisum*: 'the two books are halved for Venuleius by being divided amongst the two men'. *Tibi* could also be Venuleius (for a similar change of addressee, see 4.10.7). Fowler suggests that *plicetur* means '"roll to the end as if read" so that Venuleius is given one roll "pre-read" as it were'. The situation could be comparable to epigram (11.107), the irony being self-evident:

> Explicitum nobis usque ad sua cornua librum
> et quasi perlectum, Septiciane, refers.
> Omnia legisti. Credo, scio, gaudeo, verum est.
> Perlegi libros sic ego quinque tuos.

charta: (Gr. χάρτης) originally, *charta* is a sheet of papyrus, and, secondarily, a papyrus roll or a book (cf. Ulp. *Dig.* 32.52.4 *in usu plerique libros chartas appellant*). In Martial, it is a standard term for the material (cf. e.g. 2.1.4; 6.64.23; 14.38.1; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.113; Catul. 22.6) and also a metonym for the literary work (e.g. 4.31.4; 10.20.17); sometimes both meanings blend. As in **4.31.4** (n.), *charta* may be a self-deprecatory term. Here it clearly refers to one of the papyrus rolls (books) entrusted to Rufus.

plicetur: *convolvatur* or *convolutus maneat* (Friedländer *ad loc.*; Birt, 1974: 19). Meaning 'to roll up', it only appears here and in Sen. *Ep.* 95.2. Fowler's (1995: 48) general explanation for this passage is valuable (*vid. supra*), but some specific comments are far from

convincing: he suggests that the term is more suitable for a codex than a roll (*vid. contra* Birt, 1974: 19: cf. Lucr. 6.1087; Verg. *A.* 5.279), and that it must be used colloquially here instead of *explicetur*; yet they are, as a matter of fact, antonyms (White 1996: 400, n. 17).

8. altera: either of them. This indefinition echoes **4.29.9** (n).

breve . . . opus: brevity is one of the main features of epigram (and of the book of epigrams), see Adams (1975: 59–66) and 4.29 (n.): cf. 5.6.7 *Admittas timidam brevemque chartam*; 10.1.4 *fac tibi me quam cupis ipse brevem*; 12.1.3 *Otia, Prisce, brevi poteris donare libello*; 12.11.7 *Quattuor et tantum timidumque brevemque libellum. Opus* is a work of art, a literary work (1.25.2; 4.29.2). It also denotes an effort (5.22.11; Verg. *A.* 6.129), an obligation (cf. line 3) or business. There is, then, an ironic reading for this line: Martial implies that reading two books of epigrams will be too much for busy Venuleius (cf. *nimis, otia parva, paulum*). Significantly, the variant of the third family of manuscripts is *onus*. This ending echoes Ovid's epigram heading the second edition of his *Amores*:

Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli,
tres sumus; hoc illi praetulit auctor opus.
Vt iam nulla tibi nos sit legisse voluptas,
at levior demptis poena duobus erit.

83

Two apparently opposed social behaviours combine in this epigram: meanness and selfish obsequiousness. Naevolus shows contempt for others when he is thriving (*securus*; cf. 4.40). However, when he has trouble (*sollicitus*), he attempts to improve his situation by means of flattery and humiliation (cf. 4.78).

The epigram displays a neat structure:

- lines 1–2 present Naevolus' contrary behaviours antithetically. Notice the parallelism, the position of the adjectives at the beginning of each line, the repetition of the name, and the assonance *peius/melius*;
- lines 3–4 describe Naevolus' arrogance, stressed by the pronouns *nullum, omnes, quisquam*;
- line 5 focuses on the opposite behaviour: now, the lack of pronouns suggests that he shows hypocritical kindness to everyone;
- line 6 is consistent with similar endings (4.37.10; 4.56.8; 4.61.16), and is also comparable with 4.51. There, the poet wished Caecilianus to become poor again, so that he might enjoy a better life. Here, the poet wants Naevolus to have financial problems, so that he will have to observe the rules of social exchange.

Further reading: Joepgen, 1967: 147–148.

1–2. *Securus* and *sollicitus* are antonyms: 5.31.8 *Securus puer est, sollicitumque pecus*; 14.111.2 *Securae nimium sollicitaeque manus*. There is a certain ambiguity (and irony) at the beginning of the epigram, since *securus* is traditionally applied to poverty and *sollicitus* to wealth.

Securo . . . te: 'when you are free from fears' (OLD *s. v.* 1): here it refers to his financial situation. In addition, *securus* can also mean 'negligent' and even 'arrogant' (OLD *s. v.* 4). When Naevolus is well-off, he shows an overconfident attitude (3–4): cf. Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.14 *si contumax adrogans securus sit*. Ironically, *securus* is traditionally related to tranquillity as a result of poverty: Sen. *Her. O.* 652 *pectora pauper secura gerit; Ep.* 17.3 *paupertas expedita est, secura est*; 18.8 (cf. Mart. 9.92.3).

nihil est: this usually has pejorative undertones: cf. 1.10.3; 2.54.5; 2.71.1; 3.22.5; 3.69.3; 4.56.3; 4.78.10; 6.24.1; 6.33.2; 7.20.1; 10.83.11; 12.63.13.

Naevole: this name, a derivative of *naevus*—a mole—(Kajanto, 1982: 246), occurs in several satirical epigrams. In 1.97 he pretends to be eloquent, but when everyone else is silent, he dares not speak. He is criticised for his meanness in 2.46. His arrogant behaviour earns him an attack in sexual terms in 3.95 (cf. 3.71). Juvenal gives the same name to a male prostitute (9.9; 9.91; see Ferguson 1987: 161). See also Tanner, 1986: 2672–2673.

2. sollicito: this is used of busy or hyperactive people (Pl. *Men.* 588 *me hodie nimis sollicitum cliens quidam habuit*; Ter. *Hau.* 461; cf. Mart. 4.78). *Sollicitus* also means 'troubled': cf. [Tib.] 3.6.61. In contrast to *securus, sollicitus* is usually related to wealth: Hor. *S.* 2.6.79 *sollicitas . . . opes*; Sen. *Ep.* 14.18; 80.6; 90.41 *Sollicitudo nos in nostra purpura versat*; 115.16. Here, Naevolus is anxious when he is hard-up.

3. nullum resalutas: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.106; *Att.* 2.7.2; Petr. 44.10; Mart. 5.21.3; 5.57.2 *Saepe etiam servum sic resaluto tuum*; 10.70.5 *Non resalutantis video nocturnus amicos*. Not greeting back is a sign of discourtesy and contempt: Sen. *Dial.* 9.12.4 *cucurrerunt . . . salutaturi aliquem non resalutaturum*; Suet. *Nero* 37.3 *certe neque adveniens neque proficiscens quemquam osculo impertiit ac ne resalutatione quidem.*

despicis omnes: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8.32 *dum despicis omnis.*

4. nec quisquam liber: Naevolus treats everyone as a slave. In Martial's epigrams *clientela* is often compared to slavery (Garrido-Hory, 1985: 392): 2.18.7; 2.32.7; 2.32.8; 2.53.3; 2.68.8; 10.56.1 *Totis, Galle, iubes tibi me servire diebus.*

nec tibi natus homo est: variant on the expression *aliquem non natum putare*, 'to consider someone a nobody', 'to show contempt for someone': 8.64.18 *Natum te, Clyte, nec semel putabo*; 10.27.4 *Nemo tamen natum te, Diodore, putat*; cf. 11.12 *Ius tibi natorum vel septem, Zoile, detur;/dum matrem nemo det tibi, nemo patrem*; Petr. 58.10 *ergo aut tace aut meliorem noli molestare, qui te natum non putat*; Sen. *Apoc.* 3.2 *nemo enim umquam illum natum putavit.*

5. donas: no doubt Naevolus makes gifts in order to receive them in return (cf. **4.56**). For gift-giving in Martial's epigrams, see Spisak, 1998.

dominum regemque salutas: cf. line 3 *nullum resalutas*; line 4 *liber*. *Dominus* (4.67.4 n.) and *rex* (4.40.9 n.) are forms of addressing a patron (see Dickey, 2002: 106–107; 321–322; 355). They have a joint use which emphasises the client's humiliation (Garrido-Hory, 1985: 392): 1.112.1; 2.68.2; 2.68.7; 5.57.1; 10.10.5 *Qui me respiciet, dominum regemque vocabo?*; 12.60.14; Juv. 8.161. There is an indirect allusion to the *salutatio* (4.8.1 n.).

6. invitas: 'to dinner' (TLL *s. v.* 228.57–81 [Kröner]): cf. 1.23.1; 2.79.1; 3.27.3; 9.100.1), with a general object (cf. 4.68.1 n.), or with an elided *me*.

esto, **Naevole**, **sollicitus**: the imperative echoes **4.51.6** and **4.56.8** *dona . . . mihi*.

Final attack on the *fellatrix* Thais (4.12; 4.50). Martial claims that she has never had coital intercourse, although many have asked for it (1–3). Yet she is not a model of chastity, but rather indulges in fellatio (4): cf. 3.87 *Narrat te, Chione, rumor numquam esse fututam/atque nihil cunno purius esse tuo./Tecta tamen non hac, qua debes, parte lavaris:/si pudor est, transfer subligar in faciem.* A similar structure, although with a different subject-matter, can be found in 11.62 *Lesbia se iurat gratis numquam esse fututam./Verum est. Cum futui vult, numerare solet.*

Further reading: Plass, 1985: 199–200.

1. Non est in populo nec urbe tota: *populus* alludes to the general public, to the populace: cf. 3.26.6 *uxorem sed habes, Candide, cum populo*; 6.34.6; 8.56.3–4. The expression *urbe tota* is very frequent in the epigrams: *Sp.* 2.4; 1.2.6; 1.73.1 *Nullus in urbe fuit tota qui tangere vellet*; 1.86.9; 2.72.6; 3.15.1; 4.78.3; 7.64.1; 12.38.2.

2. Cf. 3.87.1 (*supra*); 3.96.1 *lingis, non futuis, meam puellam*; 10.95.2 *se futuisse negant.*

Thaida: **4.12** (n.); **4.50**.

fututam: (Adams, 1982: 118–122) *futuere* is one of Martial's favourite (dysphemistic) sexual verbs: 1.34.10; 1.84.3; 2.31.1; 2.47.4; 2.60.1; 3.72.1; 3.79.2; 3.87.1; 3.96.1; 6.31.2; 6.33.4; 6.67.2; 6.91.2; 7.10.3; 7.70.2; 7.75.1; 9.2.10; 9.4.1–2; 9.41.1; 41.5; 9.69.1; 9.80.2; 10.29.6; 10.81.1; 10.95.2; 10.102.2; 11.7.13; 11.20; 11.21.11–12; 11.40.3; 11.45.8; 11.47; 11.62.1–2; 11.71.2; 11.85.2; 12.26.1; 12.38.6; 14.215.2; (cf. *fututio* 1.106.6; *fututor* 1.73.4; 1.90.6; 2.28.3; 3.96.2; 7.18.3; 7.30.3; 11.87.4; 12.43.6; *fututrix* 11.22.4; 11.61.10). For its use both in minor poetry and grafitti, see Rodríguez, 1981: 97; Adams, 1982: 118–119; Montero, 1991: 121–124; Varone, 1994: 81–84.

3. cum multi cupiant rogentque multi: for the erotic meaning of *cupere*, see TLL *s. v.* 1431.78–1432.10 [Hoppe]): cf. 7.18.3 *Cur te tam rarus cupiat repetatque fututor*. *Rogare* is also used in sexual contexts (Adams, 1981: 127): 2.25.1–2; 3.54.1; 4.81.3 (n.). Adams (1981: 123)

quotes this passage to illustrate euphemisms based on ellipsis (cf. 4.42.11 n.). However, the elided verb is present in the previous line (*fututam*).

4. Tam casta est, **rogo?**: cf. 4.71.5–6. The parenthetical use of *rogo* is frequent in questions: cf. 2.80.2; 3.76.3; 5.25.7; 5.44.1; 5.82.3; 6.17.2; 9.25.3. It implies surprise (7.86.3; 10.41.3; 10.66.1; 13.58.2) or doubt (10.15.2). Here it has an ironic intention (cf. 3.73.3; 3.76.3). Noteworthy is the wordplay with *rogant* in the preceding line. For the meaning and implications of *casta*, see **4.71.5–6** (n.).

Immo: cf. 1.10.3 *Adeone pulchra est? immo foedius nil est*; 3.47.15 *urbem petebat Bassus? immo rus ibat*; 8.10.3 *'Adeo bene emit?' inquis. Immo non solvet.*

fellat: Adams, 1982: 130–132; see **4.12** (n.). Martial usually places a dysphemistic verb (*fellare, irrumare, futuere*) at the end of satirical epigrams (Montero, 1991a: 192–194): cf. 2.33.4 *Haec qui basiat, o Philaeni, fellat*; 2.73.1; 3.82.33; 12.79.4; 1.34.10 *deprendi veto te, non futui*; 2.47.4; 6.33.4; 6.91.2; 9.80.2; 11.45.8; 11.85.2; 12.38.6; 14.215; 2.83.5 *iste potest et irrumare*; 4.50.2.

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Ponticus is a miserly host, one of those who serve their guests food and wine of poor quality, reserving delicacies for themselves (or for select friends): 1.20; 2.43; 3.49; 3.60.2 *Cur mihi non eadem, quae tibi, cena datur?*; 9 *cur sine te ceno, cum tecum, Pontice, cenem?*; **4.68** (n.); 6.11 (Hofmann, 1956–57: 461). A similar social behaviour is noticed and censured by Pliny the Younger: *Ep.* 2.6.2 *Vinum etiam parvolis lagunculis in tria genera discripserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne ius esset recusandi, aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet), aliud suis nostrisque libertis*. In Juvenal's fifth satire this provokes a fight among the guests (5.25–29; see Shero, 1923: 139–140).

Some hosts attempt to deceive their fellow diners by using high quality serving plates or vessels: 10.49 *Cum potes amethystinos trientes/et nigro madeas Opimiano,/propinas modo conditum Sabinum/et dicis mihi, Cotta, 'Vis in auro?'/Quisquam plumbea vina volt in auro?* Ponticus, however, serves bad wine in cheap glass cups, while he drinks from a lavish murrine vessel. Martial ironically concludes that Ponticus thinks its opacity will mask the difference. For other mean hosts, cf. 1.43; 3.12; 3.13; 3.94; 8.22; cf. also 12.27 *Poto ego sextantes, tu potas, Cinna, deunces:/et quereris quod non, Cinna, bibamus idem?*

For the structure of this epigram, see Siedschlag, 1977: 70 and 4.65 (n.).

1. For Martial's use of antithesis, see Siedschlag (1977: 29–35) and 4.36.1 (n.).

vitro: since the first century BC glass had become cheap and its use extended to tableware (see Harden, 1979: 322; 337). Unlike the *pocula crystallina*, *murrina*, *argentea*, *aurea*, glass cups were ordinary: 1.37 *Ventris onus misero, nec te pudet, excipis auro,/Basse, bibis vitro: carius ergo cacas*; 14.94 {*Calices audaces*} *Nos sumus audacis plebeia toreumata vitri,/nostra neque ardenti gemma feritur aqua* (cf. 12.74; 14.115).

murra: 'fluorite cups' (see Lowental-Harden, 1949; Whittick, 1952; Bromehead, 1952). Pliny the Elder gives a detailed description of murrine vases:

> Splendor est <i>is sine viribus nitorque verius quam splendor. Sed in pretio varietas colorum subinde circumagentibus se maculis in purpuram candoremque et tertium ex utroque, ignescente veluti per transitum coloris purpura aut rubescente lacteo. sunt qui maxime in iis laudent extremitates et quosdam colorum repercussus, quales in caelesti arcu spectantur. I<a>m aliis maculae pingues placent—tralucere quicquam aut pallere vitium est—itemque sales verrucaeque non eminentes, sed, ut in corpore etiam, plerumque sessiles. Aliqua et in odore commendatio est (*Nat.* 37.21–22).

He did not know that they were made of fluorite, a shining opaque material, multicoloured and slightly stained (cf. Mart. 10.80.1 *maculosae pocula murrae*; 13.110.1 *murrina picta*). They were also highly regarded for improving the taste of wine: 14.113 {*Murrina*} *Si caldum potas, ardenti murra Falerno/ convenit et melior fit sapor inde mero.* Fluorite, a mineral of crystalline structure, was mixed with resin, which made it more consistent and flexible. The resin dissolved in alcohol and gave wine a special taste. According to Whittick, this is the origin of their name. Together with the adjectives *murrinus* (*myrr(h)inus*) and *murreus*, *murra* denotes metonymically this kind of cup: Mart. 10.80.1; 14.113.1; Luc. 4.380; Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.58. They were expensive and highly valued: Mart. 3.26.2 *murrina solus habes*; 3.82.25 *crystallinisque murrinisque propinat*; 9.59.14; 10.80.1; 11.70.8; 13.110.1; 14.113.1; Suet. *Aug.* 71.1; Plin. *Nat.* 37.20; Sen. *Ben.* 7.9.3; *Ep.* 123.7; Luc. 4.380 *non auro murraque bibunt, sed gurgite puro*; Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.58; Juv. 6.156; 7.133; Iust. *Dig.* 33.10.3.4 *De murrinis et crystallinis dubitari potest an debeant adnumerari supellectili propter eximium usum et pretium*; Lampr. *Heliog.* 32.2.3 *ventris auro excepit, in myrrinis et onychis minxit.*

Pontice: this is a standard name for a patron in Martial's epigrams: he does not defend his client so as not to incur the enmity of others (2.32.2; Williams *ad loc.*). He shows similar behaviour towards his guests in 3.60 (*supra*): he dines lavishly (cf. 9.19.2 *cenantis bene Pontici*), but offers Martial a meagre dinner. He is not very smart, especially in the light of 2.82 (casting doubt on his reputation) and 5.63 (about his writings). In epigram 9.41 he is depicted as a *masturbator*. Ponticus is the protagonist of Juvenal's eighth satire (see Ferguson, 1987: 188). See also Tanner, 1986: 2671.

Quare?: Martial frequently places a question after an antithesis and just before the conclusion: cf. 1.10.4; 2.11.10; 2.17.5; 2.28.5; 2.56.4; 3.15.2; 3.70.3; 3.84.2; 4.53.8; 4.77.4; 4.84.4; 5.43.2; 5.79.5;

6.77.9; 9.4.4; 9.22.16; 10.74.12 (Siedschlag, 1977: 26). For the use of *quare*, cf. 2.49.1 *Vxorem nolo Telesinam ducere: quare?*

2. Prodat perspicuus ne duo vina calix: the host keeps for himself not only the best cups, but also the best wine. Others would have offered bad wine in good glasses, so as to mask their poor quality, but Ponticus is either too shameless or too simple. Noteworthy is the alliteration *prodat perspicuus* (cf. *Pontice*). 'Betraying' transparency is also the theme of **4.22** (see the note on line 3 for the meaning of *prodere*).

perspicuus . . . calix: i.e. *vitreus*. *Perspicuus* means 'transparent', and it is applied to water (4.22.8 n.), glass (Plin. *Nat.* 37.141 *vitream perspicuitatem*) or gems (TLL *s. v.* 1748.25–30; *s. perspicuitas* 1745.65–1746.1 [Spoth]; Plin. *Nat.* 37.79; Mart. 8.68.5). *Calix* is a standard term for a vessel or drinking-cup. It is usually placed at the end of the pentameter: 1.92.6; 2.1.10; 7.53.4; 11.32.4; 12.74.10; 14.109.2.

Martial addresses his book and advises it to please Apollinaris, on whose appraisal its fate depends. This witty dedicatory epigram displays the following structure:

1–5. Apostrophe to the book and eulogy of its recipient.
6–11. Prospects for the book after Apollinaris' assessment:
  6–8. It will be safe if he likes it.
  9–11. If the appraisal is negative, the book will be destined to less noble uses.

The imperfect execution of the book was the theme of **4.10**, at the end of which its total disappearance was deemed advisable. In both, the recipient is asked to give his opinion, and, indirectly, to protect the work: cf. 7.26; 12.pr. *Tu velim ista, quae tantum apud te non periclitantur, diligenter aestimare et excutere non graveris; et, quod tibi difficillimum est, de nugis nostris iudices nitore seposito*. Similarly, in epigram 3.2, Martial asks his book to find a defender (2 *festina tibi vindicem parare*), or else it will be at risk. The book runs into Faustinus' pocket. (cf. 4.10). Now, it can be at ease (7–12).

According to Nauta (2002: 284), dedications of this kind, asking for a critical opinion, are independent of the publishing process: the book will be published (has been published!) whatever happens. The situation is different from Ov. *Pont.* 2.4.13–18; *Tr.* 3.14.37–44; 4.1.89–92; Plin. *Ep.* 7.17.7; 7.20 (Fedeli, 1989: 352–353). In my opinion, the position of this epigram at the end of the book serves a strategic intention: Martial asks for an appraisal only after the whole book has been read, in an effective metaliterary game with his readers. The dedicatee of the epigram is the wise Apollinaris, but the intended addressee is the general reader: the book has not been relegated to baser uses and has escaped the fate of bad literature. His readership can be proud to have such good taste. On the other hand, both the metrical component and the selection of words and satirical motifs hint at an ironic intention: no matter how good a book may be, it will only succeed if it has a powerful patron. In Rome (cf. 4.5), excellence is useless by itself. This subtle complaint demonstrates close familiarity between Martial and Apollinaris.

Further reading: Paoli, 1932: 33–37; Ker, 1950: 12–24; Hudson-Williams, 1952: 29; Clarke, 1966: 47–54; Dams, 1970: 195; Adams, 1975; Garson, 1979: 11; Citroni, 1986: 111–146; 1988: 3–39; Sullivan, 1991: 56–77; Galán Rodríguez, 1994; Opelt, 1994: 26–27; Fowler, 1995; Tränkle, 1996: 133–144; Nauta, 2002; Moreno Soldevila, 2004b: 171–172. For the Catullan echoes in this epigram, see Offermann, 1980: 111 n. 9; 112–113.

1. auribus Atticis: *auris* is a metonym for the reader and the critic, originally alluding to hearing: Ov. *Tr.* 3.14.40 *nullus in hac terra, recitem si carmina,/cuius intellecturis auribus utar, adest; Pont.* 4.5.1. See Fowler (1995) and Starr (1991) for the interplay between orality (or 'aurality') and reading. Together with *Atticis* (cf. Ter. *Eu.* 1093 *Atticam elegantiam*; Cic. *Orat.* 28), it alludes to literary taste (cf. 9.26.9; 10.20.15; Nauta, 2002: 137–138): cf. 6.82.6 *aurem qui modo non habet Batavam.* Notice that the adjective anticipates the use of Greek words, such as *rhonchos* and *chartas.*

The intention of this line is twofold: it adds to the eulogy of the addressee, Apollinaris, and vindicates the book's literary merit. His poetry sounds refined to the connoisseur: 2.86.12 *me raris iuvat auribus placere.* However, this does not preclude a wider readership: 5.13; 6.60.1–2; 6.82.2; 7.88.3–4; 8.61.3–5; 9.97.2; 10.9.4; 11.1.13–14; 11.3.3–4. In fact, the common reader's verdict is more important than the critic's: 9.81 *Lector et auditor nostros probat, Aule, libellos,/sed quidam exactos esse poeta negat./Non nimium curo: nam cenae fercula nostrae/malim convivis quam placuisse cocis.*

probari: a common verb in literary contexts: 6.65.4 *si breviora probas*; 9.81.1 (*supra*); 9.97.11 *Rumpitur invidia, quod amamur quodque probamur*; 11.90.1 *carmina nulla probas.* It alludes to good reputation or esteem (TLL *s. v.* 1463.21–38 [Spoth]), and to judgement or appraisal (TLL *s. v.* 1467.36–49): Cic. *Att.* 2.1.1. *Probari* with a dative is almost a synonym for *placere* (cf. l. 3; TLL 1466.57–1467.3).

2. exhortor moneoque te, **libelle**: the vocative at the end of the second line provokes surprise. The apostrophe to the book usually prompts a reflection on the elements of literary communication: author, work, and reader (cf. 1.3; Citroni *ad loc.*; 2.1; 3.2; 3.4–5; 4.89; 7.84; 7.97; Galán *ad loc.*; 8.1; 8.72; 9.99; Henriksén *ad loc.*; 10.104; 11.1; 12.2; 12.5). This topos has been thoroughly studied by Citroni (1986): not particularly relevant in Greek literature—due to its oral nature—it is widely used in Latin poetry, especially by Catullus (35) and the elegiac poets. Horace turns it into a metapoetic resource

(*Ep.* 1.20), which Ovid will further exploit (*Tr.* 1.1; *Pont.* 4.5). Martial addresses his books on a variety of occasions, often with dedicatory intentions (cf. Catul. 1), and almost always as a vehicle for literary thoughts.

Here, the author adopts the mask of the father, or tutor, who supervises the work. The book has a life of its own (cf. 4.89), as is inferred by the use of two verbs of advice: cf. 9.90.10 *moneo precorque.*

libelle: 4.10.1 (n.).

3. ut docto placeas Apollinari: Martial asks Apollinaris for a critical opinion (cf. 4.10; 12.pr.; Saller, 1983: 248; White, 1974: 53–54). Notice the rhyme with *probari* (line 1).

docto: Ov. *Pont.* 4.5.1 *Ite, leves elegi, doctas ad consulis aures*; cf. Amm. 22.16.16 *iudicio doctarum . . . aurium. Doctus* is a suitable adjective for critics (TLL. *s. v.* 1756.48–75 [Bulhart]): Cic. *Brut.* 320; *Fin.* 3.19; *Orat.* 172; Tac. *Dial.* 32.2 *idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit*; Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.2; 9.4.87; Plin. *Ep.* 4.5.2; Ov. *Tr.* 5.9.9 *doctus . . . lector*; Mart. 5.80.13 *docti lima . . . Secundi*; 8.70.8; 9.43.14; 9.77.4 *docto pectore*; 10.73.10; 14.191.1. It is also applied to poets themselves (TLL *s. v.* 1757.2–46): Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.29 *doctarum hederae praemia frontium*; Tib. 1.4.61 *doctos . . . poetas*; [Tib] 3.6.41 *doctus . . . Catullus* (cf. Mart. 1.61.1; 7.99.7; 8.73.8; 14.100; 14.152); [Verg.] *Catal.* 9.20; Mart. 2.77.5 *doctique Pedonis*; Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.76 *docti . . . Lucreti.* Therefore, it depicts Apollinaris as an educated man (7.26; Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.43–44) with poetic skills (1.25.2; 9.77.4; *vid. contra* Galán *ad* 7.26). In any case, *doctus* is related to the Muses and Apollo (Catul. 65.2 *doctis . . . virginibus*; Ov. *Fast.* 6.811 *doctae . . . sorores*; *Tr.* 2.1.13; [Tib] 3.4.45; Mart. 1.70.15; 9.42.3; Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.91 *docti . . . Phoebi*), and it is a fitting epithet for **Apollin**aris.

placeas: the verb often alludes to literary likes and pleasures: 2.71.5 *magis placeant mea*; 2.86.12; 5.16.10 *pagina nostra placet;* 8.29.1; 9.50.2 *Carmina . . . quae brevitate placent*; 10.21.6 *Grammaticis placeant*; 10.59.2; 12.pr. *si quid est enim, quod in libellis meis placeat, dictavit auditor.* The personification of the book endows the verb with subtle erotic connotations (Pl. *Cas.* 48; *Mos.* 167; Prop. 2.7.19; Ov. *Ars* 1.547) by no means foreign to the genre (cf. 4.14 n.). See further Williams, 2002.

Apollinari: L. Domitius Apollinaris, to whom Martial entrusts his work also in 7.26 (1, 10 *Apollinarem conveni meum, Scazon*; Galán *ad loc.*),

asking him for 'protection' *contra malignos* (9). As in 11.15 (12 *Saturnalicios, Apollinaris*), another dedicatory epigram, Martial explores the symbolic qualities of the name Apollinaris, which, related to Apollo and qualified by *docto*, intensifies his portrayal as an artist or as a patron of poetry (Kay, 1985: 100). Domitius Apollinaris is a correspondent of Pliny's (2.9 [Sherwin-White *ad loc.*]; 5.6), who depicts him as an erudite man. He is the addressee of other poems by Martial: 7.89, sending a wreath of roses (Galán *ad loc.*); 10.12, a *propemptikon*; 10.30, an *ekphrasis* of his villa at *Formiae*. In 10.12 Apollinaris goes to his homeland, Vercellae: Martial calls him Domitius, but the epithet he gives to the town (*Apollineas*) makes it clear that the addressee is Domitius Apollinaris (PIR[2] D120 is wrong in devoting a separate entry to a Domitius; see Syme, 1991: 588).

He was a native of Vercellae, governor of Lycia-Pamphilia in 93–96, and consul in 97 (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 9.13.13). For more details, see PIR[2] D133; Balland, 1981 (especially 117–120); Syme, 1991: 588–602; Nauta, 2002: 159–161. Martial does not explicitly allude to Apollinaris' political career, which is only indirectly dealt with (Nauta, 2002: 159–160): 7.26.2 *si vacabit—ne molestus accedas*; 10.12.5–6 *ut messe vel una/urbano releves colla perusta iugo*; 10.30.26–29.

4. nihil exactius eruditiusque est: Hier. *Ep.* 58.9.2 *nihil pulchrius, nihil doctius nihilque latinius tuis voluminibus. Nihil* can replace *nemo* when accompanied by a comparative adjective: cf. Pl. *Mos.* 279 *nihil hac docta doctius*; Cic. *Tusc.* 3.22 *quibus nihil est uberius, nihil eruditius, nihil gravius*; *N. D.* 1.93 *nam Phaedro nihil elegantius nihil humanius; Att.* 50.6.7; Plin. *Ep.* 2.9.4 *Habet avunculum C. Septicium, quo nihil verius nihil simplicius nihil candidius nihil fidelius novi*; 4.22.3 *quo viro nihil firmius nihil verius*; 5.16.1. In Martial's epigrams *nihil* often has a pejorative or ironic meaning (3.22.5; 3.69.3; 4.56.3 n.; 4.83.1–2 n.; 7.20.1).

exactius eruditiusque: these terms are far from innocent when uttered by a poet. *Exactus* is rarely applied to a person, and it denotes excellence (cf. TLL *s. v.* 1468.9–15 [K.-M.]; Plin. *Ep.* 8.23.5 *Quod ille obsequium Serviano exactissimo viro praestitit!*). It applies to prudence, wisdom, or wit: Sen. *Con.* 2.4.8 *Fuit autem Messala exactissimi ingenii quidem in omni studiorum parte*; 7.5.11 *Vinicius, exactissimi vir ingeni, qui nec dicere res ineptas nec ferre poterat*; Sen. *Ben.* 7.8.2 *virum exactae . . . sapientiae*; *Ep.* 74.29 *exactae prudentiae.* In poetry, it alludes to metrical accuracy: 9.81.2 (*supra*); Prop. 3.1.8 *exactus tenui pumice versus eat.* In addition,

Apollinaris' erudition will enable him to appreciate the echoes from Catullus and other poets in the following lines.

5. candidius: *benevolus* (TLL *s. v.* 244.43–80 [Goetz]): cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.4.1 *Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex* (cf. *Epod.* 14.5 *candide Maecenas*); Ov. *Tr.* 1.11.35 *candide lector*; 4.10.132 (cf. Mart. 7.99.5); 2.80 *carmina iudicio possint condidiore legi*; Mart. 13.2.9 *candidus aure*. The adjective is also used of poets (OLD *s. v.* 9). Ironically, the term can denote gullibility: 2.71.1 *Candidius nihil est te, Caeciliane.*

benignius: cf. Pl. *Men.* 4 *benignis . . . auribus*; Auson. *Ecl.* 1.8 *nec doctum minus nec magis benignum*. The term also applies to generosity (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.3), and contrasts with *maligniorum* (7).

6–11. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.pr. *hunc tamen librum tu, Marcelle, defendes. et, si videtur, hactenus, sin minus, reprehendemur.*

6–8. For the literary motif of the recipient as protector of the work, cf. 3.2; 7.26; and see Nauta, 2002: 283–284.

si te pectore, si tenebit ore: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 95.53 *Ille versus et in pectore et in ore sit.* The first part could allude to memory, inasmuch as *pectus* means 'the seat of intellectual faculties' (OLD *s. v.* 3b), especially memory (TLL *s. v.* 915.27–34 [Gatti]; cf. e.g. Pl. *Ps.* 941 *Teneo. Omnia in pectore condita sunt*). *Tenere* can also mean 'to remember' (OLD *s. v.* 24), especially in conjunction with *corde*, *animo*, *mente*, *pectore* or *memoria*: 6.25.4 *Accipe et haec memori pectore vota tene;* 6.85.9–10. *Pectus* also evokes love and affection (TLL *s. v.* 914.59–67): cf. 7.17.11. Incidentally, the phrase *docto pectore* is used of the poet and critic twice (1.25.2; 9.77.4). The second part of the line may have a twofold meaning: 'if he recites you' (cf. Cic. *Off.* 3.82) or 'if he talks about you' (Cic. *Fin.* 4.79). The recipient of the book may help enhance its good name (White, 1978: 86; Starr, 1987: 216). Notice the oposition between *tenere* and *curras* (10).

7–8. Notice that the prospective success of the book is expressed in negative terms.

7. nec . . . metues: cf. 3.2.12 *illo vincice nec Probum timeto*; 5.80.10 *nam securus erit.* For the depiction of the book as timorous and vulnerable: cf. **4.8.11** (n.).

rhonchos: (Gr. ῥένκος; *vid.* Stephani, 1889: 25) cf. 1.3.5 *Maiores nusquam rhonchi* (Citroni, 1975: 26); Sidon. *Carm.* 3.8: *nec nos rhonchisono rhinocerote notat* (see Colton, 1976a: 14). It means 'snoring' (3.82.30), and here 'snorts of disdain'.

maligniorum: spiteful critics: cf. 1.pr. *malignus interpres*; 5.28.8; 7.34.6; 7.72.12 *quisquam . . . malignus*; 7.26.9–10 *contra malignos esse si cupis tutus,/Apollinarem conveni meum, scazon.* According to Citroni (1986: 137), 'il poeta avverte il libro che, se si assicurerà il favore di quel certo personaggio, sarà al sicuro dalle critiche ostili e dalle aggressioni malevole. Questa forma è veramente tipica de Marziale'. *Malignus* is closely related to envy (1.92.13 *Nec me zelotypum nec dixeris esse malignum*; Curt. 9.7.16 *invidi maligni increpabant*), which is often the origin of destructive criticism (Dickie, 1981). *Malignus* is the antonym of *benignus* (5), also including the latter in the sense of *liberalis* (Quint. *Inst.* 2.2.6). *Maligniorum* echoes the *malevoli* in Terence's prologues: *An.* 5–7 *nam in prologis scribundis operam abutitur,/non qui argumentum narret sed qui malevoli/veteris poetae maledictis respondeat; Hau.* 16–18 *nam quod rumores distulerunt malevoli/multas contaminasse Graecas, dum facit/paucas Latinas*; 22; *Ad.* 15–16 *isti dicunt malevoli, homines nobilis/hunc adiutare adsidueque una scribere.* As regards the comparative, it could stand for a positive adjective (Hofmann-Szantyr: 169), though not necessarily (cf. the comparatives in lines 4–5).

8. nec scombris tunicas dabis molestas: a bad book could end up being used as 'recycled paper'. It could be used for cooking (Catul. 95.8 *et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas*; Mart. 3.50.9 *Quod si non scombris scelerata poemata donas*; 6.61.6–8 *Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque diserti,/et redimunt soli carmina docta coci!*) or wrapping, especially for spices (Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.268–270 *capsa porrectus aperta/deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores/et piper et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis*), but not exclusively: 13.1.1 *Ne toga cordylis et paenula desit olivis* (Paoli, 1932: 36). Both uses are combined in Pers. 1.43 *nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus?*; Mart. 3.2.3–5 *ne nigram cito raptus in culinam/cordylas madida tegas papyro/vel turis piperisve sis cucullus*; cf. 13.1.1; Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.11–13 *quales aut Libycis madent olivis/aut tus Niliacum piperve servant/aut Byzantiacos colunt lacertos* (Coleman *ad loc.*).

This line has been misinterpreted as meaning that the papyrus will end up as fish wrapping (see Tränkle, 1996: 134): cf. Sidon. *Carm.* 9.319–320 *brevi . . . chartae/quae scombros merito piperque portet.*

However, the expression *tunica molesta* makes it clear that the allusion is to a cooking technique (Paoli, 1932: 33–37; Hudson-Williams, 1952: 29; Thomson, 1964; Clarke, 1966: 48). The *tunica molesta* was a form of capital punishment, 'a tunic of inflammable material, in which criminals were burnt alive' (OLD): Mart. 10.25.5; Juv. 8.235 *liceat tunica punire molesta* (*schol. ad loc. vestis ex charta facta, pice illita, in qua ignibus in poenam addicti ardere solent*). For this kind of punishment, see Coleman, 1990: 60–61; cf. Pl. *Grg.* 473c; Sen. *Ep.* 14.5 *illam tunicam alimentis ignium et inlitam et textam*; Tert. Mart. 5.1.

Besides wordplay with Catul. 95.8 (*laxas tunicas*), Martial is ironically applying the expression to a well-documented cooking technique: Apic. 8.7.1 *imples porcellum, charta obduras et fiblas. mittes in furnum* (cf. 8.7.5); 9.10.1 *involvitur in charta et sic supra vaporem ignis in operculo componitur*. The fate of the bad book is similar to that in 5.53 *Colchida quid scribis, quid scribis, amice, Thyesten?/Quo tibi vel Nioben, Basse, vel Andromachen?/Materia est, mihi crede, tuis aptissima chartis/Deucalion vel, si non placet hic, Phaethon*; Catul. 36.6–8 *electissima pessimi poetae/scripta tardipedi deo daturam/infelicibus ustulanda lignis*; 36.18 *at vos interea venite in ignem.*

scombris: mackerels, from Gr. σκόμβρος: Mart. 3.50.9; 13.103.2; Pers. 1.43.

9–11. Martial reveals what the fate of the book will be if Apollinaris does not like it. These lines have been discussed by Ker (1950), Hudson-Williams (1952), and Tränkle (1966).

9. damnaverit: cf. *probari*. There is a play on its forensic meaning, 'condemn', 'sentence' (TLL *s. v.* 12.33–17.27 [Simbeck]). Compare this with Quint. *Inst.* 3.6.64 *M. Tullius non dubitavit aliquos iam editos libros aliis postea scriptis ipse damnare*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.523–524 *scribit damnatque tabellas,/et notat et delet.*

ad salariorum/curras scrinia: Catul. 14a.17–8 *nam, si luxerit, ad librariorum/curram scrinia.*

salariorum: fishmongers; the papyrus will be used as a wrapper. Tränkle (1996: 135) interprets *salariorum* as salt-sellers (see Howell *ad* 1.41.8), as distinct from *salsarii* or *salsamentarii*. For the suffix *-arius*, see Cooper, 1975: 70–76; 147–155. The term is attested in several inscriptions: ILS 6178; 1874; CIL V 6670; VI 1152 CORPVS SALARIORVM; X 55720.

10. scrinia: in principle, there is an incongruity in the phrase *salariorum scrinia*, since *scrinium* almost exclusively denotes a 'writing-case' or 'case for papyrus rolls' (except for Plin. *Nat.* 13.3 *scrinium unguentorum*). This is a humorous variation on the Catullan passage, with an intended effect of surprise. If Hudson-Williams and Tränkle are right in offering a joint interpretation of these lines (*vid. infra*), *scrinia* is not difficult to interpret.

protinus: cf. Pl. *Cap.* 508 *Protinus ad fratrem inde abii.* The local, temporal, and logical meanings of *protinus* coalesce here.

licebit: ironically Martial suggests that its fate could be even worse: cf. Catul. 36.18–20 *at vos interea venite in ignem,/pleni ruris et inficetiarum/annales Volusi, cacata charta!*

11. Two different interpretations have been put forward. Friedländer, followed by Shackleton Bailey among others, suggests that the back of the papyrus will be used by children as draft paper for their writing exercises. Other scholars, mainly Hudson-Williams and Tränkle, link *scrinia salariorum* and *pueri*: cf. 1.41.8 *viles pueri salariorum.* According to them, the slaves of these traders would use the paper to do their sums. This interpretation is not necessary, especially in the light of Hor. *Ep.* 1.20.17–18 *hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem/occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus* (Porph. *ad loc.*). Marquardt (1893: 484 § 815 n. 7) remarks that in Leiden there is an Egyptian papyrus with a child's writing excercises on the back.

Only one side of the papyrus was normally used: cf. Mart. 8.62.1 *Scribit in aversa Picens epigrammata charta*; Juv. 1.5–6 *aut summi plena iam margine libri/scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?*; cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 2.9. Its back could be used just for drafts (Marquardt, 1893: 485). Papyri written on both sides were called *opisthographi*: Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.17; Ulp. *Dig.* 37.11.4.

inversa: 'reversed'. Noteworthy is the worplay with *arande*, since *invertere* may also mean 'to plough': cf. Verg. *G.* 1.65 *pingue solum invertant tauri.*

arande: in a figurative sense applied to writing, *arare* is rarely used and is limited to writing on wax tablets (TLL *s. v.* 627.43–46 [Ausfeld]): Atta *Com.* 13 *Vertamus vomerem in cera mucroneque aremus osseo*; Titin. *Com.* 160 *velim ego osse arare campum cereum.* Here it suggests children's scribbles. For the derivative verb *exarare* (TLL 5.2.1184.52–79 [K.-M.]), cf. e.g. Cic. *Att.* 12.1.1; Ov. *Pont* 3.2.90; Phaed. 3.pr.19; Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.90; Plin. *Ep.* 7.4.5; Suet. *Otho* 10.12

charta: for its meaning, see 4.31.4 (n.); 4.82.7 (n). The epigram opens with an address to the book (*libelle*) and ends with an allusion to its materiality, *charta* (Ruiz, 1980: 152), devoid of artistic value: if the recipient does not like the book, it does not deserve to be considered literature. This ending echoes Catul. 36.1; 20 *Annales Volusi, cacata charta* (Offermann, 1980: 111 n. 9).

87

Bassa, the foul-smelling protagonist of **4.4**, is always fondling a baby: she is in the habit of breaking wind, and so she can blame the infant. Her lover, Fabullus, is also reproved: he is one of those blind lovers who cannot see their mistresses' blemishes (cf. Lucr. 4.1153–6).

Breaking wind is a long-established satirical theme (Hor. *S.* 1.8.46), a farcical sign of bad taste and rudeness: cf. Petr. 47.4 *ego nullum puto tam magnum tormentum esse quam continere*. The emperor Claudius was attacked for this flaw: Suet. *Cl.* 32 *dicitur etiam meditatus edictum, quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi, cum periclitatum quendam prae pudore ex continentia repperisset*; Sen. *Apoc.* 4.3 *ultima vox eius haec inter homines audita est, cum maiorem sonitum emisisset illa parte, qua facilius loquebatur*: *'vae me, puto, concacavi me'*. A widespread literary motif, especially in folklore and fairy tales, it can be traced back at least to Old Comedy (e.g. Ar. *Ra.* 10; *Nu.* 392), and is common in Greek epigram (Brecht, 1930: 95; cf. e.g. *A. P.* 11.95), Latin comedy (Pl. *Cur.* 295), and Martial (*vid. infra s. pedere*: e.g. 12.77). See more details in Watson-Watson, 2003: 315–316.

Further reading: Watson-Watson, 2003: 315–317.

1. tua Bassa: the foul-smelling *Bassa* (4.4) is far from desirable, according to Martial: she is depicted as a *fellatrix* (6.69), as an old hag who attempts to conceal her age (5.45), and as a lesbian: 1.90.6 *Bassa, fututor eras* (see Howell *ad loc.*). For further negative connotations of this name, see 4.61.8 (n.). The possessive *tua* shows that Bassa and Fabullus are lovers (Watson-Watson): cf. Catul. 13.7; Mart. 6.6.1 *tua Paula*.

Fabulle: manuscript *T* reads *Catulle*: cf. 6.69.1 *Non miror, quod potat aquam tua Bassa, Catulle*. Catullus always refers to Gaius Valerius Catullus (1.pr.11; 1.7.3; 1.7.4; 1.109.1; 2.71.3; 4.14.13; 5.5.6; 5.30.3; 6.34.7; 7.14.3; 8.73.8; 10.78.16; 10.103.5; 11.6.16; 12.44.5; 12.83.4; 14.77.1; 14.100.1; 14.152.1; 14.195.1), except for two fictional characters: 6.69.1 (*supra*); 12.73 *Heredem tibi me, Catulle, dicis./Non credam, nisi legero, Catulle*. Fabullus (the *lectio* of the rest of the codices and

the *lemma* of *T*) is a common name in the epigrams. The interlocutor of 6.72; 12.20; 12.22, he is also the butt of Martial's criticism: he is a showy *parvenu* (5.35; 11.35), and a miserly host (3.12). He is rebuked for asking for the *Ius trium liberorum*, despite having a young wife. Martial therefore questions his virility. In 12.85 he is accused of being a *cunnilingus*: Bassa and Fabullus are two of a kind. *Fabullus* seems preferable to *Catullus*. Besides, as Watson-Watson (*ad loc.*) suggest, this epigram is a parodic version of Catullus 13: 13.13–14 *quod tu cum olfacies, deos rogabis,/ totum ut te faciant, Fabulle, nasum*. They also point to wordplay between *Fabullus* and *faba*, which is well known for provoking intestinal wind (Ov. *Med.* 70; Cic. *Div.* 1.62).

2. collocat: cf. TLL 1638.37–74 *facere ut aliquis iaceat.*

lusus deliciasque vocat: cf. 1.14.1 *Delicias, Caesar, lususque iocosque leonum*; 7.14.2 *amisit lusus deliciasque suas*; 10.35.9 *Lusus, delicias facetiasque*; 12.15.5 *Regis delicias gravesque lusus*. *Lusus* is often used of a child (TLL *s. v.* 1890.50–58 [Plepelits]): Mart. 5.37.17; 7.14.2. *Deliciae* and *delicia* are also terms of endearment (OLD *s. v.* 3a; Dickey, 2002: 319): Pl. *Poen.* 365; *St.* 742; *Truc.* 921; Cic. *Att.* 16.6.4; Catul. 32.2; Prop. 4.7.75; Apul. *Apol.* 9; cf. Mart. 5.34.2. *Vocat* is the *lectio* of *β* and *T*, whereas *γ* manuscripts read *facit*, which might be a correction influenced by the expression *delicias facere*. This, however, has an erotic meaning unsuitable in this context (OLD *s. v.* 1b; Catul. 45.24; 74.2). It also means 'to make fun of' (Pl. *Cas.* 528; *Men.* 381; *Poen.* 296). *Vocat* is clearly the right option. Besides, its rhyming with *collocat* seems to be a parody of Bassa's childish gibbering.

3. quo mireris magis: cf. 1.48.3 *quodque magis mirum*; 2.72.5 *quodque magis mirum est.*

infantaria: cf. line 2. This is a rare term. Derived from *infans, infantarius* seems to refer to one taking care of children (TLL *s. v.* [Bulhart]: *quae [qui] infantium curam habet*). This is its likely meaning in CIL XI 5623 <T>ARQVITIO GE<LOTI I>NFANTARIO; and Tert. *Nat.* 1.2.9. However, the suffix *-arius* often means 'who likes' (Watson-Watson *ad loc.*; Watson, 2002: 241): 11.100.6 *Carnarius sum, pinguiarius non sum*. This line could thus be translated as 'she does not like babies'. For adjectives and nouns with this suffix, see Stephani, 1889: 50–52; Cooper, 1975: 70–76; 147–155; Salemme, 1976: 17–18.

4. quid in causa est?: OLD *s. causa* 11b: cf. Quint. *Decl.* 301.16; 312.2; [Quint.] *Decl.* 6.12; 12.4; Sen. *Dial.* 10.3.4; *Ep.* 56.8. A question follows a paradoxical statement, just before the conclusion (Siedschlag, 1977: 26).

Pedere Bassa solet: cf. 10.15.10 *me coram pedere, Crispe, soles*. A similar ending in 5.45.2 *Istud quae non est dicere, Bassa, solet*. The dysphemistic verb *pedere* and its derivative *oppedere* are restricted to satirical contexts (Adams, 1982: 221–222): Hor. *S.* 1.8.46–7 *nam, displosa sonat quantum vesica, pepedi/diffissa nate ficus; at illae currere in urbem*; 1.9.69–70 *vin tu/curtis Iudaeis oppedere?*; Mart. 7.18.9; 10.15.10; 12.40.3; 12.77.3; 12.77.10; *Schol. in Juv.* 3.108. Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.22.4 *suppedit*. Their euphemistic alternatives are *crepare* or *crepitum dare/reddere*: Cato *orat.* 91; Sen. *Ep.* 91.19; Plin. *Nat.* 27.110; Juv. 3.108.

This is the opposite of **4.46**. There Martial mocked a barrister who was very proud of an assortment of shoddy Saturnalian gifts. Here the poet would rather receive them himself, and rebukes an anonymous addressee for not sending him anything in return for his present (*parvo pro munere*). The attitude is also the opposite of 7.53 (Galán *ad loc.*). For similar epigrams on gift-giving, see 8.71; 10.15.

Further reading: for Saturnalian gift-giving, see Citroni, 1989; Spisak, 1998; Leary, 2001: 4–8; N.-P. *s. v.* Geschenke.

1. cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.1–2 *Est sane iocus iste, quod libellum/misisti mihi, Grype, pro libello.*

Nulla . . . dona: the epigram begins categorically. Notice the contrast between *nulla* and *parvo*, emphasising that the addressee has not repaid Martial for his humble gift.

remisisti: just as *mittere* is a standard verb for gift-giving (4.14.14 n.), *remittere* is often used for gift-returning: 5.59.3 *Quisquis magna dedit, voluit sibi magna remitti*; 7.55.1–2.

parvo pro munere: gifts are often referred to as humble or trivial: see **4.19** (n.); cf. **4.10.3** *leve munus* (14.21.2); 5.84.7 *munuscula parva*; 7.17.9 *munere . . . parvo*; 7.49.1 *Parva suburbani munuscula mittimus horti*; 7.80.5 *parva . . . munuscula*; 7.84.5 *parva . . . dona*; 9.53.1–2; 9.54.11 *munuscula.*

Martial might be referring to **4.19**, which accompanied a humble present (3–4 *sordida . . . dona*) sent to an unnamed friend.

2. et iam Saturni quinque fuere dies: cf. 5.84.6–8 *Saturnalia transiere tota,/nec munuscula parva nec minora/misisti mihi, Galla, quam solebas.* In the time of Domitian, the Saturnalia (**4.46.1** n.) lasted five days (7.53.2; 14.79.2; 14.142.1; see Leary, 2001: 5). Originally, they were celebrated on 17th December (Macr. 1.10.2); in Republican times two more days were added (18th and 19th December), and these were called the second and third Saturnalia (Cic. *Att.* 5.20.5; 13.52). Caligula added one more day to the festival: Suet. *Cal.* 17.2; Dio Cass. 59.6.4. Reference is sometimes made to seven days: 14.72.2

Saturni septem venerat ante dies (Macr. 1.10.2). According to Leary (2001: 8), this reckoning included the *sigillaria*, when gifts could be purchased. The expression *Saturni dies* (cf. 14.72.2) is similar to 2.85.2 *Saturni tempore*; 10.29.1; 12.81.1 *Brumae diebus feriisque Saturni*.

Within the structure of the book, there is a feeling of progress: at the end of the work the Saturnalia are over.

3. argenti . . . Septiciani: silver could make a good Saturnalian present: 5.59.1; 8.71.1; 10.57.1 *Argenti libram mittebas; facta selibra est*; 13.48.1; Leary *ad loc.* Martial often complains about never receiving such gifts: 7.53.11; 10.15.8 *Argenti venit quando selibra mihi?* This type of silver, *Septicianum*, named after a silversmith (cf. 4.38.6 *Gratiana*), was of poor quality: 8.71.6 (Schöffel *ad loc.*). *Septicianus* is a *cognomen* in 11.107.2; cf. CIL V 5278 (see Stephani, 1889: 56).

sex scripula: 1/4 of an *uncia*; 1/48 of a *libra*. A *scripulum* was 1/24 of an *uncia*, and 1/288 of a *libra*. *Scripulum* also denotes a small quantity or portion: Cic. *Att.* 4.17.6; V. Max. 4.4.9.

4. Some people passed on the gifts they had received: 7.53.1–2 *Omnia misisti mihi Saturnalibus, Vmber,/munera, contulerant quae tibi quinque dies*.

missa: for *mittere* as a gift-giving verb, see 4.14.14 (n.).

querulo . . . cliente: cf. 1.49.33 *Procul horridus Liburnus et querulus cliens* (Citroni *ad loc.*); Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.42 *querulique rogant exire clientes*. Another gift sent by a client can be found in 4.46.12 (n.). The unnamed addressee of this epigram could also be a solicitor.

mappa: napkins could make a Saturnalian present, cf. **4.46.17** (n.); 7.53.4; 7.72.2; 10.87.6.

5. Antipolitani . . . thynni: see André, 1981: 102; 109–113. Tuna was a popular fish in Rome, eaten either fresh or preserved. Martial often mentions one of its varieties, *cordyla* (Gr. (σ)κορδύλη), young tunny-fish: 3.2.4; 11.52.7; 13.1.1; Plin. *Nat.* 1.9a.32; 9.47. Tuna was preserved in salt (Plin. *Nat.* 9.48) or brine (*muria*, cf. 13.103; Leary *ad loc.; muriatica salsa; salsa; salsamenta*). Preserves were cheaper than fresh fish (André, 1981: 112). In Juvenal's seventh Satire, preserved tuna is part of the catalogue of the insignificant gifts a lawyer receives as fees: Juv. 7.119–120 *vas pelamydum*. Antipolis (modern Antibes), in *Gallia Narbonensis*, was famous for its fish preserves: Plin. *Nat.* 31.94

laudantur et Clazomenae garo Pompeique et Leptis, sicut muria Antipolis ac Thurii. Martial depicts them as worthless gifts in 13.103 (Leary *ad loc.*), where he states that mackerel preserves are better. For the term *Antipolitanus*, see Stephani, 1889: 59 and cf. CIL XII 178; XII 189.

6. testa: cf. **4.46.10** (n.).

rubet: blood-coloured: cf. Mart. 6.64.20; Cels. 2.10.17; see André, 1949: 76.

cottana parva: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.28. See André, 1981: 74, 88. They are a variety of small figs (cf. 7.53.7 *parva . . . cottana*; 13.28; Leary *ad loc.*; Plin. *Nat.* 13.51 *in ficorum autem caricas et minores eiusdem generis, quas cottana vocant*; 15.83), native to Syria (Plin. *Nat.* 1.13a.17 *Syriae arbores: pistacia cottana Damascena*; Juv. 3.83 *advectus Romam quo pruna et cottana vento?*). For fruit preserves, see **4.46.10** (n.).

gerit: a similar use of the verb in 7.94.1.

7. nec rugosarum vimen breve Picenarum: olives from Picenum were highly appreciated (**4.46.12** n.), but these seem to be no longer fresh (*rugosarum*; cf. 13.29.1) and there are too few of them (*vimen breve*). Compare with 7.53.5 *vimine Picenarum*. *Vimen* could be a branch (cf. 5.78.20), but also wickerwork (Forcellini *s. v.* 2; cf. Ov. *Rem.* 186; *Met.* 12.436), especially a basket: cf. 4.46.13 *parcae cistulae non capax olivae*; 13.36 *cistella olivarum*.

9. Decipies alios: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 21.145 *decipe sic alias*.

verbis vultuque benigno: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 22.12 *bono ac benigno vultu mala magnifica tribuerunt*. The phrase *vultus benignus* occurs in Hor. *Ep.* 1.11.20; Liv. 9.6.8; 28.26.6 *benigno voltu ac sermone*; 30.14.3 *benigno voltu . . . et egregiis laudibus* (Sil. 18.138–139); V. Max. 7.8.9 *et vultu benigno respexit et verbis magnum prae se amorem ferentibus prosecutus est*. *Verbis* and *vultus* are often associated in similar contexts: see e.g. Cic. *Mil.* 4; Sen. *Ep.* 81.25. *Benignus* originally refers to generosity (TLL *s. v.* 1901.84–1903.17). When applied to a miser's face, it stresses his hypocrisy.

10. The ending is redolent of 1.112 *Cum te non nossem, dominum regemque vocabam:/nunc bene te novi: iam mihi Priscus eris*.

dissimulator: a hypocrite: TLL *s. v.* 1480.44–50 (Bannier); Arnob. *Nat.* 2.48. In Martial's epigrams, *dissimulator* and *dissimulare* are used

of those who neglect their clients—or the poet—and do not reciprocate: 5.16.14 *Dissimulas? facies me, puto, causidicum*; 5.25.11 *O frustra locuples, o dissimulator amici* (see Canobbio *ad loc.*); 5.36.2 *dissimulat quasi nihil debeat: imposuit*; 11.108.4 *Lector, solve. Taces dissimulasque? Vale.*

89

Martial addresses his book, which is alive and craving for independence. He partially identifies with his work (e.g. *pervenimus*), of which he is proud, but also dissociates himself from it: the implication is that Martial's creative force would go on writing, but he knows that too many epigrams may tire the reader (cf. 4.29 n.). Ironically, this is one of Martial's shorter books. He plays with the motif of *captatio benevolentiae*, by giving the reading public a prominent position, and with the idea that, in the end, the book does not belong to the poet.

Repetitions, interjections, and parataxis endow the epigram with a conversational, humorous tone, culminating in the repetition of the first line, almost as a refrain. The poet, the reader, and even the scribe shout it in unison, and bring the book to an end.

Further reading: Ker, 1950: 13–14; Opelt, 1994: 27; Fowler, 1995 (especially, 50); Eden, 2001: 582–583; Lorenz, 2004: 274–275.

1. Ohe, **iam satis est**: cf. Hor. *S.* 1.5.12–13. The interjection *ohe* (Gr. ὠή or ὠῆ) roughly means 'stop it' (OLD *s. v.* 1a), although it can simply imply impatience or tiresomeness (OLD *s. v.* 1b): cf. Don. *ad Ter. Ph.* 377 *ohe interiectio est satietatem usque ad fastidium designans*. It belongs to oral language; it is, therefore, highly common in comedy: Pl. *As.* 384; *Bac.* 1065; Ter. *Ph.* 418; 1001; cf. Pers. 1.23. It is normally reinforced by the adverb *iam* (Ter. *Ad.* 723; 769 [cf. *Hau.* 879]; Hor. *S.* 2.5.96), or even by *iam satis* (Pl. *Cas.* 248; *St.* 734). For its prosody, see TLL *s. v.* 536.36–43 (W.). Both here and in line 9, the first *ohe* has two long vowels, whereas the second has a short /o/ (cf. 1.31.1, for the different prosody of *tibi: tĭbī* and *tĭbĭ*). Martial further uses *iam satis est* in 7.51.14 *et cum 'Iam satis est' dixeris, ille leget* (Galán *ad loc.*); 9.6.4; cf. Pl. *As.* 329 *iam satis est mihi*; Hor. *S.* 1.1.120 *iam satis est*; *Ep.* 1.7.16; [Quint.] *Decl.* 6.7.

libelle: cf. **4.86.2**. According to Ahl (1985: 56–57), Martial addresses his book (*lĭber*) as though it were his child (*līber*) or a free person: here, 'he tells his *libellus* that it has come to the end of his umbilical (a term used of books' cylinders and of children's umbilical cords). It is now free to go on its own. It is born, it is his child,

it is free, it is (a) LIBER'. For the different uses of the term *libellus* and the father-son relationship between the poet and his book, see **4.10.1** (n.). Merli (1996: 427) adds: 'La fine del libro coincide con la fine dei Saturnali (Citroni 1989): il poeta si rivolge al libro come a un *puer* che non si rassegna al termine de la vacanza e vuole continuare a giocare'.

2. Notice the repetition of *iam* (cf. 9), which will reappear in anaphoric position in lines 7–8.

pervenimus: a journey metaphor for the writing process (cf. line 3; 7 *deficit*). For the literary use of *pervenire* (TLL *s. v.* 1850.40–45 [Reineke]), cf. Liv. 31.1.1 *me quoque iuvat . . . ad finem belli Punici pervenisse*; Quint. *Inst.* 10.7.10 *donec perveniamus ad finem*; Sen. *Con.* 9.6.11 *cum ad epilogum pervenisset*; Mart. 2.pr. *Debebunt tibi si qui in hunc librum inciderint, quod ad primam paginam non lassi pervenient.*

usque ad umbilicos: the ends of the cylinder on which a papyrus roll was wound (OLD *s. v.* 2.e; Forcellini *s. v.* III); the cylinder was also called *umbilicus* (cf. 2.6.11; Ruiz, 1980: 150). In de luxe editions they were painted and ornamented: 1.66.11 *umbilicis cultus*; 3.2.9 *Pictis luxurieris umbilicis*; 5.6.15 *Nigris pagina crevit umbilicis*; 8.61.4 *umbilicis . . . decorus*; cf. Catul. 22.7 *novi umbilici*; Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.8 *binis decoratus umbilicis*. A synonym for them is *cornua*: 11.107.1 *Explicitum nobis usque ad sua cornua librum*; [Tib.] 3.1.13; Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.8. *Usque ad umbilicos* means that the book has been completely unwound (*explicitus*): cf. Hor. *Epod.* 14.6–8 *deus, deus nam me vetat/inceptos olim, promissum carmen, iambos/ad umbilicum adducere* (Watson, 2003: 446–447); Sen. *Suas.* 6.27 *ut librum velitis usque ad umbilicum revolvere*; Luc. *Ind.* 16; *A. P.* 9.540.1 ἐπ' ὀμφαλόν. Sidon. *Ep.* 8.16 *iam venitur ad margines umbilicorum* (Colton, 1985). There is an effective interplay between the act of reading, to which the expression applies, and writing.

Martial uses *usque ad umbilicum* on two further occasions, but in a literal sense (6.37.1; 3).

3. tu procedere adhuc: the poet extends the journey metaphor (*procedere; ire*). For the specific literary use of *procedere* (OLD *s. v.* 9b; TLL *s. v.* 1503.70–1504.8 [Terkelsen]), cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1.28; 1.109; Sal. *Jug.* 4.9; Sen. *Ben.* 5.6.6; V. Max. 2.8.7. See Lorenz, 2004: 274.

et ire quaeris: this should be taken as a variation on *procedere*, although in Martial's epigrams the personified book wants to 'go' and visit some friend or patron of the poet (1.70.1; **4.8.11** n.; 7.84.3;

9.99.6; 10.104.1) or just to be 'published': 1.3.12 *I, fuge, sed poteras tutior esse domi.*

4. summa . . . schida: Birt, 1882 (= 1974): 229. *Schida* is one of the strips forming a papyrus sheet (Plin. *Nat.* 13.77; 13.80). Sometimes it is a metonym for *charta*: cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.19; Cic. *Fam.* 15.16; *Att.* 1.20.7 (Ruiz, 1980: 151). The word is preserved in Italian *scheda.*

5–6. Two meanings of *peragere* coalesce here, a generic one, 'to finish' (5), and a more specific one related to literature (*vid. infra*). Shackleton Bailey (*ad loc.*) comments: 'the book might as well never have been written'. Eden (2001: 582–583) explains that the *res* alludes to the composition of a book of epigrams: 'the first page alone could have contained enough epigrams to fulfil this requirement, without carrying on to include all eighty-nine epigrams of Book IV'.

sic tamquam: cf. 5.16.7.

res tibi peracta: cf. 3.79.1 *Rem peragit nullam Sertorius.*

prima . . . pagina: for the term *pagina*, see 4.10.2 (n.). The idea that the first page (or column) is enough—or more than enough—is explored in the prologue to book II (*loc. cit. infra*). See Lorenz, 2004: 274.

peracta est: as a technical term (TLL *s. v.* 1176.46–58 [Peri]), the subject of *peragere* may be both the poet (11.24.13–14 *Triginta prope iam diebus una est/nobis pagina vix peracta*) and the scribe (2.1.5 *haec una peraget librarius hora*): cf. 14.208.2; Ov. *Fast.* 2.863; Plin. *Nat.* pr.20; Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.17 *tot ista volumina peregit*; 9.1.2. For the manuscript variant *notatur* (*γ*), see Ker (1950: 13–14).

7. Iam lector queriturque deficitque: cf. 4.29.2 (n.) *Lectoremque frequens lassat et implet opus*; 2pr. *Debebunt tibi si qui in hunc librum inciderint, quod ad primam paginam non lassi pervenient*; 3.68.11–12 *longum iam lassa libellum/ponebas*; cf. 1.110.1. For the relationship between the poet and his readers, see Galán Rodríguez, 1994; Spisak, 1997.

8. librarius: the scribe (TLL *s. v.* 1347.14–51 [Collassero]; Fest. p.333; Valmaggi, 1902: 432–434), not the bookseller (Catul. 14.17; Sen. *Ben.* 7.6.1; TLL *s. v.* 1347.52–61; Isid. *Orig.* 6.14.1), one of Martial's alleged reasons for writing short books of epigrams: 2.1.5 (see Williams *ad loc.*). Here the copyist begins to complain about his task, not without irony, for this is one of Martial's shortest books,

together with V and VIII. Elsewhere, haste is to blame for the scribe's inadvertencies: 2.8.1–4 *Si qua videbuntur chartis tibi, lector, in istis/sive obscura nimis sive latina parum,/non meus est error: nocuit librarius illis,/dum properat versus adnumerare tibi*; cf. Cic. *Att.* 13.23.2 *tantum librariorum menda tolluntur*; Liv. 38.55.8 *librarii mendum*; Hor. *Ars* 354; Varr. *L.* 9.106.

9. ohe, iam satis est, ohe, libelle: for the Catullan repetition of the first and last lines, see Salemme, 1976: 51–52; Siedschlag, 1977: 121. Here it stresses the poet's urgency: the book must end now.

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D.-S.	C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, eds., *Dictionnaire des antiquités greques et romaines*, Paris: 1877–1919.
DGE	*Diccionario Griego-Español*, redactado bajo la dirección de F. R. Adrados, Madrid: 1980–.
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NP	H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds., *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart-Weimar: 1996–.
OCD^3	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third Edition.*, Oxford-New York: 1996.
OLD	P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford: 1996.
PIR^1	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*: 1897–1898.
PIR^2	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I, II, III*, Berlin-Leipzig: 1933.
PLM	A. Baehrens, ed., *Poetae Latini minores*, Lipsiae: 1879–1886.
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, München: 1893–1980.
SB	Shackleton Bailey.
TGL	H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Paris: 1831–1865.
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig: 1900–.

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